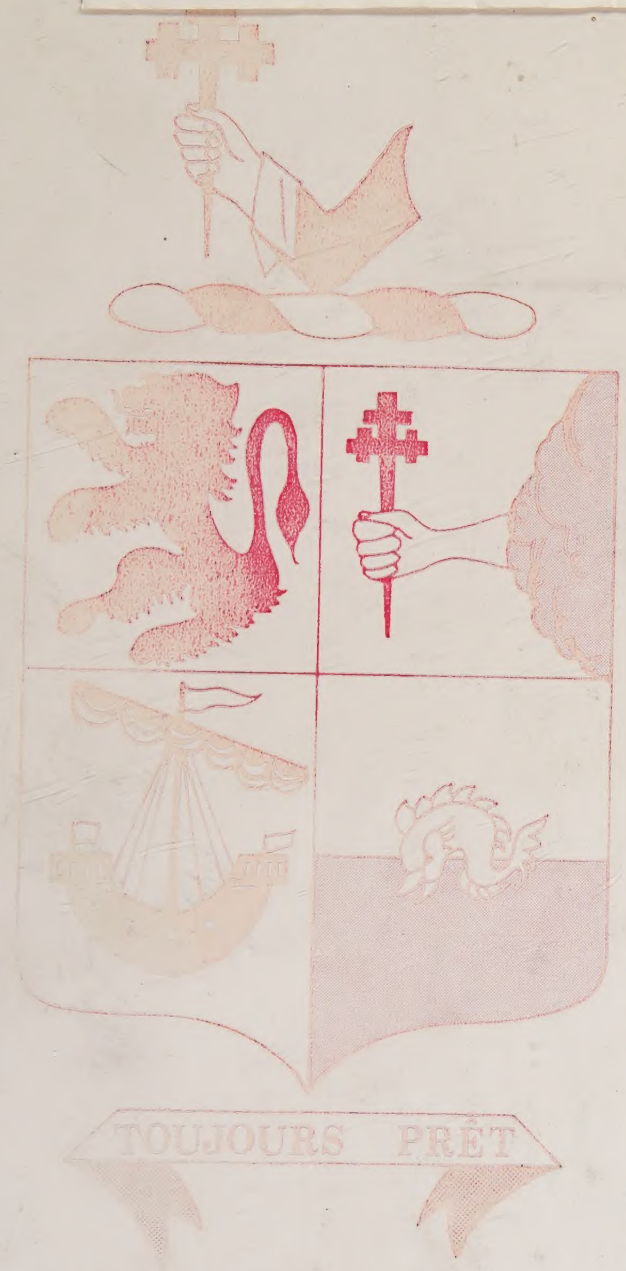

The Macdonnells of Antrim

BY

GEORGE HILL

INTRODUCTION BY E. R. R. GREEN

This volume is an unabridged facsimile reprint of George Hill's classic "Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim."

It is a comprehensive history of the Macdonnells of Antrim from the time they separated from the senior branch of the Clan Donald, the Lords of the Isles, until 1873, the year of the book's original publication. It is about the lands and the people of the Route and the Glynns, which stretched from Larne to Coleraine.

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INTRODUCTION

The writing of serious history in Ulster only began with the publication in 1847 of William Reeves' 'Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore.' Six years later historical scholarship was placed on a firmer footing with the appearance of the 'Ulster Journal of Archaeology' in which the Rev. George Hill's earliest work was published.

George Hill was born at Moyarget near Ballycastle in 1810, the son of a farmer and, on his mother's side, the grandson of the local Presbyterian minister. He began his education at a classical school in Ballycastle and went on to the Belfast Institution where he was awarded the general certificate in 1832. He then entered the ministry, first at Ballymoney and then at Crumlin, both congregations of the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster. In 1850 he was forced to retire on account of illhealth and became librarian of Queen's College, Belfast. He held this post for thirty years and was to all intents and purposes the founder of the library.

During these years he also built up a distinguished and enduring reputation as a historian. His first important book was an edition of 'The Montgomery Manuscripts', published in 1869. 'The Macdonnells of Antrim' followed in 1873 and is really his earliest original work on a large scale, ranking in importance with 'The Plantation of Ulster' (1877). The book on the Macdonnells apparently originated with a series of articles in a Belfast newspaper which led the Earl of Antrim to call on the author at the library with documents from his mother, who had been most interested, and to invite him to Glenarm.

Near the beginning of the book there is a passage of description of the Glens of Antrim which is worth quoting as it so clearly reveals the origin of Hill's interest in history and the way in which he thought it should be written.

> 'A little stream finds its way down the centre of each valley to the sea, now murmuring between piles of grey rock overhung with hoary trees, and again stealing quietly onward through stretches of corn and meadowland. The overhanging slopes are generally occupied by many small but well-cultivated fields, in almost every variety of shape and size, and fashioned, apparently, more by the influence of time and chance, than by any direct agency of human hands. The humble homesteads to which these fields belong are old-fashioned, badly-planned and clumsily built, if you will, yet having an air of decent comfort, and even dignity, which modern and more pretentious farmhouses do not often exhibit. From the porches of these quiet habitations, there are magnificent views of the channel,

with its rugged, romantic shores; and many a tale of love and war, of peril and shipwreck, and enchantment, are familiarly rehearsed from generation to generation by the simple inmates.'

This is not the way in which the historian sets about his task any more but the need for the same kind of curiousity and concern about the nature of the past and its relation to the present has not changed. Old families, old battles and old ruins no doubt occupy a disproportionate amount of space, but they are still an indispensable part of history. Besides, his scholarship is sound and firmly based on the original sources which were becoming available in his day, such as O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters and the series of Calendars of the State Papers, Ireland. He was a pioneer in another sense in trying to transcend the national boundaries which so constrict historical writing. It is to be hoped that the reprinting of his work will lead scholars to turn their attention once more to the integration of Irish and Scots history which is so necessary to a fuller understanding of the development of both countries.

E. R. R. Green

September, 1976

Director: Institute of Irish Studies,
The Queen's University of Belfast.

The Society wishes to thank Lord Antrim for allowing it to use the arms of the Macdonnells of Antrim on the dust cover.

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AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

MACDONNELLS OF ANTRIM:

INCLUDING

Notices of some other Septs, Irish and Scottish.

BY

REV. GEORGE HILL,

EDITOR OF THE *MONTGOMERY MANUSCRIPTS.*

"If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their own soile, and forrainers in their own citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines."—CAMDEN.

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PREFACE.

THE MACDONNELLS OF ANTRIM are a leading branch of the Scottish Clandonnell, and, as such, they rank among the most distinguished representatives at the present day of the ancient Irish Clann-Colla. Their history, therefore, is important, as being bound up with that of a once powerful and widely extended race. It is, perhaps, not less so, as preserving an authentic account, during many centuries, of the territories in which their leading houses were gradually built up—and often suddenly cast down. The records of the Antrim Macdonnells are thus found to touch the shores of our North Channel with a truly historic light, restoring, so to speak, the ruined castles now crumbling on so many bold positions, along the coasts of Antrim and Argyle. Several records, illustrative of this branch, are here printed for the first time, relating to periods of great historical interest, and to persons whose names must have been once familiar as household words throughout this northern province.

Of these original records, a few are introduced in the text; the greater number, however, may be found in the Appendix—not arranged in chronological order, but simply to suit the references to their contents arising in the course of the narrative. This narrative, the writer has much pleasure in stating, is largely indebted for its facts to the admirable calendars of Irish State Papers recently printed by the government, and especially to the volumes edited by Hans C. Hamilton, Esq., the Rev. Dr. Russell, and John P. Prendergast, Esq., the distinguished historian of the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland.

The foot-notes are occupied with explanations and discussions, which, from their variety and extent, could not, obviously, have formed part of the text, but which, in a book of this class, it would have been difficult, and perhaps unsuitable, to omit.

The writer has only, farther, to express his grateful acknowledgments for much friendly aid received during his preparation of this volume. To some friends, he is indebted for the loan of valuable family papers; to others, for supplying copies of documents that could not have been borrowed; and to not a few, for kindly communicating local information. To each and all, he now returns his very sincere thanks.

BELFAST, *November*, 1873.

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THE MACDONNELLS OF ANTRIM.

CHAPTER I.

PRINCES OF THE ISLES.

UR best genealogists, Mac Firbis and O'Flaherty, represent the Macdonnells (1) as descended from an Irish prince, named Colla, and surnamed *Uaish*, or the 'Noble,' the eldest of three distinguished brothers, who lived in the earlier part of the fourth century. These brothers were the sons of Eochaidh Doimhlein, brother of the king, and Aileach, daughter of Ubdaire, king of Alba. The coming of this Scottish princess to Ireland, and her subsequent residence in the palace of Aileach, so called after her name, are celebrated in a very ancient Irish poem. The poet describes the princess as "a mild, true woman, modest, blooming, till the love of the Gael disturbed her, and she passed with him from the midst of Chind-Tiri (Cantire) to the land of Uladh." Her palace of Aileach, in the present county of Donegal, became the residence of the Northern Ui Neill princes, and continued to be occupied as such almost to the time of the English invasion. (2) The names of her warlike and ambitious sons were Cairell, Muredhach, and Aedh, although they are more familiarly known in history as the three Collas. (3) Assisted by their kinsmen and allies on the opposite shores of the North Channel, (4) they were able to form a powerful political combination, which, in the year 327, placed the eldest brother, Colla Uaish, on the throne of Ireland. He only held this position, however, for the space of four years, when he was compelled to give way before the claims of a more powerful cousin. Being soon afterwards reconciled to the reigning monarch,

(1) *Macdonnells.*—Throughout the following pages, this surname will be written as above, except in extracts from books, or manuscripts, where the orthography of the writers themselves will be strictly preserved. The original form of the name is *Domhnaill*, pronounced exactly *Donnell*, and so written by our best Gaelic scholars. Sir James Macdonnell, the last in the male line of the lords of Isla and Cantire, spelled his surname *Makdonall*. The old families of Keppoch and Glengarry have abandoned the use of the final *d*, and now adopt the more correct orthography. Scottish writers, however, continue the use of it, without attempting to account for its introduction. See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands* and *Isles of Scotland*, pp. 85, 417.

(2) *Invasion.*—See the *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, pp. 224—228; *Book of Rights*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, p. 120; *Cambrensis Eversus*, translated and edited by Kelly, vol. i., p. 489.

(3) *Three Collas.*— Colla, surnamed *Uaish*, or the 'Noble,' because he had worn the crown; Colla, surnamed *Meann*, or the 'Stammerer;' and Colla, surnamed *da Chrioch*, a phrase sometimes written *Fóchri*, and translated 'earthy,' or 'clay-like.' See *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 72.

(4) *Channel.*—The North Channel was anciently known as *Sruth-na-Maoile*, 'the Current of the Moyle, or Mull;' more correctly, *Sruthar-na-Mailé Chinntiré*, 'the Current of the Mull of Cantire.' This is probably the earliest recorded name of the strait referred to. See Book of Leinster, as quoted by O'Curry in the *Atlantis*, vol. iv., p. 122.

Colla Uaish and his brothers were commissioned to lead an expedition against the Ultonians, or men of Ulster, and were granted as much territory as they might be able to wrest from the enemy. In this expedition they were successful, having completely defeated the Ultonians at the great battle of Achaidh-Leith-Derg, in Fearnmhaigh, now Farney, a district in the present county of Monaghan. Fergus, the king of Ulster, was slain, and his shattered forces, pursued by "their victorious enemies, were driven over Glenrighé (the valley of the Newry Water) into the district which now forms the counties of Down and Antrim, from which they never after returned. The Collas destroyed Emania, and then took the whole of that part of Ulster now forming the modern counties of Armagh, Louth, Monaghan, and Fermanagh, into their own hands, as swordland; and it was held by their descendants, the Maguires, Mac Mahons, O'Hanlons, and others, down to the confiscation of Ulster under the English King, James I." (5)

Of the descendants of Colla Uaish, perhaps the most distinguished were his great-grandsons, Loarn, Angus, and Fergus, who, about the year 506, permanently laid the foundation of the Dalriadic kingdom in Scotland. (6) These leaders were the sons of Eirc, "and partly possessors of Dalriada," an ancient principality on the Antrim coast, which extended from the Bush-foot to the village of Glynn, near Larne, and from which the Irish colonists went forth. (7) It is not to be supposed that all these emigrants, or indeed many of them, originally belonged to this territory, but they assembled here, and sailed from the most convenient ports along its shore,—one of which

(5) *James I.*—See *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, pp. 72, 73. This invasion entirely changed the aspect of affairs in the North. "Until the year 332," says Dr. Reeves, "Uladh or Ulster denoted a province nearly as large as the name now imports, and the palace of its rulers was at n-Eamhain, or Emania, now the *Navan*, near Armagh." Tighernach states that "the three Collas afterwards destroyed Eamhain Macha, and the Ultonians did not dwell in it from that out; and they took from them their kingdom from Lough Neagh out [westward]." (Reeves, *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 253.)—Speaking of the ruins of Emania, M. C. Ferguson states that the Fort, although greatly diminished, still covers about eleven acres. "From its elevated position an extensive prospect of the fine country around Armagh stretching away to the Fews mountain, may be obtained. Here we stand on a fortress of the Celt, which has had a history of upwards of two thousand years. The adjoining townland of Creeve Roe yet preserves the name, and designates the site of the House of the Red Branch, a species of military college in which the Ulster warriors were wont to assemble." See *Story of the Irish before the Conquest*, pp. 25, 26.

(6) *In Scotland.*—"Some consider the colony of 506 as the first, and that which was intended by Bede; as Ussher, *Works*, vol. vi., p. 147; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 464; Vardeus, *Rumbold.* p. 366; Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 269. Others, again, assert that Cairbre Riada led over a colony about the middle of the third century; as O'Conor, *Dissertations*, pp. 297, 307 (Dublin, 1812); *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 162; Pinkerton, *Enquiry*, vol. ii., pp. 61, 87. See Giraldus *Cambrensis*, *Topographia Hibern.*, iii. 16 (p. 742, ed. Camden); Stillingfleet, *Orig. Britann.*, p. 287 (London, 1840); Reeves, *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 319." Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited, with Notes and Dissertations, by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, p. 433, *note*.

(7) *Went forth.*—"That tract of the county Antrim," says Ussher, "which we call Route was known to the Irish by its true name of Dal-rieda. It extends (as the late most noble Randolph Earl of Antrim informed me by letter) from the river Bush to the cross of Glenfinneaght, of which I find mention made in those ancient Irish verses bearing the title of 'Patrick's Testament,' a distance of thirty miles: the following old Irish verse being brought forward in support." [Of this verse the late Dr. O'Donovan has furnished the following translation, in *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., 362:—

> "From the Buaish which flocks fly over,
> Unto the cross of Glenfinneaght,
> Extends Dalriada of subdivisions,
> As all who know the land can tell."]

"Now the whole of Dalreth or Dalrede," continues Ussher, "with the island of Rachlyn or Rachrin lying opposite to it, was in old times granted to Alan de Galway, by John King of the English and Lord of Ireland, as we know from the royal archives preserved in the Tower of London: both being possessed at present in hereditary right by Randolph Earl of Antrim, son of the Randolph mentioned above; to whom, by the way, on his return from England, with his illustrious lady, the widow of the celebrated George Duke of Buckingham, I have, on the very day on which I wrote this, paid my respects at the house of Viscount Moore of Mellifont." See Ussher's *Works*, edited by Dr. Elrington, vol. vi., pp. 146, 147; see also Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 329, *note*.

was undoubtedly Port Brittas, (8) at the head of Ballycastle Bay. The colonists, on reaching Alba appear to have formed three distinct settlements, which co-operated with, but remained for a time independent of each other. Those led by Angus occupied a few islands, the principal of which were Isla, Jura, and Iona. Loarn's followers took possession of that territory which, to this day, bears his name. Fergus, surnamed *Mor*, (9) probably mustered a larger number of colonists than either of his brothers, as he was able at first to plant the three districts now known as Cantire, Cowal, and Argyle Proper. Loarn, the eldest, enjoyed the chief position in the growing kingdom during his life. Fergus, the youngest, survived the others, and being able to unite and consolidate the three principal settlements, in due time was proclaimed king. The new kingdom soon absorbed the adjoining districts lying between Lorne and Ardnamurchan Point, and now known as Mull, Morven, Ardgowan, and Lochaber. Thus, the original Dalriadic kingdom in Scotland was bounded on the south by the Frith of Clyde, and was separated from the Pictish kingdom on the east by the mountain range anciently known as Drumalban, which extends from the shore of Lochlomond in Dumbartonshire to Loch Broom in Sutherland. (10)

Previously to the departure of Fergus from the Irish coast, he appears to have owned the territory or district surrounding the present village of Armoy, where he granted lands to St. Patrick, in the year 474, to build and endow the first christian church there. The saint is said to have specially blessed Fergus for this act of liberality, and at the same time predicted the future superiority of his family over those of his brothers. (11) As Fergus is believed to have first landed in Alba, on the cost of Cantire, he most probably sailed from Port-Brittas, which, if not in his own territory, must have immediately adjoined it. Machrihanish Bay, in Cantire, lies exactly opposite, and although a formidable place for large vessels, the Irish galleys could glide safely into it with a favouring tide in two or three hours. A stream, flowing from the rugged hills of Cantire, (12) approaches the sea at this point through a beautiful valley, which still retains its

(8) *Port Brittas.*—In old Rentals of the Antrim estate, *Port Brittas*, 'British-Port,' or 'Port of the Britons,' was a denominational name applied to fifteen acres around or adjoining this little inlet. The name is now obsolete.

(9) *Surnamed Mor.*—This sobriquet, denoting 'large-bodied,' is often used to characterise members of the Clan-Colla. The following is an old chronicler's account of the impression made by the personal appearance of Fergus Mor, on his landing in Alba, preliminary to his inauguration as king :—

> "Blyth wes the Scottis Fergus quhen tha saw ;
> In hym tha thocht apperit lufe and aw :
> Blyth and benyng, and manlie als thairwith,
> Lustie he wes, and large of lym and lith.
> His forme, his figure, and his countenance
> Tha thocht that tyme rycht gudlie to advance."

Stewart's Metrical Version of Hector Boece's *Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland*, edited by W. B. Turnbull, vol. i., p. 40.

(10) *Sutherland.* See *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, edited by W. F. Skene, Preface, p. 113. The mountain range known as Drumalban was previously named Drum-Bretain, latinised *Britanniæ Dorsum.* "The vernacular name Drum-Bretain at an early date passed into the form Drum-Albin, which was in use until the thirteenth century, and was applied to the great mountain-chain dividing Perthshire and Argyle, and terminating in the Grampian Hills. This range forms the back-bone of Scotland, and from its sides the eastern and western waters respectively flow." Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves, p. 64, *note.*

(11) *His brothers.*—See Reeve's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 80, 244.

(12) *Hills of Cantire.—Ceann-tiré*, 'the Land's Head,' a phrase frequently used as a proper name to designate the whole territory of Cantire, although it may have been originally applied only to the Mull. "The vernacular name Cenn-tire, or Cend-tire," says Dr. Reeves, "appears occasionally in the Irish Annals, as *Tighernach*, 574, 681 ; *Ulster*, 575, 680, 720 ; *Inisfallen*, 495 ; *Four Masters*, 620, 679, 1154. The Northmen called it Satiri (Johnstone's *Olave*, pp. 14, 18, 20, 22, 27 ; Haco's *Expedition*, p. 48). The earliest Scotch charters have it *Kentir* (C. Innes, *Orig. Paroch.*, vol. ii., p. 1)." See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, p. 57.

ancient name of *Tir-Fergus*, 'the territory of Fergus.' One of this prince's places of abode, after his election to the Dalriadic throne, is believed to have been the strong and extensive fortress now known as Dunstaffnage castle, which was certainly occupied by the early Scottish kings down to the time of Kenneth II , and was only abandoned as a royal residence about the middle of the ninth century. It is remarkable that, during several centuries afterwards, this castle disappears altogether from Scottish annals, and the impression now is that if any notices of it really exist between the years 850 and 1300, they must be looked for in Norse chronicles, as, during that interval, it was undoubtedly held by the Norwegians. (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 117.) The ruins of Dunstaffnage stand on a low peninsular point, running out from the northern shore of the parish of Kilbride, and at the entrance to the beautiful Loch Etive. These ruins indicate various dates in masonry, some portions pointing to the castle-building style of the thirteenth century, whilst others,—such as fragments of the walls ten feet in thickness,—carry us back to a much more remote period. (13)

Scottish chroniclers are proud to tell that Fergus brought with him, when about to be inaugurated, the celebrated *Lia Fail*, or Stone of Fate, on which Irish monarchs were crowned at Tara, and, that after his coronation thereon, the precious article was deposited at Dunstaffnage. There it lay until removed thence to Scone by Kenneth Mac Alpine. Even George Buchanan, who was intolerant of all Irish and Highland glories, does not neglect to tell us that "the marble block which Simon Brek is said to have imported from Spain into Ireland, and Fergus, the son of Ferchard (Erck), carried thence to Argyle, he (Kenneth) caused to be removed from Argyle to Scone, on the river Tay, and set it there, enclosed in a chair of wood." (*Historia*, Lib. vi., chap. 3.) In the year 1296, Edward I. carried off the stone with its enclosing wooden chair, and had it placed under the throne in Westminster Abbey, where it has since quietly reposed. The Scotch, strange to say, cherish something like a national sentiment on this matter, and have not yet forgiven the removal of the Lia Fail from Scone! It was formerly spoken of as the "Scottish Palladium," and all traditions relating to it are preserved with much care and respect. Scotchmen, generally, know much more on the subject than their Irish kinsmen, and can rehearse with greater fluency, not only the extraordinary story as to when and how the stone was brought to Ireland, and thence to Scotland, but also various details relating to its shape, substance, and size. The Lia Fail, it appears, bears an ancient Gaelic inscription, which is translated thus :—

> "Should Fate not fail, wher'er this Stone is found,
> The Scots shall monarchs of that realm be found."

(13) *Remote period.*—The following notice of Dunstaffnage castle describes the ruins as they exist at the present time :—"Our first sight of these venerable ruins reminded us very much of our own Dunluce. They occupy the summit of a perpendicular conglomerate mass, varying from ten to thirty feet in height, near the extremity of a low peninsular flat projecting from the southern shore. The entrance is reached by a narrow outer staircase. The castle is an irregular four-sided structure, with a round tower at each of three angles, the remaining angle being also rounded ; but on the inner area of one of the towers, a square structure of three storeys has been erected, seemingly at no very distant period. Of this last the roof remains entire, and the flooring is not much decayed. The smallest of the round towers is only nine paces in diameter. The circumference of the whole building is about 400 feet. . . . A ladder leads from the court to the battlements over which sweeps the strong sea-breeze from the Sound of Mull, and from which a wondrous panorama of sea and island

This prophecy, it is also gravely affirmed, has been literally fulfilled—James VI. of Scotland, the veritable representative of king Fergus, having succeeded to the English throne, and being grandfather to the princess Sophia, who was grandmother to George II., who was great-great-grandfather to Queen Victoria. (See *Scottish Journal of Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 205.) Our Irish antiquaries, however, although they have lost all special veneration for the *Lia Fail*, are taking some trouble to undeceive their Scottish brethren on the subject. They maintain that the Stone was not brought here by Simon Brek at all, but by Tuatha De Danann colonists, that Erin still retains it, and that a certain Pillar yet standing at 'Tara of the Kings' is the veritable relic itself. (14)

When king Fergus had governed bravely and wisely on his Dalriadic throne for the space of twenty-five years, he determined, unfortunately, to revisit his native shore. Some chroniclers affirm that his object in coming was to arbitrate certain disputes that had arisen among several princes in Ulster; whilst others represent that he was afflicted with a skin-disease, and came to use the waters of a medicinal well that existed then (and for many centuries afterwards) in the rock on which now stands the castle of Carrickfergus. The galley which bore him across the channel was wrecked at or near this rock, where the king was drowned, and where the name *Carrig-Fergus*, the 'Rock of Fergus,' perpetuates the memory of that tragical event. Fergus had sailed from some

and mountain meets the gaze. Landward rise the mighty shoulders and soaring peak of Ben Cruachan, with vast outworks of lesser peaks, while seaward are the Sound of Mull, Loch Linnhe, Loch Etive, the hills of Morven and Ardgour, and the sea-beaten reef of Connell."—*Coleraine Chronicle*, Dec. 21, 1872.

(14) *Relic itself.*—We have given above the substance of a very early Scottish tradition on this subject, which tradition was first embodied, it is supposed in the *Chronicon Rhythmicum*, a compilation of the thirteenth century, and afterwards adopted from it by the Scottish historians, Fordun, Winton, Boece or Boetius, Buchanan, and others. "It is a remarkable fact," says Petrie, "that this Scottish account has been adopted by the Irish themselves, since the succession of the house of Stuart to the British throne seemed to verify the ancient prediction connected with it, yet no Irish account has been found to support it earlier than that of Keating, who evidently adopted the statement of Boetius' well-known verse (see this verse translated above), which he quotes with the palpable view of sustaining the right of the first Charles to his throne. It may also be observed that between the Irish and Scottish accounts of the history of this stone, there is a total want of agreement, which shows that the Scottish writers, when they recorded this tradition, were not acquainted with, or disregarded the accounts of it preserved by the Irish. The Irish uniformly state that the *Lia Fail* was brought into Ireland from the north of Germany by the Tuatha De Danann colony; the Scottish that it was brought from Spain, by the Milesian chief, Simon Breac, who, according to Irish histories, was not a Milesian, but a Fir-Bolg, or Belgian. . . . It is in the highest degree improbable that to gratify the desire of a colony, the Irish would have voluntarily parted with a monument so venerable from its antiquity, and considered essential to the legitimate succession of their own kings. However this may be, it is an interesting fact that a large obeliscal pillar-stone, in a prostrate position, occupied, till a recent period, the very situation on the hill of Tara pointed out as the *Lia Fail* by the Irish writers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries; and that this was a monument of pagan antiquity, an *idol-stone*, as the Irish writers call it, seems evident from its form and character." Sir George Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, in Transactions of Royal Irish Academy, vol. xviii., pp. 160, 161.

Eugene A. Conwell, Esq., has the following account of a visit to this curious and rude monument with which so many national associations are connected:—"On the 18th of May, 1866, I paid a visit to Tara, and made an examination of this stone. It stands five feet over ground; and from subsequent examination, I found that it was sunk a foot and a half in the earth, the entire height or length of the stone being 6½ feet, and its girth four feet ten inches. I was struck by finding two lines cut into the south-east face of the stone, which overlooks the Croppies' Grave (as it is familiarly called) each line being 1½ inch long, about an inch asunder, and cut or furrowed out in V-shaped fashion, to the depth of about three eights of an inch. On the top of the pillar, which is rounded off, can still be traced the remains of four cup-like hollows, in their present appearance rudely dug into the stone. Other portions of the pillar also afford evidences of similar cup-like hollows. The stone itself, which is a pillar of very fine-grained granite—a rock not belonging to the locality, and which, consequently, must have been imported here—appears to me not to have been originally a round pillar, as its present aspect might suggest, but a quadrilateral stone, whose edges have been worn off by attrition and the action of the weather."—*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. ix., pp. 539, 540.

port further north than Cantire, and had no doubt encountered one of the frequently recurring storms that sweep the North Channel. The following is Boece's account of the shipwreck :—

"To schip tha went, and syne set fra the schoir,
The wind blew up, the langer aye the moir;
Bayth tow and takill festnit wer all fast,
Within schort quhile yet wer tha all aghast.
For Eolus so loud he blew his horne
On thame all nycht long or tother morne,—
In Yrland cost rycht drafflie dyd thame dryve,
In at a craig he made thame till arryve.
In all that schip eschapt nor ald nor young
But perreist all with guid Fergus their King;
Efter his name, my storie tellis thus,
That place sensyne is callit Craigfergus."

—See Stewart's *Metrical Version of Boece's Chronicle*, vol. i., p. 41.

The body of King Fergus was found, and buried at Ballymanach, now Monkstown, near Carrickfergus, where his bones were exhibited in after times, by the monks of that religious house, to the many Irish and Scottish votaries who made pilgrimages to his grave. This fact is referred to by the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, who, when the duke of Ormonde visited Carrickfergus in 1666, mentioned the matter, as follows, in reply to an enquiry from that nobleman :—"His Grace stood a good while talking publickly of severall matters, and enquired if Fergus his body was found, and where buried : And there being none that answered, I told his Grace that Scotts history spoke of its being found, and that a place called Monks town (about three miles from thence) claimed the honour of preserving his Remains, but I believe that those Fryars, who built the very smal chapel in that town land (and were not in being till long after St. Patricks, days), could not show any of Fergus his bones, but some bodys els instead of them ; and so cheated their credulous Irish converts, and the Highland Scottish votarys, who came over to see Ireland, and those suppositious relicts of so greate and revered a man : for Real they could not be, because the Graves hungry stomack would not have taken time from 330 years before ye birth of Christ till the later centurys after it, to digest that morcell : and I was of opinion that Fergus his body was not embalmed after the Egyptian manner, used when the Pyramides were made, or practised in Alexander the Greates time, contemporary to Fergus." (15) *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, pp. 427, 428.

The family of Fergus Mor continued to maintain a leading position in Scotland, supplying, with few exceptions, the line of Dalriadic kings, and many of the more powerful of its thanes, or territorial lords. Of the latter, the most historical, and, it may truly be added, the most patriotic, was a great thane of Argyle, who appeared in the twelth century, called *Somhairle* among his

(15) *Fergus.*—William Montgomery, although an accurate chronicler of events passing in his own day, was misled by the Scottish annalists, who supposed that the reign of Fergus was so early as 330 years before Christ. By far the best authority on this point is the Irish annalist Tighernach, who states that Fergus went to Scotland at the head of his colonists in A.D. 502, or 800 years later than William Montgomery supposed. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 319; Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves, p. 433, *Ossianic Soc.*, vol. v., p. 177.

Celtic kinsmen, but better known as *Somerled*, which was the Norwegian form of his name. (16) During the tenth and eleventh centuries, frequent settlements were made by Norwegian colonists among the Celtic population of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. Although, however, the evils of northern rapacity and oppression were keenly felt, the Celtic element continued to predominate, even during the most disastrous periods. At length a deliverer arose in Somerled, who was the son of a Celtic father, and a fair-haired, blue-eyed Norwegian mother. Few, if any military leaders, have left their marks more broadly or distinctly in Scottish history than he. This fact stands clearly out, not only from the records of his career preserved in authentic chronicles, but, perhaps even more strikingly in the circumstantial traditions respecting him, which still exist in Argyleshire and the Isles. These traditions, when compared with the well-authenticated records of his life, appear like the fragments of some history that had been written of him but is now lost, and hence they serve to supplement attractively the curt and dry details of the old chronicles. Many of these traditions refer to the youthful days of Somerled, who appears to have grown up an indolent and handsome giant. His father, Gillabride, regarded with contempt the seemingly unwarlike nature of his youngest son, who occupied himself in hunting and fishing, whilst his brothers trained themselves to engage, as opportunities offered, in deadly conflict with their Norwegian oppressors. Somerled's indolent and pleasant time, however, was soon destined to end. His father, being driven from the hills and glens of Argyle, was compelled to conceal himself in a cave of Morven, and from that moment Somerled began to take serious counsel respecting the position of affairs, with his youthful companions of the chase. He found them ready, and equally prepared to hunt the wild-boar or assault the dreaded Norsemen. Somerled's very nature thenceforward was entirely changed; he became a new man; the indolent dreamer was suddenly absorbed in the delights of stratagem and battle. He spoiled like the eagle, and had no joy so great as when in the act of rending the prey. His little band gathered strength as he went, and under his eye dealt blow after blow on the bewildered enemy, until the Norsemen, whether soldiers or settlers, quickly abandoned their garrisons and settlements in Argyle. They crowded into the Hebridean islands, whither Somerled

(16) *Of his name.*—This name is composed of two Norse words, *sumar* and *lidi*, denoting 'summer-soldier.' The designation was often, at an early period, applied to sea-rovers or 'vikings,' who lay in port during the winter months, and followed their marauding operations in the seasons of Summer and Autumn. "It seems very likely also, that *sumarlidi* originally has been used in the same manner to designate the bear, roving about in the summer, and that the scalds or poets have since applied it as a proper designation for the vikings, either wandering about for prey in the summer, or taking to their snug hearths in the winter; but that, as it happened so often in Norway and Iceland, the general denomination became a surname for certain persons, and this surname again, in succeeding generations, a real and only name of the descendants called after them." (*The Chronicle of Man*, edited by Munch, p. 42 of *Notes*.) In the Northern Saga, the name of Somerled meets us in various uncouth forms such as Sorlet, Surle, and Sowdry. (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 2.) Hugh Macdonald—whose account of the Macdonnells was written about 1680—when sketching the career of Somerled, has the following remarks about two popular Scottish historians:—"This is the report of twenty writers in Icollumkill before Hector Boetius and Buchanan were born. These partial pickers of Scottish chronology and history never spoke a favourable word of the Highlanders, much less of the Islanders and Macdonalds, whose great power and fortune the rest of the nobility envied, because they judged best to comply with the humours of those who ruled the helm of the state, and men who knew nothing of their own descent, and careless to know that of others. . . . . Boetius knew very well, and so did Buchanan, that Somerled was thane of Argyle, which was one of the highest titles in those times, being equal to prince, and yet they tell that he was ignobly born, and of obscure parents, at the same time that they knew full well that he was not created thane by the king, but pursued for his rights, for there were eight or nine of Somerled's predecessors, who were thanes of Argyle, so that the falsity of these writers may be easily discovered. This may be proved by several passages out of their own writings." *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 286, 287.

pursued them, capturing the islands in detail, killing or expelling the hated invaders, and firmly establishing once more the old Celtic authority. (17)

Thus, on the ruin of the Norwegian power, Somerled built up his island throne, and became not only the greatest thane of his family, but the founder of that *second* line of island rulers, who, for nearly a period of four centuries, were occasional and formidable rivals of the Scottish kings. In addition to the vivid and circumstantial traditions above mentioned, his history is recorded in such reliable and valuable chronicles as the *Orkneyinga Saga, the Saga* of king Hácon Háconson, the *Chronicle of Man*, and the *Anecdotes of Olave the Black.* Two curious Gaelic manuscripts, quoted by Skene, in his *History of the Highlanders*, vol. ii., pp. 40, 41, mention the fact that Gilladomnan, Somerled's grandfather, was driven out of his estates in Argyle, and that he took refuge from his Norse oppressors on the opposite coast of Ireland. Somerled's father, Gillabride, made a vigorous attempt to recover the family inheritance, but failed; so, the arduous work was thus reserved for the genius and daring of Somerled, who, not only restored the family possessions, but annexed other adjoining districts, laying thus the foundation of that second island-kingdom whose seat of government permanently became fixed in Isla.(18) This chieftain's long and brilliant career came suddenly to a close, in the year 1164, whilst leading an expedition against Malcolm IV., king of Scotland, to whom he had given his sister in marriage. Somerled's army on that occasion was made up of men from Ulster, Argyle, and the Isles, and was transported in one

(17) *Authority.*—In the district of Lorne there has been recently discovered an ancient Crannog, or Lake-dwelling, called *Loch-an-t-Shomhairle*, pronounced Loch-an-tawail, which may have been probably one of Somerled's residences on the main-land. The Loch (now a moss) in which it was situated, is still known as *Loch-an-beich*, or the 'Lake of Birches,' although no birch trees have grown there for many generations. The moss is situated in the neighbourhood of Benderloch, between Loch Etive and and Loch Creran, and in this locality dwelt, time immemorial, a family of the Macdougalls, descended from Somerled's eldest son, Dougall. This family endowed the priory of Ardchattan, which was their place of burial. (See Dr. R. Angus Smith's *List of Antiquities near Loch Etive*, p 20.) The district of Benderloch was, no doubt, an attractive locality, even so late as the time of Somerled. It contains the remarkable place known as *Dun-mac-Uisneachan*, the residence of the sons of Uisneach, during their exile from Ulster, in the first century. Their story is told in an ancient Irish Tract, and was known in old-world times as one of the *Three Most Tragical of the Tales of Eirinn.* It is somewhat curious that the *birch-trees*, now so long defunct throughout the district, wave their green branches abundantly in the ancient Irish Tale! The following passage, translated from the original by Dr. Samuel Ferguson, occurs in the *Lament of Deirdré*, the Ulster princess, on her leaving the shores of Loch Etive:—

> "Glendaro! Glendaro! where *birchen* boughs weep
> Honey dews at high noon o'er the nightingale's sleep,
> Where my love used to lead me to hear the cuckoo
> 'Mong the high hazel bushes, Glendaro, adieu!"

(18) *In Isla.*—This island was worthy of the distinction thus conferred. The people of the Hebrides were accustomed to speak of Isla as the *Queen of the Isles*, an epithet designed to express their sense of its beauty and fertility. Dean Monro, in 1542, writes of Isla as "ane ile of twentie myle lengthe from north to south, and sixteene myle in breadthe from eist to the west, fertil, fruitfull, and full of naturall grassing, with maney greate deire, maney woodes, faire games of huntinge beside every toune, with ane watter callit Laxay, whereupone maney salmon are slaine, with ane salt watter loch callit Loch-gunord quherein runs the Watter of Glynord, with high sandey bankes, upon the whilk bankes upon the sea lyes infinite selcheis (seals) whilk is slaine with dogges learnt to the same effect." Hugh Macdonald of Sleat, speaking of the constitution or government of the island-kingdom, says:—"Macdonald had his council at Island-Finlaggan in Isla, to the number of sixteen, viz., four Thanes, four Armins, that is to say, lords, or subthanes, four Squires, or men of competent estates, who could not come up with Armins, or Thanes, that is free-holders, or men that had their lands in factory, as Magee of the Rinns of Isla, Mac Nicholl in Portree in Skye, and Mac Eachern, Mackay, and Mac Gillivray in Mull, Macillemhaoell, or Mac Millin, &c. There was a Table of Stone where the Council sat in the Isle of Finlaggan; the which Table, with the stone on which Macdonald sat, were carried away by Argyle, with the belles that were at Icolumkill. Moreover there was a judge in every Isle for the discussion of all controversies, who had lands from Macdonald for their trouble and likewise the eleventh part of every action decided. But there might still be an appeal to the Council of the Isles. Mac Finnon was obliged to see weights and measures adjusted, and Mac Duffe or Mac Phie of Colonsay kept the records of the Isles."—*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 297.

hundred and sixty galleys up the Clyde, as far as Renfrew, the place appointed for disembarkation. Here, "the mighty Somerled" was destined to fall by the hand of an assassin named Maurice Macneill, whom the Scottish king had bribed to commit the foul deed. His remains were conveyed to Iona, and there sorrowfully deposited in the tomb of his fathers.(19) He is described as having been "a well-tempered man; in body shapely, and of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and quick discernment." The same chronicler, Hugh Macdonald of Sleat, enumerating Somerled's children, says:—"He had Dugall, a natural son, of whom are descended the Dugalls of Lorn." But the chronicler is most probably mistaken in this statement of Dugall's illegitimacy, for several trust-worthy authorities mention him as Somerled's eldest legitimate son, by the daughter of Olave the Red, king of Man. Somerled had probably a residence in Lorne, (see p. 8, *supra*), and when dividing his possessions among his sons, this noble territory was given to Dougall—an almost conclusive proof of the latter's legitimacy. The district of Lorne was so called originally from Loarn, the eldest brother of Fergus Mor, and in the sixth and following centuries, had been, no doubt, considered the most desirable portion of the new Scottish Dalriada. Here the early Irish immigrants have left their traces perhaps more distinctly than in any locality throughout the Western Highlands. Besides Dunstaffnage Castle, already referred to, there was also in Lorne the celebrated fortress of Dunolla or Dunolly, near Oban, originally built, it is believed, by an early Dalriadic king. Here, too, are the remains of many churches, dedicated to early Irish missionaries,

(19) *His fathers.*—The most interesting notices of this island probably ever printed may be found in Reeves's edition of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, pp. 413--433. Iona, properly *Hy*, "lies off the Ross of Mull on the southwest, being separated from it by a channel, about an English mile broad, called by Adamnan *fretium Ioniæ insulæ*, in after times named the Bay of Finfort, and now commonly known as the Sound of Iona." Hy was so early and intimately associated with the spread of Christianity in the British islands, and throughout the northern countries of Europe, that it soon came to be regarded as a thrice hallowed spot, and, therefore, eagerly to be desired as a place of burial. Not only was it sought for this purpose by the leading families of the Isles, but even by many kings of Scotland, Ireland and Norway. The family to which Somerled belonged supplied many of the earliest and most distinguished abbots to the religious establishment founded there by St. Columba; and within its holy precints the lords of the Isles, with few exceptions, found their last resting-place. St. Oran, or Odhran, was the first of the christian community buried in the Island, "and it is a remarkable fact," says Dr. Reeves, "that the principal and now only cemetery in Hy is called Reilig Orain, after him, instead of the patron saint, and has been so for many centuries." The following is dean Munro's account of this cemetery and its occupants:—"Within this isle of Columkill there is ane sanctuarie also, or kirkzaird, callit in Erische Religoran, whilk is a verie fair kirkzaird, and weill biggit about with stane and lyme. In this sanctuarie ther is three tombes of stane formed like little chapels, with ane braid grey marble or whinstane in the gavill of ilk ane of the tombes." These three flags, or slabs, bore respectively the inscriptions *Tumulus Regum Scotie, Tumulus Regum Hibernie, Tumulus Regum Norwegie.* In the first tomb are buried forty eight Scottish kings; in the second, four Irish kings; and in the third, eight Norwegian kings. Of these tombs only vestiges now remain, and the "mouldering heap" representing them is locally known as *Tomaire-nan-Righ*, 'the Ridge of the Kings.' "Within this sanctuarie," adds Monro, "alsoe lyes the maist pairt of the Lords of the Isles with their lyneage, twa clan Lynes with their lyneage, McKinnon and McGaure with their lyneage, with sundrie others, inhabitants of the haill Isles." The oldest tombstones found by Dr. Reeves were two bearing Irish inscriptions. "Here it is said," he adds, "were buried the Scotch kings, down to Malcolm Ceann-more; here Egfrid, the Northumbrian king was buried in 684; hither were removed the remains of king Godred in 1188 (*Chron. Mann*), and of Haco Ospac in 1228 (*Ibid*). Of these kings no monuments remain, and the chief part of the interesting tombstones that are found there, belongs to Clanns Finnguine, Gilla-Eoin, and Guaire, since known as the McKinnons, McLeans, and McQuarries, whose pedignees still preserved, attest their noble extraction." (Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves, p. 418.) Referring to the wanton neglect of the human remains in this sacred place, a Scottish writer expresses himself as follows:—"It is, indeed, astonishing that the noble and ancient families above-mentioned, as connected with these remains, do not insist with the Duke of Argyle (the owner of the Island), either upon effectually preserving the bones and monuments of their ancestors from violation, or allowing them to carry them off to their present family vaults. This is peculiarly incumbent upon the Macdonnells, Macleans, Mackinnons, Macleods, and Macquarries." (James Macdonald's *Hebrides*, p. 706). This was written in the year 1811, but, so far as we know, the families referred to paid no attention to the writer's remonstrance.

among whom may be mentioned St. Ronan, St. Moluag, St. Munn, and St. Brendan. The last-named is not better known by his saintship, than by his celebrated navigation or voyage in search of the mysterious island of Hy-Brasail.

> "For, as beyond the outstretched wave of Time
> The eye of Faith a brighter land may meet,—
> So did he dream of some more sunny clime
> Beyond the waste of waters at his feet."

Among Somerled's legitimate children, Hugh Macdonald mentions Reginald or Randal, and one daughter, who became prioress of Icolumkill. This lady's name was Beatrix (20), which, perhaps, was not her baptismal name, but the new name given to her in religion, on her joining the order of St. Augustine. Randal Mac Somerled, although a younger son, became in reality the representative of the family, being not only popular in Scotland, but respected on the coasts of Ulster, where he appeared at times as a peace-maker among the northern Irish chieftans. If, however, he bore this character on the Irish coast, his sons occasionally came on a very different mission. At the year 1211, the Annals of the Four Masters and the Annals of Loch Cé inform us that "Thomas Mac Uchtry (of Galloway) and the sons of Raghnall, son of Somhairle, came to Doire-Cholium-Chille (Derry) with seventy ships, and the town was greatly injured by them. O'Domhnaill and they went together to Inis Eoghain, and they completely destroyed the country." From Randal's two sons, Donnell and Rorie, arose two great leading families of the race of Somerled, namely that of *Isla* descended from Donnell, and, therefore, patronymically styled Macdonnells; and that of *Bute*, descended from Rorie, and, therefore, patronymically styled Macruari or Macrories. Both the Macdonnells and Macrories used the territorial title *De Insulis*, 'of the Isles,' the latter inheriting from Randal, through his son Ruari, Rorie, or Roderick, not only the island of Bute, and part of Cantire, but several of the smaller islands north of Ardnamurchan Point. See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, p. 18.

Donnell, from whom all the Macdonnells derive their surname, was succeeded by his eldest son, Angus Mor. This prince occupied the island-throne for the long period of half a century. The leading event of his time was the celebrated expedition of Haco, a great and really peace-loving king of Norway, who, at the urgent entreaties of many leading families of the Isles, came southward, with a large force, in 1263, for the purpose of putting an end to certain aggressive movements, which had been commenced by Alexander II., king of Scotland, and were then being actively carried forward by his son, Alexander III. Many of the descendants of Somerled were at that period living under a divided allegiance, holding lands in the Isles from the king of Norway, and on the mainland, from the king of Scotland. The latter, whose power was gradually increasing, could not rest satisfied whilst Norway had any footing whatever in the Isles, this policy being initiated soon after the death of Somerled, when the steward of Scotland, by order of the king, seized the island of Bute. That beautiful and fertile island then changed masters more than once

(20) *Beatrix.*—James Macdonald, *Hebrides*, p. 705, states that in the year 1811, the following inscription was legible on a monumental slab in Iona:—*Behag Nyn Shorle vic Ilvrid Priorissa, i.e.* 'Beatrice, daughter of Somerled, son of Gillabride, Prioress.'

within a few years, and with the large territory of Cantire, became a source of fierce contention between the Scots and Norwegians. In the progress of this dispute, Rorie, the son of Randal, to whom his father had bequeathed Bute with other lands (see p. 10, *supra*) was expelled, the Scots seizing both that island and Arran. Encouraged by his success in this project, Alexander III. commenced an aggressive course against Angus Mor also, who was accused of Norwegian sympathies, and whom, therefore, the Scottish king was determined to expel, as he had expelled his uncle, Rorie. The latter had sought the protection of Haco, carrying with him a missive signed by other leading island-chiefs and lords, promising their adhesion in the event of a Norwegian expedition against Scotland. Haco consented to come, and early in the year 1263, he issued orders for the assembling of his forces at Bergen, towards the commencement of the summer.

The most interesting, as well as the most reliable account of this northern movement, is that which was written two years after its occurrence, by Sturla Thordson, from the narratives of eye-witnesses. This account, contained in the Hákon Hákonson Saga, narrates the events of the expedition with candour, and it thus contrasts very favourably for Norse truthfulness with the inflated announcements of Scottish writers, who represent that Haco's whole fleet and army were annihilated,—the one by storms, and the other by the irresistible onsets of the Scots at the battle of Largs. The latter further represent that Haco and his men were pagans, and that all of them who were slain, were buried where they fell, according to the pagan manner of sepulture! In these absurdities the old Scottish chroniclers were even surpassed by modern Scottish archæologists, who fancied that the traces of early paganism they happened to discover in the vicinity of Largs, had been left there by the men composing Haco's forces. Dr. Munch, after giving an outline of the account contained in the Saga above named, observes:—"We have not deemed it superfluous to give here at some length these particulars of the celebrated battle of Largs, extracted from the plain narrative of the Saga, with a view of removing at least some of the erroneous and almost ridiculous ideas which have prevailed, and still no doubt prevail about it, in Scotland and England. We do not intend, however, to waste many words upon the insane belief of so many amateur antiquarians, that the expedition of king Hácon was not more or less than a piratical excursion in the old pagan-viking style; that the "*warlike*" king Hácon was the last of the vikings; and that the men who fell in the battle were buried as pagans, inasmuch as the cairns, cromleachs, and other sepulchral monuments from the pagan times, discovered at Largs, have been invariably believed to belong to those christian Norwegian warriors, who fought on the 1st and 2nd of October, 1263; an error, the glaring enormity of which, indeed, even the most superficial knowledge of general history (not to speak of ecclesiastical history) might seem sufficient to expose, not to speak of the facts specially recorded, that the king brought bishops and clergymen with him, and that all slain Norsemen were removed from the spot." *The Chronicle of Man*, edited by the P. A. Munch, pp. 122, 123.

The truth is that Haco's force, instead of being annihilated at Largs, was simply repulsed, the Scots permitting the Norwegians, after the battle, to land again, and burn three ships that had been stranded. Not over fifteen hundred Norwegians were at any time engaged; and, of these, not more than two or three hundred were slain. All the slain were collected before the ship-burning commenced,

and carried to the island of Bute for interment. The slaughters that had been, perhaps unnecessarily, perpetrated at other places, were done by those island-princes and chiefs who had joined Haco. Thus, the Saga relates that Haco entrusted a number of his ships to Angus Mor of Isla and his kinsmen, Allan and Dougall, the sons of Rorie, who first sailed into Loch Long, ravaging the adjoining country, and afterwards laying waste the banks of Loch Lomond, with the whole country of Lennox. It is said, also, that Angus Mor even crossed the district from thence to the neighbourhood of Stirling, killing the inhabitants and carrying off vast numbers of cattle. If the Norwegians had been so thoroughly defeated at Largs, it was remarkable that the Scottish king did not retake a single island, or dislodge Haco's adherents from any of their positions on the coasts. On the contrary, Haco restored Arran and Bute to the Macrories, and confirmed Angus Mor of Isla in the possession of several lands anxiously coveted by the Scottish monarch. Haco died on his voyage home at the Orkneys, and his son and successor, Magnus, entered into an amicable arrangement with Alexander III. on the vexed question of the Isles. In consideration of an annual sum, or tribute, to be paid by Scotland to Norway, the latter consented to abandon all future claims,—such subjects of the Norwegian crown as wished to depart from the Hebrides having full liberty to do so, with all their effects ; and such as wished to remain, becoming subjects of the Scottish crown from the day on which the treaty was signed. To the latter class king Magnus addressed a formal mandate, requiring them thenceforth to serve and obey Alexander III. It was further and finally arranged that no Islanders who had joined Haco should suffer punishment or be disturbed in their possessions. See Gregory's *History of the Highlands and Isles*, p. 21.

Hugh Macdonald of Sleat describes Angus Mor as of "a very amiable and cheerful disposition, and more witty than any could take him to be by his countenance." He married a daughter of sir Colin Campbell, of Glenurchy, (21) and by her left one son, also named Angus, more familiarly known as Angus Oge, or young Angus, during the lifetime of his father. This Macdonnell was an active and unwearied supporter of Robert Bruce, during the great struggle for Scottish independence. After the disastrous battle of Methven, Bruce sought a hiding place for a time with Angus Oge, who concealed him first at his castle of Saudell, (22) in Cantire; then in his more

(21) *Of Glenurchy.*—This laird of Glenurchy was the celebrated Colin Mor, from whom his representatives, the earls and dukes of Argyle, were known in the Highlands and Isles by the Celtic title of *Mac Chaillean Mor*, corruptly written Mac Callum More. His tombstone, a narrow and much dilapidated old slab, may still be seen in the churchyard of Kilchrenan, a parish lying on the shores of Lochawe. The Breadalbanes, another great family of the Campbells, are the representatives of a later line of the lairds of Glenurchy, sir John Campbell, the tenth laird, being created an earl in 1681. His grandson, the fourth earl of Breadalbane, was advanced to the dignity of a marquis in 1816. The district known as Glenurchy lies between Perthshire on the east and a line uniting the northern extremities of Lochawe and Loch Etive on the west. This rugged and picturesque region was the principal rendezvous for the wild but cruelly-treated Clan-Gregor, whom the Campbells were mainly instrumental in exterminating. William Bowie, an old chronicler of the Campbell family, refers with pride to the fact, in his *Black Book of Taymouth*, that eighteen of the Macgregors were hanged in one day, remarking that Alaster Roy M'Gregor, the chief, "wes hung on ane pyn about ane eln highar nor the rest," and that the gallows "wes made eftir the forme of ane croce, and callit thaireftir M'Gregouris gallous, bothe becaus it was maid of sett purpose for thame, and for that thair wes so monie at ones hangit thairon." See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 139.

(22) *Saudell.*—This castle, portions of which are still kept in tolerable preservation, was originally one of the residences of the island-kings, and afterwards occupied by the bishop of the Isles for the time being. It stands at the head of the beautiful Glen-Saudell, on the eastern coast of Cantire, and commands a magnificent prospect, including the picturesque island of Arran.

secure fortress of Dunavertie, (23) on the Mull; and when, at last, even this latter retreat became unsafe, Macdonnell hurried away the distinguished fugitive across the channel to the little island of Rathlin. In dean Monro's *Description of the Western Isles*, we have the following notice of this retreat where Bruce, after a series of perils and hair-breadth escapes, at length was able to rest securely from his enemies :—"On the south-west frae the promontory of Kintyre, upon the coast of Ireland, be four myle to land, layes ane iyle callit Rachlaine, pertaining to Ireland, and possessit thir mony yeirs by Clan Donald of Kintyre, four myle lang, and twa myle braide, guid land, inhabit and manurit." At the time of Bruce's visit, Rathlin belonged to the lordship or kingdom of the Isles, and so continued until the surrender of that kingdom to the Scottish crown in the year 1476, when it became a part of the possessions held by the Macdonnells of Isla and Cantire. Although naturally belonging to Ireland, from its proximity to the Irish coast, it was early claimed as a Scottish island—one of the Ebudae or Hebrides—until a branch of the Macdonnells settled here permanently in the sixteenth century. At the latter period it was held by Alexander, and afterwards by his eldest son, James, whose grant of extensive lands in Cantire and elsewhere, by Mary Queen of Scots, included the non-entry and other dues of the £20 lands of *Rawcherne* on the coast of Ireland. (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 25.) On James Macdonnell's death, Rathlin was claimed and held by his brother, Sorley Boy, and was subsequently included in grants from the crown to his son, Randal, first earl of Antrim. About the year 1616, Angus Macdonnell of Cantire claimed it back again as belonging to Scotland, and the question was formally discussed between the two governments, when sir Arthur Chichester was lord deputy of Ireland. His doctrine on the question was, that it would be exceedingly impolitic to admit that Rathlin was a Scottish island, for the following, among other reasons :—"If it be of Scotland, we, who have served the crown, have runne into greate errore, for in tyme of the rebellion, we often wasted it, and destroyed the inhabitants by the sworde, and by the halter, as we did the rebels of Ireland; soe did sir John Perrott in the tyme of his government, of which noe complainte was made by anie subject of Scotland." See *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xxxi., p. 223.

In reference to the good services that had been rendered to Bruce, by Angus Oge, at his castles of Dunavertie and Rathlin, there is the following passage in Barbour's poem of *The Brus*, Jamieson's edition, p. 63 :—

"And Angus off Ile that tyme was syr,
And lord and ledar off Kyntyr.
The king rycht weill resawyt he;
And undertuk his man to be:
And him and his, on mony wyss,
He abandowynt till his serwice.

(23) *Dunavertie.*—Traces of this very old and exceedingly strong fortress may still be seen on a precipitous rock at the mouth of the Coniglen, overhanging, and nearly surrounded by the sea, opposite the little island of Sanda on the south-eastern coast of Cantire. When king Haco's ships appeared off Dunavertie in 1263, the Scottish knight, who held it for Alexander III. of Scotland, was compelled to surrender, and Haco thereupon placed Guthorn Bakkakoff in the castle as governor. The Norwegian king afterwards restored it to Murdoch, a kinsman of Angus Mor, who had held it previously to its seizure by the Scottish king. See *The Chronicle of Man*, edited by A. P. Munch, p. 116.

And for mair sekyrness, gaiff him syne
His castell off Donavardyne.

. . . . . .

And in Donavardyne dayis thre
For owtyne mair, then duellyt he.
Syne gert he his mengye mak them yar,
Towart Rauchryne, be se to far.
That is ane ile in the se,
And may weill in myd watter be
Betwix Kyntyr and Irland,
Quhar als gret stremys ar rynnand,
And als peralous, and mair,
Till our saile thaim into schipfair,
As in the race off Bretangye,
Or strait of Marrock in to Spayne." (24)

Barbour states that Bruce was accompanied to Rathlin by a force of three hundred men, that the inhabitants of the island on seeing so many soldiers were panic-struck, the women rushing about with loud cries, whilst they assisted the men to collect their cattle and drive them for safety to a "rycht stalwart castell."(25) Bruce instantly took means to assure the people that he came not as an enemy but as a friend, and when they discovered who he was who thus sought protection amongst them, they acknowledged him cordially as their rightful king, and—what was no doubt equally agreeable—they provided food for his formidable party of associates. On the memorable day of Bannockburn, Angus Oge brought ten thousand men into the field, and fought most valiantly by the side of Bruce. Angus and his Islesmen were placed on the right flank of the army, and as a permanent mark of distinction for the gallantry and effect with which they wielded their battle-axes, Bruce assigned to him and his descendants the same honourable position in the royal army on all future occasions. From the time in which Angus Oge joined the party of Bruce, so early as the year 1286, his loyalty never faltered, even when the fortunes of the king became at times apparently hopeless. During the struggle, the Macdougalls, lords of Lorne, (26) who were closely

(24) *To Spayne.*—For a very interesting account of Rathlin, and the perilous currents of the channel around it, see Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 288—292; see also Dr. Hamilton's *Letters* on the Antrim coast, No. II. For various forms of the name of the island, see Dr. O'Donovan's note in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i. p. 315. In an old historical Tract relating to events of the first century, and known as the *Battles of Conghal Claringneach*, the island of Rathlin is named *Inis na mbarc*, or, 'the Island of ships.' In the well-known Irish historical Tract entitled the *Tain Bo Chuailgne*, or 'Cattle-spoil of Cooley,' Rathlin is called Rigdonn. These are probably the earliest recorded names of the island. See O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, pp. 38, 261.

(25) *Stalwart castell.*—For a short notice, by M'Skimin, of the remains of this fortress, known as *Bruce's Castle*, in the island of Rathlin, see *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., pp. 25, 26.

(26) *Lords of Lorne.*—The Macdougalls defeated Bruce on the field of Dalree. Alaster Macdougall, son of John of Lorne, grappled with Bruce during the battle, and being a gigantic warrior, would have captured the future hero of Bannockburn, had not the plaid of the latter given way in the clutch of his very formidable antagonist. This plaid, and the brooch which fastened it, were long preserved by the Macdougalls, in their generations, as a proud trophy of their ancestor's prowess. In the year 1647 their castle, so romantically situated on the island of Kerrara, opposite Oban, was seized by a detachment of the Covenanting army, commanded by an officer named Campbell, of Inverawe, who plundered the place, and among other valuables, carried off the famous *Brooch of Lorne*. This precious relic remained in the family of Inverawe until the year 1826, when it was purchased by general Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and generously restored to John Macdougall of Dunolly castle, the representative of that Alaster Macdougall by whom it was originally captured from Bruce. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 118.) The whole territory of Lorne passed from the Macdougalls by the marriage of an heiress of their house with one of the Stewarts. The following account of the marriage, by which the

connected by inter-marriages with the Comyn and Balliol party, fiercely arrayed themselves in opposition to the claims of Bruce. On the forfeiture of the lands belonging to the Macdougalls of Lorne, Bruce amply rewarded the loyalty of Angus Oge, by granting him the isles of Mull, Jura, Coll, and Tiree, the possession of which had been previously disputed between Angus and Alaster, lord of Lorne. In addition to these islands, Angus obtained the one-half of the lordship of Lochaber, forfeited by the great family of Comyn, together with lands in Morven and Ardnamurchan that had been in possession of the crown for some time prior to the commencement of the struggle.

Angus Oge married a lady of the then great family of O'Cahan (27) in Ulster, and being anxious to plant with settlers some portions of his lands, he accepted, as a tocher or dowry with his wife, seven score men out of every surname found in O'Cahan's territories. The following is Hugh Macdonald's reference to this transaction, which is curious, as preserving the names at least of a few of those who were then transferred from the fields of Antrim and Derry to their new homes throughout the Highlands and Isles of Scotland :—"The portion or tocher he had by her was seven score men out of every surname under O'Kane, viz., The Munroes, so called, because they came

Campbells afterwards became possessors of Lorne, is contained in William Bowie's *Black Book of Taymouth*:—"Imprimis Duncan Campbell commonly callit Duncane in Aa, knicht of Lochow, floorisched in king David Bruce his dayis, and was lineallie descendit of ane valeant man, surnamit Campbell, quha cam to Scotland in king Malcom Kandmoir his tyme, about the yeir of God 1067, off whome cam the house of Lochow. This foirsaid Duncane in Aa, Knicht of Lochow, had to wyffe Margaret Stewart, dochter to Duke Murdoch, on whom he begat tua sons—the elder callit Archibald Campbell, the other namit Colene Campbell, quha wes the first Laird of Glenurquhay, descendit of the houss of Lochow off the name of Campbell. The foirsaid Colene (quha eftirwart wes stylit Sir Colene) receaving from his father, the 20 October, 1432, foirscore marklands lyand on Lochow, mareit to his first wyffe, Mariot Stewart, dochtir to Walter Stewart of Albanie (sone to Isabel duchesse of Albanie and countess of Lennox), quhilk Mariot departit schortlie thereafter without successioune. The said Colene, eftir the decease of his first wyffe, mareit Janet, Stewart, eldest dochtir of Walter Stewart, lord of Lorne, with whom he got in name of tochir guid the auchtene markland of the Brae of Lorne, her father being then alyve. But eftir her said father his decease, the haill lordship of Lorne falling to his thre dochtirs, heretrices thereof, the said Sir Colene, be vertue of his wyffe, eldest of the thre, fell to the haill superioritie of the lordship of Lorne, and first third thereof, extending to tua hundreth and fifty marklandis. The said Colene being tutor to his brother's sone, Colene Campbell (quha wes made first erle of Ergile), he mareit him on the seconde heretrice of Lorne, and thaireftir for the favour he bore to him, and the standing of his house, freelie demitit unto him the superioritie of the haill lordship of Lorne." Cosmo Innes's *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 342, 343.

(27) *O'Cahan.*—The O'Cahans were originally a branch of the Cinel-Eoghain, and thus descended from Niall the great, surnamed of the 'Nine Hostages,' who was monarch of Ireland at the commencement of the fifth century. Niall had seven sons, among whom he divided the territories of Ulster, and to these sons all the old families who sunk into obscurity at the time of the Plantation, and also many who survived that crisis, trace their descent. The O'Cahans, prior to the English invasion, had supplanted the *Cianachta*, a race who gave its name to the present barony of Keenaght, in the county of Derry. "The O'Cahans or O'Kanes were called Oireacht-Aibhne, from Aibhne (son of Diarmid, son of Cumhaige na-Coille), who flourished A.D. 1432, and was the progenitor of nearly all the subsequent chiefs of this family. The chief at this period was Donnell Ballagh, son of Rory, son of Magnus, son of Donough the Hospitable, son of John, son of Aibhne or Evenue, a quo Oireacht-Aibhne, a tribe name by which the chief families of the O'Kanes were at the period designated. He was inaugurated in the year 1598. Fynes Moryson tells a story of the chief of this family. A Bohemian baron called at the court of Dublin Castle, and said, among other things, that he had visited the castle of O'Cane, in the North of Ireland, where he was admitted to see that chieftain's daughters, two of whom, very nymphs in beauty, were sitting round a fire *stark naked*. They bid him sit down on the ground and form one of the company, which he refused to do. Soon after O'Cane, their father, returned from hunting, and addressing the stranger in the Latin language, desired him to take off his clothes and rest. The only covering the chief had on was a large cloak, which he took off on entering the castle, and then he too being *stark naked*, sat down at the fire along with his daughters. It is curious to remark with what intense determination the English Government at this period turned all their force of cannon, musketry, treachery, and satire to overthrow the wilde Irishrie."—(See O'Daly, *Tribes of Ireland*, translated, with Notes by Dr. O'Donovan, p 56, *note*.) The above lying story was never put into circulation by a "Bohemian baron;" but Fynes Moryson, and those who then haunted the "court at Dublin Castle," were capable of originating it. The O'Cahans were not more barbarous than other families of the same noble rank, and of none others in Ulster, or in Ireland, has any such defamatory story been told.

from the innermost Roe Water, (28) in the county of Derry, their names being formerly O'Millans; the Roses of Kilraack; (29) the Fairns, Dingwalls, Glasses, Beatons, so now called, but improperly, that being a French name, whereas they are Irish, of the tribe of the O'Neals, and took the name first from following the name of Beda. Our Highland senakies say that Balfour, Blebo, and these Beatons that came from France, went formerly from Ireland, but for this they have no grounds to go upon; the Macphersons, who are not the same with the Macphersons of Badenoch, but are of the O'Docharties (30) in Ireland; the Bulikes in Caithness, of whom is the Laird of Tollingail, and many other surnames, which, for brevity, we pass over, many of whom had no succession." (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 294). Hugh Macdonald further tells us of Angus Oge, that among the many settlers on his lands, were two brothers named Hector and Lachlin MacGillean, from whom descended the numerous and powerful clan of the Macleans:—"For he gave four score merklands to Hector the older brother, and to Lachlin the younger he gave the chamberlainship of his house. Now these made up the surname of Maclean, for they never had a rig of land but what they received from Macdonald; to the contrary of which I defy them, or any other, to produce any argument; yet they were very unthankful for the good done them afterwards. When the Macdonalds were in adversity, which happened by their own folly, they (the Macleans) became their mortal enemies." *Ibid.*, p. 296.

Angus Oge is described as a "personable, modest man, affable, and not disaffected to king or state. He created Macquarry a thane. He had a natural son, John, by Dugal M'Henry's daughter, she being her father's only child. This John by his mother enjoyed the lands of Glencoe, of whom descended the race of the Macdonalds (of Glencoe). He had his legitimate son, John, who succeeded him, by O'Kain's daughter. He had not many children that came to age. He had a daughter married to Maclean, and that by her inclination of yielding. Angus died at Isla, and was interred in Icolumbkill." (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 296.) This island king expired at his palace of Finlagan, (31) in Isla, in the year 1325; and on his tomb, inside the chapel of St. Oran in Iona,

(28) *Roe Water.*—The river Roe flows through one of the most fertile districts of the county Derry, and falls into Lochfoyle, near Newtownlimavady. This etymology of the surname *Monro* is very questionable, but was no doubt the popular account in the Highlands in Hugh Macdonald's time. In the seventeenth century, the representive of the Munros was sir Robert, a covenanting major-general of the army, sent to Ulster against the Irish of 1641. He was well known as a ruthless soldier, but unsuccessful in his mission to Ulster. For an account of his career, see the *Montgomery MSS.*, new edition p. 168.

(29) *Kilraack.*—There is a history of the Roses of Kilravock written by a clergyman, the Rev. Hew Rose, parson of Nairn, in 1683. He knew nothing, however, or perhaps did not care to know, of their Irish descent. He speaks of them as of Norman descent, the chiefs adopting the fashions of the Norman chivalry in their dress so early as the close of the thirteenth century. The first of the family who owned the estate of Kilravock, on the river Nairn, was Hugh de Rose, who received it as a dowry with his wife, Mary de Bosco, a grand-daughter by her mother of sir John de Byset, lord of Lovat and Beaufort, in the Aird of Altyre in Moray, and of Redcastle and Ardmanoch in the Black Isle. This Hugh de Rose is said to have been the seventh baron in the family, which would imply their high social position from the time of their first settlement in Scotland. In a grant from John of the Isles, in 1460, he is called Huchone de Roos. For much curious information relative to this interesting family of Rose of Kilravock, see Cosmo Innes's *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 437—490.

(30) *O'Docharties.*—The O'Dogherties of Inishowen were of the race of Conall Gulban, a son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. Conall Gulban was converted to Christianity by the preaching of St. Patrick. It is reported that, on his conversion, the saint, as a signal evidence of his favour, inscribed a cross on Conall's shield with the spike of his pastoral staff, the *Bachall Josa*, or 'Staff of Jesus,' recommending Conall to adopt the well-known motto—*In hoc signo vinces.* See O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p 330.

(31) *Finlagan.*—See p. 8, *supra.* This residence was situated on an island of Loch Finlagan, in the parish of Kilarrow, which formed the largest portion of Isla;

the following inscription is still legible—"*Hic jacet corpus Angusii filii Angusii Macdomnill Domini de Ila.*(32).

The lady of Angus Oge Macdonnell survived him several years, and returned to the Irish shore, where she probably dwelt during the remainder of her life. Her christian name has puzzled chroniclers, appearing variously as Ainé or Agnes, Margaret, and Hannah. The first mentioned was, most probably, her correct name. On a Chancery Roll, A.D. 1338, is copy of a safe-conduct, granted to *Agnes*, mother of John of the Isles, protecting her when crossing the Channel to and from Ireland, as often as she wished to do so. *(See Annals of the Four Masters*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, p. 1893, *note).* This lady was married first to an O'Neill, and was the mother of the well-known Brian Balloch O'Neill, half-brother to John of Isla. The latter visited Ulster on two occasions, to assist in getting Brian Balloch accepted as *The O'Neill*, but without success. (See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 294, 299). John of Isla, the eldest son and successor of Angus Oge, was more familiarly known by his Gaelic name of *Eoin na-h Ile*, and the clergy usually styled him the "good John of the Isles," because of his liberality to the church. He married as his second wife Margaret Stewart, a daughter of Robert II., the first Stewart king of Scotland. Hugh Macdonald, speaking of this marriage, and of his several children thereby, says :—"He married Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter to king Robert II., Sir Adam More's daughter being her mother.(33) . . . . . John had by the king's daughter,

The Lords of the Isles had other mansions in Isla, but Finlagan appears to have been the principal one at the period referred to. The remains of this building are still to be seen on the little island in Loch Finlagan; there are traces of a pier also on its shore, and of the houses in which the guards of the island princes dwelt. It is a curious fact that whilst the remains of these princes were carried for burial to Iona, their ladies and children were generally interred in this little island. Here, too, the princes were inaugurated, and held all their important meetings of council. The stone on which they were crowned was a large coarse slab, eight feet square, having an indenture resembling the track of a man's foot in the centre. This stone, and another which answered the purposes of a council-table, were carried off by an earl of Argyle. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 26.) An old Scottish writer, referring to this place, says :—"There the governor of the Isles, usurping the name of a king, was wont to dwell. Neere unto this iland, and somewhat lesse than it, is the Round Island, taking the name from counsell, for therein was the Justice Seate, and fourteen of the most worthy of the countrey did minister Justice unto all the rest, continually, and intreated of the maightie affaires of the Realme, in counsell, whose great equity and discretion kept peace both at home and abroade, and with peace was the companion of peace—aboundance of all things." *Certayne Matters concearninge the Realm of Scotland, composed together, as they were Anno Domini* 1597. published 1603.

(32) *De Ila.*—This is translated—"*Here lies the body of Angus, the son of Angus M'Donnell, Lord of Isla.*" The monument on which the above is inscribed was unbroken in the year 1811, and on it was also carved the picture of a ship with hoisted sails, a standard, and four lions. See James Macdonald's *Hebrides*, p. 703.

(33) *Her mother.*—Elizabeth More or Muir was a lady of the well-known Rowallan family, in the parish of Kilmarnock, her father, sir Adam Muir, being the fifth in descent from David de Moore, the founder of that house early in the thirteenth century. There had formerly existed considerable doubt as to the reality of the marriage between Robert II. and Elizabeth Muir, and all the earlier Scottish historians down even to Buchanan, supposed that their union had not been legalised by marriage. The author of the *Historie of James the Sexth*, however, after quoting from a pedigree of the Muirs of Rowallan, says that "Robert, great Steward of Scotland, having taken away the said Elizabeth, drew to Sir Adame, her father, ane instrument that he should take her to his lawful wyfe, which *myself hath seene*, said the collector (of the Pedigree, Mr. John Lermonth), as also ane testimonie written in Latine by Roger M'Adame, priest of our Ladie Marie's chapell." A charter granted by Robert II. in 1364, proves that Elizabeth Muir was the *first* wife of that king, and refers to a dispensation granted by the Pope for the marriage. This charter was published in 1694, by one Mr. Lewis Innes, Principal of the Scots' College at Paris. The dispensation from Rome referred to in the charter of 1364, was long sought for after the lady's death, and was not found until the year 1789, when it, and a dispensation for the king's marriage with Euphemia Ross, his last wife, were discovered together. There exists also another charter, by David II. "to Robert, great Stewart of Scotland, of the lands of Kintyre; and to John Stewart his son, gotten betwixt him and Elizabeth Moore, daughter of Adam More, knight, and failzeing of him, to Walter, his second brother." Elizabeth Muir is said to have been a very beautiful woman, and to have captivated the high steward during the unquiet times of Edward Baliol, when the former was

Donald,(34) who succeeded him; John More, of whom descended the Macdonalds of Kintyre Antrim, Sanay, Leargy, and Isla. (35) He had Allister Carrick, of whom descended Keppoch, and the Macdonalds in the Braes of Lochaber,(36) which I hold to be the third noblest branch of the Macdonalds, in order of their descent, as being legitimately begotten before the rest.(37) John had a daughter by Lady Margaret Stewart, married to Montgomery of Eglinton, who had Macdonald's arms in their house for a long time, till of late years a countess in the family removed the bloody hand out of the arms, because it held a cross, she being a rigid Presbyterian."(38) *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 297, 298.

John of Isla allied himself with the English against his nearer neighbours, the Scotch; and, forgetful of the generous treatment he had always experienced at the hands of David II., this island-king appeared at the head of his Highlanders and Islesmen, to make certain warlike demonstrations against the peace of Scotland, with the object of embroiling its political affairs at the instigation of England. Although, however, an outward reconciliation took place, Scottish statesmen were thus made

often obliged to seek safety in concealment. It is supposed that Dundonald castle was the "scene of king Robert's early attachment and nuptials with the fair Elizabeth." From this union are descended, through their daughter, Margaret Stewart, the Macdonnells of Antrim; and through their sons, not only the race of our British sovereigns, but also of several crowned heads in Europe. For an account of the Muirs of Rowallan, see Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 182, 194.

(34) *Donald.*—This island-prince is familiarly known in Scottish history as *Donnell of Harlaw*, from the fact of his having defeated at Harlaw, in 1411, an army sent against him by the duke of Albany, then regent of Scotland. Of this royal army, the earls of Marr and Buchan were the commanders, and under them the lords Marischall and Erroll. Donnell of the Isles had married Mary Leslie, a daughter of William Leslie, earl of Ross, and soon after his marriage his wife became rightful heir to the great earldom of Ross, by the death of her niece, Euphemia Leslie, whose mother was a daughter of the duke of Albany. The latter claimed the earldom for his second son, John, earl of Buchan, but Donnell of the Isles determined that it should descend through his wife in his own family—hence the celebrated battle of Harlaw, an obscure place in Garioch, among the Braes of Buchan. Donnell only lost 180 men, whilst of the opposing host there fell 2550, among whom were many Scottish knights.

(35) *And Isla.*—From John Mor, of whom we shall have more to say in a subsequent chapter, there descended many distinguished families of Macdonnells, of whom those mentioned above are only a few of the leading branches. His descendants, when associated, formed the *Clan-Ian-Vor*, or 'family of John Mor', the principal element in the great Clandonnell South, whose movements were so important on both the Scottish and Irish shores.

(36) *Lochaber.*—This Alexander, surnamed *Carrach*, or 'Scarred,' was the founder of the great family of the Macdonnells of Lochaber, of which Keppoch was the chief or representative. "In the Chartulary of Moray, an authentic deed of the year 1398, he is described as *Magnificus vir et potens, Alexander de Insulis dominus de Lochaber.* He was forfeited for joining an insurrection in 1431, but his descendants continued to hold the Braes of Lochaber, although never formally restored to their possessions. Alexander or Alaster Carrach's grandson was called Alaster Mac Angus, and from him the clan was styled *Sliochd Allaster Vic Angus;* and from Ranald, a grandson of the second Alaster, it was often called also the Clanranald of Lochaber. The later chiefs were styled Macranalds of Garragach and Keppoch, their Gaelic title being *Mac Mhic Raonuill, i.e.*, Mac Vic Ranald, or the son of Ranald's son. See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, pp. 63, 64.

(37) *Before the rest.*—The *first* noblest branch, of course, were the descendants of Donnell, eldest son of John of Isla and Margaret Stewart; the *second* noblest were the representatives of the second son, John Mor; whilst the third noblest was the house of Keppoch in Lochaber, as founded by Alexander or Alaster *Carrach*, the third son of the same parents. This was rather an invidious statement on the part of Hugh Macdonald, however, as it implied that several other clans in his time—still powerful and very proud—had descended from illegitimate progenitors, such as the *Siol Gorrie*, or descendants of Godfrey, the eldest son of Amie Macrory, and the Clanranald of Gamoran, the descendants of her youngest son Ranald, then (1680) the most powerful clan of the Macdonnells in the Highlands, including, as it did, the great families of Moydert, Morar, Knoydert, and Glengarry.

(38) *Rigid Presbyterian.* This marriage of a daughter of John of Isla to one of the Mongomerys of Eglinton is not known to any modern Scottish genealogists, so far as we are aware, or if known, it has not been mentioned. Of the fact there is not much doubt, as this senachie's story is circumstantial enough. The "rigid Presbyterian," who had such a horror of the popish symbol of the cross, was the lady Anne Livingstone, first wife of the sixth earl of Eglinton. She was a good covenanter, and a warm patron of covenanting preachers. To her the well-known John Welsh addressed the following letter whilst minister of Templepatrick, and during the interval between his trial before bishop Echlin at Belfast, and the formal

to feel their danger from England through the island-kingdom on the north, and thenceforth it became their great object to watch every occasion of weakening, and finally destroying it.

The fatal policy of taking part with England instead of Scotland in the quarrels of those kingdoms, was continued by John's successors, so long as the kingdom of the Isles existed. His great-grandson, also named John, brought on by this means the downfall of his principality sooner than it would otherwise have come to pass. In the year 1462, he concluded a secret treaty with Edward IV. of England, at the castle of Ardtornish, by which he, his son Donnell, and his grandson John, bound themselves to assist king Edward, and James earl of Douglas, in the subjugation of Scotland. For this service they were to receive, respectively, in time of war, £200, £40, and £20 sterling, yearly; and in time of peace, 100 marks, £20, and £10 sterling. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 193.) This treaty was kept secret until the year 1475, but from the moment of its discovery, the days of the island-kingdom were literally numbered. John was formally cited at his castle of Dingwall to appear before the Scottish Parliament, summoned to meet in Edinburgh in the December of the year last named. In the meantime, a commission was given to the earl of Argyle to prosecute a decree of fire and sword against him, which induced him to make his submission, and to surrender to the Scottish crown the whole great earldom of Ross, together with the two extensive territories of Knapdale and Cantire. This was a virtual surrender of his island-kingdom, and appeased his powerful neighbours, but only for a time. James IV. of Scotland determined to break up everything in the shape of a confederacy among the Islesmen, and this policy could not be effectually carried out so long as a prince of the Isles, although comparatively powerless, was permitted to retain the title. Accordingly, in the Parliament which met in May, 1493, John of the Isles was attainted, and deprived of his title and all the remaining territories he had held since the surrender of 1476. In the month of January following, this fallen prince appeared before the Scottish king going through the form of a *voluntary* submission for the sake of a pension, and actually remaining some time afterwards in the king's house-

pronouncing of his deposition :—"Madam,—I have made bold to write these few lynes to your Ladyship, haveing the conveniencye of this bearer. I confesse my neglecte in this duetye; but trulie my indisposition and want of ane heart fitt for ane goode duetye hath been my hindrance; but now dead as I am, I adventure, and speciallie being encouraged with good tydings that I have to writte to your Ladyship, which I know will be as refreshing as cold watters to ane wearye and faint person, to wit the Lord's work prospereth gratiouslye in this countreye; it spreadeth abroad (blessed be His name), and notwithstanding the greate opposition, it hath floorischedindeed like the palme tree, and even the last Sabbath in Antrim ane Englishe congregation, the superstitious forme of kneelying at the sacrement putt awaye, and the true paterne of the institution directlye followed, which was ane thinge that we could never looke for in that place. . . Now the Lord worketh more in ane daye than in ten before; and where they flocked before, they flocke ten tymes more, sua that in this litle churche, Sunday was senyght, wee had above 14 or 15 hundreth at the sacrement; and never such ane daye had wee from mornyng to nyght, without faintyng or weariness (prayse to His name). Such motion I never saw—new ones coming in that never knew Him before. Your Ladyship shal be pleased to marque God's wisdome that since the bischop began to question us, there is, I dare saye, above three hundreth that God hath taken by the heart that never knew Him before, and this within the 7 moneths,—upon this condition long may wee be in question, and never may the bischop rest. . . . Wee have gotten tyme yet till May day, and that unexpectedlye contrarye to their purpose, and I hope more good will be done in this tyme, then all the malice of both divels and men will be able to undoe." The writer concludes with a flattering account of lady Eglinton's spiritual condition. For the time till "May day" (granted to Welsh and his brethren, before final deposition was pronounced), they were indebted to the interposition of the learned and not intolerant archbishop Ussher. The letter of which the above are extracts, was dated "Templepatrick, 19th October, 1632," and signed "Mr. Josias Welsh." See Fraser's *Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton*, vol. i., pp. 224, 225.

hold. The English had deserted him in his time of need. He retired to the monastery of Paisley, a religious house that had been often liberally endowed by his ancestors, and there died in 1498, being buried, at his own request, in the tomb of his ancestor, Robert II. (39)

(39) *Robert II.*—The hostile attitude of the Islesmen towards their Scottish neighbours, and the bloody feuds resulting therefrom, originated principally in the crafty and aggressive policy of the house of Argyle. John of the Isles, whose surrender and death are above referred to, left a son, Angus, who soon proved himself a warrior worthy of his name, and who would have probably restored the island-kingdom for a time, had he not been prematurely cut off by assassination. Angus married a daughter of Argyle, and his wife, after her husband's murder, bore a son, whom Argyle, as the instrument of the Scottish king, privately stole from his own daughter, when the child was only three years of age, and kept him a prisoner during almost his entire lifetime,—first at Inchconnell, and afterwards at Edinburgh. (See Macvurich's Manuscript, as quoted by Scott, *Poetical Works*, vol. x., p. 286; *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 317.) When this child became a man, another, and a final effort, was made by the Islesmen to restore their island-kingdom. To negotiate assistance from England they appointed two commissioners, viz., Rorie Macalaster, dean of Morven, and Patrick Maclean, justice-clerk of the South Isles. These commissioners forthwith addressed a long letter to the Privy Council of Henry VIII., containing the following passage explanatory of their hostile policy towards the Scottish kingdom:—"Quharfor zour Lordscheps sall considder we have beene auld enemys to the realme of Scotlande, and quhen they had peasche wyth the kingis Hienes (Henry VIII.), they hangit, hedit, presoned, and destroied manie of our kyn, friendis, and forbears, as testifyis be our maister, the Erll of Rose, the quhilk hes lyin in preson afore he was borne of his modir, and nocht releiffit wyth thair will, but nowe laitlie be the grace of God. In likewyse, the Lord Maclane his fader was cruellie murdessit under traist in his bed in the toun of Edinbruch, be Schir Jhon Campbell of Calder, brodir to the Erlle of Argyll. The captaine of Clanrannald, this last zier ago, in his defence, slew the Lord Lowett his sone and air, his thre breither, with 13 scoir of men. And manie uther cruell slachter, burnyng, and herschep, the quhilk war lang to wrytte." (*State Papers*, vol. v., pp. 503, 504.) The above-named commissioners were appointed by the leading island lords who signed, or rather had their names signed for them as follows:—

Allan M'Lan of Torlosk.
Gillegană M'Nell of Barray.
Ewin M'Kīnā of Straquhordill.
Jhon M'Quore of Wlway.
Alex. Rānaldson of Glegare.
Angus Rānaldson of Knwdeort.
Jhon M'Lan of Ardgor.
Donald M'Lan of Kengerloch.
Hector Macklayn Lord of Doward.
Jhone Cowdwart M'Allestyr Capta of Klaneronill.
Rore M'Kloyd of Lowis.
Allexadr M'Cloyd of Downevegane,
Mowrdowcht M'Clane of Lowchbowe.
Angas M'Conill Brudr. Jarme to James M'Conill.
Archebald M'Conill Capta of Klane-Howstowne.
Allexadr M'Cane of Armourche.
Jhone M'Clane of Cole. *State Papers*, vol. v., pp. 477, 478.

CHAPTER II.

THE LORDS OF ISLA AND THE ANTRIM GLENS.

OHN MOR MACDONNELL, the second son of Eoin na-h Ile, or John of Isla, and grandson by his mother of Robert II., came to the Antrim Glynns for a wife. The lady by whom he was attracted hither was young, high-born, handsome, and an heiress. Margery Byset—for such was her name—represented an old and noble family, descended from Greek progenitors. They had come to England with William of Normandy, and removed thence to Scotland at some later period. The Bysets became rivals of the De Galloways, earls of Athol; and in the year 1242, Patrick, the youthful and popular earl of Athol, son of Thomas, son of Rowland, son of Fergus de Galloway, was found dead in his bed-chamber at Haddington, and the house set on fire, so that his death might appear to have been the result of accident. The Bysets, being known to cherish hostile sentiments towards the murdered earl, were suspected, and although they were able to produce many witnesses, including the queen, who gave exculpatory evidence, they were nevertheless condemned to banishment from Scotland.(1) Indeed, John and Walter Byset narrowly escaped with their lives, and only succeeded in saving themselves by a solemn oath that they would go on a crusade to the Holy Land, and continue to dwell there during the remainder of their lives, praying often and fervently, at certain specified shrines, for the soul of the deceased earl. That they might be able to raise and equip a respectable force or following on their journey, they were permitted to sell their extensive lands, and their vast accumulations of stock and chattel property. They felt out-

(1) *From Scotland.*—There were two great families of the Bysets situated respectively in the north and south of Scotland, during the reign of William the Lion, but the male line of the northern branch failed with sir John de Byset of Aird, and the southern house was soon afterwards dispersed by the event referred to in the text. Sir John of Aird left three daughters. From Mary, the eldest, who inherited Lovat in the Aird, are descended the Frasers of Lovat; Cicilia inherited Altyre in Moray, and became the wife of a Fenton; and Elizabeth married sir Andrew de Bosco, and had, among other lands, as her marriage portion, the estates of Redcastle in the Black Isle, and Kilravock on the banks of the river Nairn. (See p. 16, *supra*, *note.*) Of the catastrophe which befel the southern Bysets, the following is a summarised account:— "In 1242, Patrick, Earl of Athol, of the highest blood and kindred of Scotland, and himself a gallant youth, after a great tournament at Haddington, was treacherously murdered, and the palace where he slept, in the west end of the High Street, was burned to conceal the manner of his death. The Bysets were generally believed to be the instigators of the murder, from an ancient feud between the houses; and suspicion fell especially on Walter de Byset, an officer in the Queen's household, and who had prevailed with the Queen to spend four days at his castle of Aboyne on her journey south from Moray, at the very time when the Haddington tragedy happened. Byset had the support of both sovereigns, the Queen especially offering herself ready to make oath to his innocence; but the friends of the murdered earl were too powerful, and (perhaps) the proofs of guilt too strong. The southern Bysets were banished, and obliged to take a vow to join the crusade, and never to return from the Holy Land. On this condition, apparently, they saved their lands and goods, or were allowed to dispose of them. They seem to have migrated to Ireland. *Quorum posteritas Hiberniam inhabitat usque nunc.* Fordun, ix., 59–61." (See Cosmo Innes's *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 438, *note.*) The murdered earl of Athol was son of Thomas, styled *Mac Uchtraigh*, or Gothred, after his maternal grandfather of that name. See p. 10, *supra*; see also Camden's *Britannia*, translated by Gough, vol. iv., p. 134.

raged at being punished at all, and doubly so, by the terms thus imposed upon them. Instead, therefore, of going meekly eastward, they turned their faces westward, cursing Scotland, and seeking a home on the Irish shore. They carried with them means sufficient to establish themselves in their former position as territorial lords, by the purchase of extensive lands on the Antrim coast from Richard de Burgo, earl of Ulster. Before the close of the thirteenth century, the leading family of the Bysets held the seven lordships of the Glynns; and a century later, the sole heir to this great property was Margery Byset abovenamed (2) She was the fifth in descent from John, the first settler, and daughter of Eoin Byset, surnamed *Finn* or 'Fair,' who was slain near Carrickfergus by the followers of sir Robert Savage, whom he had treacherously put to death. (3)

Of Margery Byset's mother, who died in the year 1387, there is the following very honourable mention in the Annals of the Four Masters:—"Sabia, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, the choice woman of the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages (4) in her time, and wife of John Bisset died after penance." The Annals of Clonmacnoise speak even more warmly of this lady's character, as follows:—"Sawe, (5) daughter of Hugh O'Neill, and wife to Owen Mac Bisset, a lady that far surpassed all the ladies of the Clanna Neill, in all good parts requisite for the character of a noble matron, died." This woman, so nobly distinguished in her generation, appears to have left but one child, Margery, who was married about the year 1399, and with whom the seven lordships of the Glynns passed into the family of the Macdonnells of Isla. Her marriage with John Mor is mentioned by Duald Mac Firbis as follows:—"Eoin, who is also called Eoin a-Hile, and Eoin More, the second

(2) *Abovenamed.*—Hugh Macdonald gives the following account of John Mor Macdonnell's marriage:—"Now, John More married the heiress of the Glens in Ireland, being John Bisset's daughter, the fifth in descent from the Bisset who was banished from Scotland for the slaughter and murder of Walter Cumin, earl of Athol, and although the queen and some of her train attested that he was among the residue of her attendants the night on which the murder was committed, yet the Cumin was such a potent name, that he was forced to leave the kingdom for Ireland, where he procured a good estate for himself." (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 303.) Several Scottish chroniclers besides Macdonald erroneously supposed that the earl of Athol was a Comyn.

(3) *Put to death.*—The following is the record of this affair in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 1383:—"A great army was led by Niall O'Neill, with his sons, and the chieftains of the Kinel-Owen, into Trian-Chongail, against the English; and they burned and totally plundered many of the towns. The English of the territory assembled to oppose them. Hugh O'Neill and Raibilin Savadge met each other in a charge of cavalry, and they made two powerful thrusts of their spears into each other's bodies. Raibilin returned severely wounded to his house, where Mac Eoin Bisset killed him; and Hugh O'Neill died the third day afterwards of the effect of his wound: and Mac Eoin Bisset, he was killed by Riabilin's people the third day after the killing of Raibilin himself." The christian name Raibilin was anglicised Robert, a name in very common use among the several families of Savage. The descendants of another and later Eoin Bisset were known as Mac Eoins, now M'Keowns.

(4) *Nine Hostages.*—Niall O'Neill was surnamed *Niagiallach*, from the nine hostages he was said to have taken,—five from the five provinces into which Ireland was then divided, and four from Alba, or Scotland. O'Flaherty observes on this title, that although it is unanimously accorded to Niall, accounts disagree on the nine regions from which the hostages were taken; the maritime parts of Gaul and Great Britain are mentioned as being the foreign dependencies, which probably is true as far as Alba is concerned; but in other countries the hostages taken were all the plunder and captives that the hordes of Niall could stow into their boats or currachs. "Perhaps the nine hostages could be found within the coasts of Erin, which, at that period, contained more than that number of half independent principalities,—two Munsters, three Connaughts, Eiremonian and Irian Ulster, and two, if not more Leinsters. Political Ireland remained to the twelfth century nearly as Niall left it. *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 177." *Cambrensis Eversus*, translated with Notes, by Kelly, pp. 495, 496, *note*.

(5) *Sawe.*—This is another form of *Sabia* used in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Sabia is the latinised *Sadhb*, pronounced Sawe or Soyv, still a pretty general name for women of native Irish race. Dr. O'Donovan states that it is now almost invariably anglicised *Sally*, to which it bears no analogy." See *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated with Notes, by O'Donovan, Introduction, p. 60.

son of Angus Oge, had to wife Maria Bised, daughter of Mac Eoin Bised, a Greek family, which came in with William the Conqueror, and it was by her that the seven lordships of the Glens came to the Macdonnells." (See *Pedigree*, Appendix I.) In 1586, sir Henry Bagenall wrote a *Description of Ulster*, referring, in the following terms to this marriage alliance, and to the right thus derived by the Macdonnells as lords of the Antrim Glynns :—"These (the Glynns) were sometyme the inheritance of the Baron Misset (Byset), from whome it descended to a daughter, who was married to one of the Clandonnells in Scotland, by whome the Scots now make their claim to the whole, and did quietly possess the same many yeares."

At the period of this marriage, the Antrim Glynns had the character of being densely wooded, which indeed is implied in the general name of the district. (6) They were thus hardly so attractive perhaps as they now appear, although much more desirable as hiding-places for Scottish refugees. (7) It is admitted, even by those who have had opportunities of visiting other lands, that the picturesque beauty of this district is, in some respects, unrivalled. Each glen is found to possess its own peculiar charms, whilst throughout all, the same leading characteristics are apparent. The principal glens open on the sea at irregular intervals, along the line of coast between the little towns of Glenarm and Ballycastle, and extend inland among the hills in winding courses of several miles. A little stream finds its way down the centre of each valley to the sea, now murmuring between piles of grey rock overhung with hoary trees, and again stealing quietly onward through stretches of corn and meadow-land. The overhanging slopes are generally occupied by small but well-cultivated fields, in almost every variety of shape and size, and fashioned, apparently, more by the influence of time and chance, than by any direct agency of human hands. The humble homesteads to which these fields belong are old-fashioned, badly-planned, and clumsily built, if you will, yet having an air of decent comfort, and even dignity, which modern and more pretentious farmhouses do not often exhibit. From the porches of these quiet habitations, there are magnificent views of the channel, with its rugged, romantic shores ; and many a tale of love and war, of peril and shipwreck, and enchantment, are familiarly rehearsed from generation to generation by the simple inmates. (8)

(6) *The district.*—The general name *Glynns* applied to this region on the coast, originally and simply denotes the 'Woods.' In a very ancient poem, we have the phrase *Geilt Glinnes*, meaning a wild man or woman living in the *woods*. See *Proceedings* of Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii., pp. 184, 190.

(7) *Scottish refugees.*—The Glynns were the more secure as hiding-places from the fact of the then total absence of roads. The intervals between the Glens were, and, in many places, still are, high muirland flats, covered with heather, and full of swamps. Over these were afterwards carried the highways, which, even at the close of the seventeenth century, were very troublesome to pass. The following account of the road from Glenarm to Ballycastle is left us by a wayfarer who passed down it previously to the year 1683:— "From Glenarm he that would coast it to Coleraine goes over the mountains to Red Bay, and must have a guide; or if he keepe the sea neere his right hand, it is very deepe in winter, with some steepe passages very ill to ride up and down. Both ways are not to be commended either in summer or winter. From Red Bay is a very good way to Coshandun, but from thence, over the mountains to Cary, you must have a guide to Ballycastle, and well if you escape: the mountains seem a continual bog, where a man is in danger of sinking with his horse, and the lower way so steepe that your horse climbs very oft—slippery in winter and steep in summer. Once past the moor, there is a very good way to Ballycastle. And so I finish, being extreamely wearie travelling the Last Way." *A Briefe Description of the County of Antrim*, 1683, by Richard Dobbs. See Appendix II.

(8) *Inmates.*—Among the tales thus familiarly told in the Glens is the story of the *Sons of Uisnech*. On the eastern side of Ballycastle Bay, a vast, natural causeway of freestone extends several hundred feet into the water, its southern side sloping down so as to form a sheltered landing-place for small boats. Time immemorial this rock has been locally known as *Carrig-Uisnech*, and with it is associated a tradition identical in all its leading

About the time of John Mor's marriage, he resided in Cantire, where the family had at least two residences, one at the head of Loch Kilkerran,(9) and another near the Mull, known in early times as Dundonnell. (10) The fortress of Dunaverty was not used as a family residence; and, at the period to which we refer (1399), Glen Sauddell castle had passed into the possession of the bishops of Argyle. Immediately after the marriage, the wedded people appear to have visited Isla, where the bridegroom's brother, "Donnell of Harlaw," then resided. During their visit a remarkable incident occurred at the castle of this island-prince. The deposed king of England, Richard II.

features with the historical tale of *Deirdré*, or the *Lamentable Fate of the Sons of Uisnech*, known among the ancient Irish as one of the *Three most Sorrowful of the Tales of Erinn*. (See p. 8, *note, supra*.) Of this tale, three written versions are known to exist—one in the Book of Leinster, another in the Book of Lecain, and a third in a separate paper manuscript. O'Curry suggests, with respects to all ancient Irish compositions of this class, that the more copious versions are, probably, the older ones, and that in cases where the language has been modernised, it is owing to the fact that such versions were the more popular, because the more copious, and consequently the more frequently transcribed. (See *Manuscript Materials* for *Ancient Irish History*, pp. 14, 96, 294, 589, *note*.) The Glens-people have also their traditionary version of *The Children of Lir*, another of the *Three Most Sorrowful of the Tales of Erinn*. Lir, according to this story was a great chieftain who dwelt in the Isle of Man, and who was deeply disappointed because he had not been chosen king of the whole Tuatha De Danann race of Erinn. He married a daughter of the chief or king of the Scottish island of Arran, and by her had four children, viz., a girl named Fionnghuala, and three boys named respectively Aedh, Fiachra, and Conn. On the death of their mother, Lir married her sister, who, being jealous of their father's attachment to these children, struck them, whilst bathing, "with a metamorphosing druidical wand, and so put them into the forms of four beautiful white swans," permitting them to retain, however, their human faculties of reason and speech. In this condition they were doomed to live nine hundred years, until eventually set free by the dawning of Christianity in Ireland, which was to be announced by the sound of St. Patrick's Bell. Of the nine hundred years, the swans were doomed to live three hundred on the Sruth-na-Maoilé, the current of the Mull of Cantire, which proved to them, as might be expected, a most uncomfortable place of residence. According to the local tradition, the storms of the channel frequently drove the swans into the little river known as the Mairge, which falls into Ballycastle Bay, they being eventually liberated by Columbkille! Of course the children looked eagerly for the coming of the time that was to set them free, and Fionnghuala uttered many pathetic lamentations on their imprisonment. Our poet, Moore, has sweetly caught up the spirit of one of these dirges, in the verses from which the following is an extract:—

"Sadly, O Moyle, to thy winter-wave weeping,
Fate bids us languish long ages away;
For still in her darkness doth Erin lie sleeping,
And still doth the pure light its dawning delay."

See the *Atlantis*, vol. iv., p. 132.

(9) *Kilkerran.*—Campbelton is now the name of the little town at Lochhead, but the place is still locally designated *Ceann-loch-Chille-Chiaran* (Kinloch-Kilkerran), a name by which this arm of the sea has been known since the days of St. Chiaran, an Irish missionary, who settled in Cantire about the year 536. The Macdonnells' castle stood at the head of what is the present main street in Campbelton. The site is known as Castle-hill, on which the Presbyterians have built a very common-place church. James IV., when engaged in his grand mission of extinguishing the kingdom of the Isles, rebuilt the Macdonnells' castle, and called it his "New Castle of Kilkerane in Kyntire." In 1536, it was fortified by James V., but soon afterwards retaken by the Macdonnells. The castle was standing early in the last century. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 17.)

(10) *Dundonnell*—This residence stood in the old parish of Killean, or about the centre of the present united parishes of Saddell and Skipness. It was probably built by Donnell, son of Randal, and grandson of Somerled. Here the charters granted to vassals, by princes of the Isles, are said to have run thus:—"I, Macdonnell, sitting upon Dundonnell, give you a right to your farm from this day till to-morrow, and every day thereafter, so long as you have food for the great Macdonnell of the Isles." (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 26.) Another of these grants conveying lands to a chief of the Mackays, is expressed in the following terms:—"I, Donnell, chief of the Macdonnells, give here, in my castle, to Mackay a right to Kilmahumag, from this day till to-morrow, and so on for ever." (Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. ii., p. 241.) These verbal grants were of frequent occurrence among all Celtic peoples, and particularly among the inhabitants of Ireland. (See the *Miscellany* of the Irish Archæological Society, vol. i., pp. 139—143.) Land originally belonged, not to individuals, but communities; and, under such circumstances, there were no grants, either symbolical or written. When individual rights in land came afterwards to be recognised, grants were not at first made in writing, but by a verbal gift in each case, with the use of some appropriate symbol of investiture—such as a sword, a cup, a horn, a dart, and many others that might be named. A knife was a common symbol, the act of delivery of the grant being made by opening and shutting the knife, which was then laid on the altar. A gift of land to St. Grellan by a king of Connaught was conveyed by the grantor presenting the branch of a tree. The lands of Lany in Menteith were held by the grant of a sword. When a Pictish king bestowed lands on the church of St. Andrew, the gift was conveyed by an "altar sod." In all these, and similar cases, the grants were made with imposing solemnity, and the written entries were memoranda of the facts only, and not actual deeds or instruments. See *The Book of Deer*, edited by John Stuart. *Preface*, pp. lxv.—lxviii.

who was then generally believed to have died of starvation in his prison at Pontefract, suddenly made his appearance in the Isles, disguised as a poor traveller. He was at once recognised by Margery Byset, who had met the king on his second visit to Ireland, only a short time prior to her marriage. This recognition was recorded by contemporary Scottish chroniclers, but principally, and earlier than all others, by Andrew Winton, the prior of Loch Leven. The following is his account :—

"Bot in the Out-Ilys (11) of Scotland than
There was travelland a pure man;
A lordis dochter of Ireland,
Of the Bissatis there dwelland,
Wes weddyt wyth a gentleman—
The Lord of the Ilys bruither than.
In Ireland before quhen schee had bene,
And the King Richard thar had sene; (12)
Quhen in the Ilys schee saw this man,
Schee let that she weel kend hym than,
Till her maistere soon schee past
And tauld thar till hym all sa fast
That hee wes that King of Yngland
That she before saw in Irland,
When hee wes tharin before,
As schee drew than to memore."

(11) *The Out-Ilys.*—The Out-Isles were so called to distinguish them from Bute, Arran, and the Cumbraes, that lay *within* the line of the Scottish coasts. All others lying out in the channel, or in the Atlantic, west and north-west of the Cantire and the northern coasts, were called the *Out-Isles*. Thomas Knox, a bishop of the Isles, who succeeded his father, Andrew Knox, when the latter was translated to Raphoe, has left an interesting account of his diocese, drawn up in the year 1626. "The Diocie of the Hebrid Ilandis," he says, "is devydit into the West and North Ilandis. The West Ilandis lyand betwix Cumray in mouth of Clyd till the Row of Ardmarochie (Rue or Point of Ardnamurchan), as thay pass the Muill of Kintyre, extend tham selfis neir thrie hundereth myles in the ocean, and ar devydit in these of the South and of the Northe syde of Kintyre." Those on the south side of Cantire are the Cumbraes, Bute, and Arran. The islands on the north side of Cantire the bishop states to be Gigha, Jura, Isla, Colonsay, Mull, Icolmkill, Coll, and Tiree The North Islands lying between Ardnamurchan Point and Rona are Muck, Rum, Cana, Egg, Sky, Uist, Harris, Lewis, and Barra. (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 122.) These islands are divided also into north and south, the dividing line being Ardnamurchan Point. "The headland of Ardnamurchan is not only the most noted in the parish, but on the whole line of coast betwixt Cape Wrath and the Mull of Cantire, being the westernmost part of the mainland of Britain. From the era of Somerled to the reign of James VI., it constituted a geographical boundary between the Western Isles, which were denominated Northern and Southern, according to their position in respect to this promontory." (*New Statistical Account of Argyleshire*, p. 130) These islands lie scattered opposite the western coast of Scotland, which they shelter from the fury of the Atlantic, and are supposed to have been, at some remote period, parts and parcels of the main land. They are nearly 200 in number, but the very small islands are passed over without note, and, if referred to, are casually mentioned only in connexion with some of larger size adjoining them. The latter amount to 160, of which about one-fourth are inhabited in the summer season. In the last century there were houses on 96 of the islands, but at the present time human habitations could not be found on perhaps more than 60 of them. These islands constitute 31 modern parishes, and are politically connected with the counties of Renfrew, Argyle, Ross, and Inverness. See James Macdonald's *Hebrides*, pp. 8—11.

(12) *Had sene.*—Richard II. visited Ireland twice during his unhappy reign; first in 1394, and secondly in 1399. On the first occasion he mentioned in a letter from Dublin that the people of this country might then be divided into three classes—"The wilde Irishe, or enemies, the Irish rebels, and the English subjects." He received a show of submission from a great number of Irish chiefs, upon whom he forced the honour of knighthood after the English fashion, and who submitted to the infliction with a very bad grace, protesting that they had already been so honoured according to the custom of their own country. The king's act on this occasion, which was intended to have an *anglicising* effect upon the recipients, utterly failed in its object, and no sooner had Richard sailed from the Irish shore than his knights were all in arms against the English yoke. On the occasion of his second visit, in 1399, Art MacMorrough, the representative of the ancient line of Leinster kings, was actively engaged in rebellious courses, and Richard swore by St. Edward that he must have MacMorrough dead or alive! But he did not then know that his own fate had been sealed in England, or that the wars of York and Lancaster had actually begun!

It is further stated that the hapless fugitive was 'wild,' or deranged, when he appeared in the Isles, and that he was forwarded without much delay to the care of the Scottish court, where he found an asylum until the time of his death, in 1419. The prince of the Isles had evidently feared to compromise himself with England, by showing any marked attention to the outcast king, whom he forwarded to Robert III., under the protection of sir John Montgomery. (13) When Richard had previously visited Ireland, Margery Byset was no doubt presented to him, as the daughter of a great northern lord, and she appears to have retained a distinct recollection of the royal face. Her recognition of him through his disguise was a fortunate circumstance for the king, as it proved the means of obtaining for him shelter and protection during the remainder of his life. (14)

John Mor Macdonnell was styled lord of *Dunyveg* and *Glennis*, the former part of this title being the name of the family mansion in Isla, and the latter the name of the Antrim estates acquired through his wife. He was so styled in the year 1400, which was soon after his marriage. He had received from his father 120 marklands of old extent, or about 3,600 acres, in Cantire, and also 60 marklands, (15) or about 1,800 acres in Isla. Hence he and

(13) *Sir John Montgomery.*—This sir John Montgomery was son of sir John of Eaglisham, who, on the death of his father, in 1388, succeeded to the lordships of Eglinton and Ardrossan; Hugh, the elder brother of sir John, having been slain at Otterburn. He, therefore, succeeded his father as the second lord of Eglintoun about the year 1398, and was, no doubt, the chief who married John of Isla's daughter (see p. 10, *supra*), and was thus brother-in-law to Donnell Macdonnell and John Mor, whom he relieved on this occasion from the presence of the unfortunate king Richard. This same sir John Montgomery was one of the leaders of the Scottish army which invaded England in 1402, and he was taken prisoner at Halidon Hall. He was afterwards employed by the Scottish king in various important services, among which may be mentioned his capture of the fortress on Loch Lomond, which was held against James I. of Scotland by sir James Stewart, youngest son of Murdoch, duke of Albany. See Patterson's *Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 232, 233.

(14) *His life.*—The truth of this remarkable story seems to be placed beyond a doubt. Robert III. was the king of Scotland to whose care Richard II. was committed; and he was, no doubt, touched with more than common sympathy by the sad condition of his royal brother. In a manuscript preserved in the Advocate's Library, entitled *Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiæ*, there is the following passage:—"Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, with his nephew, Henry the younger, and many others of the prelates and nobles of England, who fled from the face of Henry the Fourth, came into Scotland to King Richard, at this time an exile, but well treated by the governour." Robert III. had died in 1406, and the "governour" of Scotland here referred to was Robert Stewart, earl of Fife and Menteith, appointed regent during the captivity of James I., who eventually succeeded to the throne in 1424. This governor's chamberlain, when giving an account of his yearly expenditure, in 1408, says:—"Be it remembered, also, that the said lord governour, down to the present time, has neither demanded nor received any allowance for the sums expended in the support of Richard, King of England, and the messengers of France and of Wales, at different times coming into the country, upon whom he has defrayed much, as is well known." At the end of the accounts for the year 1414, is the following observation:—"Be it remembered, also, that our lord the duke, governor of the kingdom (created Duke of Albany) has not received any allowance or credit for the expenses of King Richard, incurred from the period of the death of his brother our lord the king of good memory." The same memorandum occurs at the close of the accounts for 1415; and at the year 1417 is the following more special announcement:—"Be it remembered that the lord governor has not received any allowance for the expenses and burdens which he sustained for the custody of King Richard of England, from the time of the death of the late king his brother of good memory, being a period of eleven years, which expenses the lords auditors of accounts estimate at the least to have amounted annually to the sum of an hundred marks, which, for the past years, makes in all £733 6s 8d." These curiously corroborative extracts were first brought to light by Tytler, the learned author of the *History of Scotland*, of which history see vol. iii., pp. 279—330.

(15) *Marklands.*—"Nothing is more perplexing in Highland charters and rentals than the various denominations of land which we meet with. We meet penny *lands* and their fractional parts, *quarterlands*, *cowlands*, and *marklands*. The penny lands in the Isles are believed to have received that denomination during the occupation of the Isles by the Scandinavians, and they do not appear to have any reference whatever to the proper Scottish denominations. Thus the lands in Ross of Mull, conveyed by this charter (of lands granted to the abbacy of Iona), and denominated *pennylands*, amount in the whole to only fifty-six penny and three farthing lands; whilst by the usual Scottish denominations they were rated to the crown as the *twenty pound*, or *thirty marklands* of Ross." (See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 179.) According to an ancient valuation Isla was divided into 337 half merklands, which, in 1751, were valued at

his successors, were also styled *lords of Isla and Cantire*, a title by which they were more familiarly known in Scotland than the one already mentioned. (16) It would appear that John Mor was dissatisfied with the small portion of his father's possessions which had been assigned to him, and that evil counsellors created jealousies on this point between him and his brother. These jealousies resulted in a civil broil, in which John Mor was defeated, he and his adherents being compelled to make a hasty retreat to the Antrim Glynns. His object in this feud was to obtain from his brother as much of southern Argyle as is comprehended in the district now known as Knapdale; but at the end of the struggle, he seems to have been quite content to accept his brother's pardon, without any additional lands. The following account of this dispute is recorded by Hugh Macdonald, the chronicler of Sleat:—"About this time lived the subtle and wicked councillor, the Green Abbot Finnon, by whose daughter John More had a natural son called Ranald Bane, of whom descended the house of Lairgy. (17) MacLean fostered Donald Balloch, John More's eldest legitimate son, (18) by the Abbot's advice, who told John More that he had but a small portion of his father's

£739 18s 2d. The lands in that island were let so recently as the commencement of the present century according to the old Celtic subdivisions and denominations. The Gaelic *cearbáh* was a quarterland, which was identical with eight groat lands, or thirty-two penny lands, and was commonly rented at from £70 to £80. The *Ochtobh*, or achten part, is half a quarterland, and was rented accordingly. The *leor-theas* was half an Ochtobh, or equal to a plough-land. The *cota-ban*, or groat land, was half a *leor-theas*. The *da-skillin*, a two-penny land, was half a *cota-ban*. On a groat land, or *cota-ban*, the tenant generally kept four horses, and from seven to ten cows. See James Macdonald's *Hebrides*, pp. 624, 625.

(16) *Already mentioned.*—In a writ of the year 1400, John Mor appears with the title of lord of Dunveg and Glennis. He is repeatedly mentioned as an ally of the English, from 1389 to 1396, and designated as above. (Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 63.) In the year 1405, Henry IV. of England appointed John Dougan (who had been a Benedictine monk and bishop of Derry, afterwards of Down and Connor), seneschal of Ulster, and commissioned him, in conjunction with others, to negotiate a peace between Donnell Macdonnell, lord of the Isles, and his brother, John Mor, of the one part, and certain merchants of Dublin and Drogheda of the other part, the latter having twice led harassing forays into Scotland. See D'Alton's *Army List of James II.*, p. 257.)

(17) *House of Lairgy.*—This Randal, or Randal Bane, was the founder of a family which has survived the vicissitudes that swept away almost every other branch of the Macdonnells from the Highlands and Isles. The chieftain of this family, at the disastrous crisis of 1493, was Donnell Macrandal Bane. The family representative, in 1591, was sir James Macdonnell, who escaped the clutches of Argyle in that year as if by a miracle, and made his way to Ireland, where he was kindly received by his kinsmen, the Macdonnells of Antrim, and permitted by them to occupy Clough castle, in the barony of Kilconway, during the remainder of his life. He died there, and was buried in the Antrim vault at Bunnamairge. (MS. *Pedigree of the Macdonnells of Ballypatrick in Culfeightrim.*) His son was restored as laird of Largie after the execution of the marquis of Argyle in 1661. The present family representative is the Hon. Augustus H. Macdonald Moreton, second son of the first lord Ducie, and was M.P. for the county of Gloucester in 1835—1840. He married Jane, daughter of the late sir C. Macdonald Lockhart, whose name he had assumed. (See Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. ii., p. 229, and *note*) Randal, surnamed *Ban*, or "white haired," the founder of this family, was not illegitimate, as stated in the text, but a younger son of John Mor and Margery Byset. This branch of the Macdonnells, descended from him, and known by their sept name of Macrandalbanes, fought gallantly to uphold the kingdom of the Isles against the Stewart kings, so long as fighting was of any avail. At a subsequent period it fought as gallantly *for* the Stewart dynasty, even after that cause had become hopeless.

(18) *Legitimate son.*—The custom of *fosterage* was universal among all Celtic tribes. In that portion of the Brehon laws relating to this ancient custom, the most minute regulations are prescribed respecting the food, education, and unwearying care which foster-children are to receive at the hands of those to whom they were entrusted; and severe penalties were incurred by any neglect of duty in these particulars on the part of fosterers. To receive the children of the chief in fosterage was considered a high honour and privilege by families of an humbler station, for which they were even willing to pay liberally by endowing the foster-child or children thus committed to their charge. Almost all our early Irish chieftains had names added, either from the *persons* with whom they fostered, or the *places* to which they had been sent in youth for this purpose. Thus, one of the O'Neills was called Brian *Fagartach*, from being fostered in Kinel-Fagartaigh, now Kinelarty, in the county of Down; another was Turlough *Brissilagh*, from being fostered in Clanbrassil; a third Niall *Conallach*, being fostered in Tirconnell. One of the Macdonnells was named *Cahanach*, from being fostered among the O'Cahans of Ulster, and another Donnell *Galda*, from being fostered with strangers or foreigners. These are only a few illustrative cases of very many that might be quoted. See *Cambrensis*

estate, and that he should seize upon all that was beyond the point of Ardnamurchan southward. The abbot being a subtle eloquent man, brought over to his side the chief of the MacLeans (19) and Mac Leod of Harris, (20) to get the Islands for themselves from the lord of the Isles, who hearing of the insolence of the new faction, raised some powerful forces, viz. the men of Ross, Mac Leod of Lewis, (21) his own brother Allister Carrick, (22) MacIntosh, (23) Mackenzie, (24) the chief of the Camerons, (25) the Islanders, the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, (26) the

Eversus, edited by Kelly, vol. ii., p. 140, *note;* see, also, *Irish Typographical Poems*, edited by O'Donovan, Introduction, p. 18.

(19) *The MacLeans.*—For the grant from a prince of the Isles to Hector and Lauchlan Maclean, the founders of this clan, see p. 15, *supra.* Hector was a principal officer under Donnell of the Isles at the battle of Harlaw, where he was slain. His great grandson, also named Hector, was chief of the *Clan-Gillean*, or Macleans of *Dowart*, at the time of the forfeiture in 1493, and had lands in Morven, Lochaber, and Knapdale, besides smaller holdings in the islands of Isla, Jura, Mull, and Scarba. The *second* branch were the Macleans of *Lochbuy*, the irrepresentative in 1493 being Eoin or John Maclean. The Macleans of *Coll* were the *third* family in importance, and were descended from Lauchlan above named. The *fourth* great house was that of *Ardgour*, descended also from the same progenitor, Lauchlan. The chiefs of Coll and Ardgour in 1493 were John Abrach Maclean, and Lauchlin Mac Ewin Maclean. See Gregory's *History of Highlands and Isles*, pp. 69, 72.

(20) *Harris.*—The whole Clan-Leod or Macleods are so called from Leod, a common ancestor. They were divided into two great branches, the descendants of Torquil, or Macleods of Lewis, and the descendants of Tormod, or Macleods of Harris. These two divisions became at last two perfectly distinct clans independent of each other. The Macleods of Harris held, under the lords of the Isles, not only their own island, or rather peninsula, but also two-thirds of the island of Skye, comprising the lands of Dunvegan, Duirinish, Bracadale, Lyndale, Trouterness, and Minganish. They continued to hold their estates until the end of last century; but with one or two exceptions, these estates have passed into other hands. See Gregory's *History*, 74, 421.

(21) *Lewis.*—From the year 1344, the Macleods of Lewis held as vassals under the house of Isla. The possessions of this branch were very extensive, comprehending the Isles of Lewis and Rasay, the district of Waterness in Skye, and those of Assint, Cogeache, and Gerloch on the mainland. The principal surviving branches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the families of Rasay and Assint. The Mackenzies, Macleods, and the earl of Seaforth held the island in 1626, the year in which bishop Thomas Knox wrote an account of his diocese. Of Lewis he says that it is "the best and gritest of the Hebrid Ylandis, and is possessit be the earl of Seafort. He refuses my duetie, and denyes any tak." *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 125.

(22) *Allister Carrick.*—(See p. , *supra.*) It would thus appear that the youngest brother took part with the prince of the Isles during the insurrection of John Mor. This Alexander *Carrach*, Hugh Macdonald states, 'refused the country of Trotternish, in the isle of Skye, preferring to it the forest lands of Lochaber, and so received the lands beyond the river Lochy,—Mamore, and Glen Spean." See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 303.

(23) *MacIntosh.*—The MacIntoshes are descended from a MacDuff, thane of Fife, by an illegitimate daughter of Angus Mor Macdonnell, prince of the Isles. (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p 291.) This family grew into the great and powerful Clan-chattan, which held extensive lands in Badenoch and Lochaber. Out of the Clan-chattan grew the *Clanvurich*, or Macphersons. The chief of the latter now claims also to be styled chief of the Clan-chattan, but the family of Mackintosh has the prior claim to that distinction. See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, p. 422.

(24) *Mackenzie.*—At the period referred to (about 1415), the Clan-Kenzie was rising rapidly in power and influence among the neighbouring septs. Being originally vassals of the earldom of Ross, the Mackenzies were required to render fealty to the princes of the Isles from the time of the battle of Harlaw, when Donnell of the Isles established his wife's claim to that earldom. By the forfeiture of that great territory in 1476, the Mackenzies became independent of any superior but the Scottish crown, and soon rose into a leading Highland clan, owing their distinction mainly to their position on the western coast of Ross, and adjacent to the isle of Skye. To their ancient possession of Kintaill they soon added other lands rising, like so many others on the ruins of their former masters, the Macdonnells, and opposing the latter at every opportunity. Kenneth Oge Mackenzie was chief in 1493. His descendant, also named Kenneth, was created viscount Kintaill in 1609 by James VI., and Kenneth's son, Colin, was advanced by the same king to the dignity of earl of Seaforth, in 1623. Another branch was ennobled as earls of Cromarty; and until the end of queen Anne's reign, the Mackenzies, next to the Campbells, were the greatest clan in the West Highlands. The earl of Seaforth was forfeited for joining the first Pretender in 1715, and the earl of Cromarty for joining the second Pretender in 1745. The estates were restored to their families, but the titles were not. See Camden's *Britanuia*, edited by Gough, vol. iv., pp. 185, 186; see also Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, pp. 83, 425.

(25) *The Camerons.*—This celebrated clan had its seat in Lochaber, and was generally associated in its policy with the Macdonnells of the Isles, but occasionally opposed to them. The estates in Lochaber included the lands of Lochiel, Glenluy, Glennevis, Locharkaig, and Mammore. Donnell Duv, one of their most distinguished chiefs, was driven for a time into the Antrim glens—an asylum from his enemies, in 1429. From him the chief of the clan was afterwards known in the Highlands by the title of *MacDhonuill Duibh*, or son of Black Donnell. Gregory's *History of the Highlands*, pp. 76, 77.

(26) *Glenmoristan.*—Urquhart and Glenmoristan, in

Glenco people, (27) and Macneil of Barra. (28) Now John and his party could not withstand the forces of his brother, so leaving Kintyre he went to Galloway. Macdonald followed them. John went from Galloway to Ireland, and remained in the Glens. Donald returned to Isla. John More and his faction, seeing that both they themselves and their interest were like to be lost, unless Macdonald pardoned himself, and spared the rest for his sake, thought it their best course to go to Isla, where Macdonnell resided in Kilcummin. (29) Upon John More's coming into his brother's presence, and prostrating himself on the ground, his brother rose and took him up, and embraced him kindly. This sedition was owing to MacFinnon (30) and his kinsman, the Green Abbot. MacFinnon being found guilty and convicted, was hanged, and the abbot was all his lifetime confined to Icolumkill, his life being spared because he was a churchman, where he built a stately tomb for himself, which is still to be seen." (31) *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 303, 304.

John Mor's brother, Donnell of the Isles, died about the year 1425, at his castle of Ardtornish, in the 45th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, who had not attained his majority at the time of his father's death. His kinsman, James I. of Scotland, had then returned from his long captivity of eighteen years in England, and he appears to have been jealous of the power to which the island-princes had attained by the annexation of the great earldom of Ross. He was surrounded on his return to Scotland by certain members of the royal family, who had been defeated and disappointed in their hopes on the field of Harlaw, and who, therefore, became the deadly enemies not only of Donnell, the victor on that field, but also of his son Alexander, the now youthful prince of the Isles. James and his council soon determined that there should be but one king in Scotland, and as a means of reducing the prince of the Isles, they offered to take his uncle John Mor into their counsels, and even to confer on him the territories which they contemplated taking by violence from his nephew. "In the mean time, the king sent James Campbell to know if John More of Kintyre, Macdonnell's uncle, would consent to take his nephew's lands; but it was

the ancient division of Scotland known as Murray, belonged to the Grants, whose chief residence was Urquhart castle on Lochness. The old region known as Murray, is now divided into the shires of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn.

(27) *Glenco People.*—These were Macdonnells, their founder being an illegitimate son of Angus Oge. One of their chieftains, from being fostered in Lochaber, was surnamed *Abrach*, and from him the Glenco people were known as the *Clan Ian Abrach.* See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, p. 67.)

(28) *Macneill of Barra.*—Bishop Knox says "from the south end of Uist lyethe the yle Bara; this yle is fyve mylles in lenth, tua in breid." The Macneills have owned Barra for at least five hundred years, but their branch has produced no remarkable men, and their history, so far as known, offers little of interest in connexion with that of the islands. (See Gregory's *History of Western Highlands*, p. 423.) Of Barra, dean Monro says that it is "ane fertill and fruitful ile in cornes. Within the south-west end of this ile ther enters a salt water loche, verey narrow in the entrey, and round and braid within. In the middle of the said loche ther is ane castel in an ile, upon a strengthey craige callit *Kilelerin*, pertaining to Mr. Mackneill of Barray." See James Macdonald's *Hebricles*, p. 780.

(29) *Killcummin.*—The name of this residence of the Macdonnells in Isla is more generally written *Kilchoman*, which is also the name of a parish comprising the south-west portion of that island known as the Rinns of Isla, and consisting of a peninsula formed by Loch Gruinart on the west, and Lochindaal on the east, and having the appearance of being an island at some remote period. Near the present village of Kilchoman was the seat or mansion referred to above, and a deep glen adjoining, the island kings are said to have used as an extensive farm yard. See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.* vol. ii., p. 275.

(30) *Mac Finnon.*—The Clanfinnon, or Mackinnons, owned the lands of Mishnish, north and west of Tobermory in the island of Mull; and also the lands of Strathordell, in the island of Skye. Neil Mackinnon was head of the clan in 1515. After the surrender of the island-kingdom in 1476, the Clanfinnon, generally followed the banner of the Macleans of Douart, but occasionally that of the Macdonnells of Sleat.

(31) *To be seen.*—The remains of this tomb, built by the Green Abbot to distinguish his own grave in Iona, are even yet easily recognised by tourists.

a trap laid to weaken them that they might be the more easily conquered. James Campbell sent a man with a message to John of Kintyre, desiring him to meet him at a point called Ard-dhu, with some prudent gentlemen, and that he had matters of consequence from the king to be imparted to him. John came to the place appointed with a small retinue, but James Campbell with a very great train, and told him of the king's intentions of granting him all the lands possessed by Macdonnell. John said he did not see wherein his nephew wronged the king; and that his nephew was as deserving of his rights as he could be; and that he would not accept of those lands, nor serve for them, till his nephew would be set at liberty; and that his nephew himself was as nearly related to the king as he (John Mor) could be. (32) James Campbell hearing the answer, said that he was the king's prisoner. John made all the resistance he could, till, overpowered by numbers, he was killed." *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 308.

James I soon discovered that he had made a serious mistake in thus treacherously planning the capture, or destruction of John Mor. The murder created a deep feeling of indignation throughout the country, especially among such powerful opponents of the king's policy as the Hamiltons, the Douglasses, and the Lindsays. James became ashamed, and at last afraid of the consequences of his own treachery; and by way, if possible, of appeasing public opinion, he protested that he had only instructed Campbell to capture John Mor, at the same time actually giving orders to have the assassin tried for the murder. Campbell on being convicted, strenuously maintained that he had the king's authority for his proceedings, but as he could produce no written order from James, he was executed, his death being intended as evidence of his royal but dastardly master's innocence in the transaction! It was too late, however; the fire had been kindled, and only blood could allay its spreading flames. One feeling of fierce revenge for the cold-blooded murder of John Mor, pervaded the Highlands and Isles, and was rendered more intense by the treacherous capture of Alexander Macdonnell, their youthful and popular ruler. To meet the crisis James bestowed the lands of Lochaber, which had been taken from the Macdonnells, on his own kinsman, Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, (33) who proceeded forthwith to levy an army, which was marshalled in hot haste under the earl of Huntly, (34) Allan, lord Caith-

(32) *As he could be.*—James I. and John Mor Macdonnell were grandsons of Robert II., and thus nearly related. The pretence that John Mor's relationship was closer to the king than that of his nephew, Alexander of the Isles, which must have been made the ostensible grounds for this preference, was too transparent to deceive. This king, James I., was younger son of Robert III.; and younger brother of David the prince, known as duke of Rothesay, who perished of hunger in a dungeon of Falkland castle. James was taken prisoner by the English during a voyage to France, and remained in captivity in England nearly eighteen years. When Robert III. heard of the tragical death of one son, and the captivity of another, he died of grief at Rothesay. James I., on returning from his prison-house in England, ascended the Scottish throne in the year 1424. He married Jean, daughter of John, duke of Somerset, "sonne to John of Gaunt, who bare unto him James 2, and sixe daughters, Margaret wife of Lewis XI., the Dauphine, after king of Fraunce; Elizabeth, dutches of Britayne; Jeane, countesse of Huntly; Eleanor, dutches of Austria; Marie, wife to the L. of Campveere; and Anabella. He was slayne at Perth trayterously by Walter, earle of Athole."—*Realme of Scotland in* 1597.

(33) *Earl of Mar.*—This Alexander Stewart was son of Alexander Stewart, earl of Marr, who fell at the battle of Harlaw in 1411. The latter was an illegitimate son of Alexander Stewart, earl of Buchan, son of Robert II., king of Scotland, whose estate, on account of his bastardy, fell to the king. To compensate his son,—the earl mentioned in text,—James I. endowed him with lands in Lochaber that had belonged to the Macdonnells. The district of Mar, from which these Stewarts had the title of their earldom, now constitutes an important portion of Aberdeenshire. Their well-known, and beautiful residence of Kildrummie adorned with its extensive woodlands the banks of the river Don. Camden's *Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. iv., p. 165.

(34) *Huntly.*—Alexander Seton, created earl of Huntly by James II. This title king James VI. con-

ness, '35) Fraser of Lovat, (36) Mackay of Strathnavern, (37) and the chieftain of the Camerons, who enticed several branches of Macdonnells to join them, by promising that the properties they held under the king of the Isles, would be bestowed on them by James I.

This formidable host encamped in Lochaber, the district more immediately in dispute between the king and the Macdonnells. John Mor's eldest son, Donnell Balloch, a young man only twenty years of age, put himself at the head of the Islesmen and a small force collected in the Antrim glens. Without waiting the nearer approach of the royal army, he hastily put his men on board a fleet of galleys whilst their blood was up, and landed them on the shore of Lochaber, within little more than a mile from the enemy. The Highlanders and Islesmen were animated with the sole idea of avenging the murder of one of their chieftains, and the captivity of the other. (38) Young Macdonnell, on reconnoitering the position of the enemy at Inverlochy, (39) ordered an immediate attack, his men rushing forward with ungovernable fury at the word of command. The Lowland knights, who were very numerous in the royal army, had plumed themselves on the superior armour and discipline of their men, but even this was of no avail against the furious onset of their Highland foes, who wielded their broadswords and Lochaber axes with all the ferocity of northern warfare. At least one thousand men of the royal army were slain, principally in the retreat from the field of Inverlochy, among whom were the earl of Caithness, with sixteen of his personal retinue, together with many knights and barons from the southern counties of Scotland. After this great victory, the Highland host dispersed itself in marauding parties, and when the men got pretty well loaded with

ferred on George Gordon, lord Gordon and Badzenoth, illustrious for his ancient rank and numerous vassals; whose ancestors, descended from the Setons, assumed by act of Parliament the name of Gordon, Alexander Seton mentioned in the text, having married a daughter of sir John Gordon, with whom he received a large estate. The castle of Huntly is in Strathbogie, Aberdeenshire, although the Gordons' title of earls of Huntly is derived from a place of that name in Berwickshire, part of the barony of Gordon, their ancient inheritance. Charles II., in 1684, created George Gordon fourth marquis of Huntly, duke of Gordon. See Camden's *Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. iv., pp. 141, 142, 170, 172.

(35) *Caithness.*—Allan Stewart, lord Caithness, was another kinsman of the king. He was never earl of Caithness, as he is generally styled by Scottish writers. The first earl of Caithness was George Crichton, high admiral of Scotland, who died in 1455. The Sinclairs were afterwards the earls of Caithness.

(36) *Lovat.*—This was Hugh Frazer, created lord Lovat by James I. in 1431, the year of the events referred to in the text. Hugh's second son, Alexander, succeeded to the title and estate, both of which continued in the family until forfeited by the eleventh viscount Simon in 1745; the estate was restored to his son on certain conditions in 1774. The family residence is Castle Dunie on the Firth of Murray. (See Camden's *Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. iv., pp. 178 184.) The Frazers, through a daughter of Sir John Byset, of Aird, obtained their property of Lovat. See p. 21, *supra*.

(37) *Strathnavern.*—Strathnavern takes its name from the river Naver, and is the northern extremity of North Britain. The chief of the Mackays was afterwards ennobled by the title of lord Reay. The district of Reay from which this title was derived, is situated partly in Caithness and partly in Sutherland.

(38) *Of the other.*—The young prince of the Isles, Alexander Macdonnell, was at this time a captive in Tantallon Castle, an immensely strong fortress, which stood above the mouth of the Tine, in Lothian. When he heard of the muster in the Highlands under his cousin Donnell Balloch, he sent a message from his prison encouraging his kinsmen and subjects to face the enemy bravely though they should never see him again. Soon after his release he, also, was compelled to seek an asylum in the Antrim glens, with his cousin Donnell Balloch, where he died about the year 1440, being buried with great pomp, and probably in Bunnamairge, near Ballycastle. (See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 309, 314, 315.)

(39) *Inverlochy.*—"At the mouth of the River Lochy, on its left bank, stand the ruins of Inverlochy Castle, consisting of four round towers 30 feet high, connected by walls about 20 feet high, forming a large quadrangle, and surrounded at the distance of ten paces by a moat eight paces wide." (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 178.) In the original castle here, which has been rebuilt several times, it is said that a Treaty was signed between Achaius, king of Scotland, and Charlemagne. Achaius succeeded to the Dalriadic throne in the year 787. In the *Chronology of the Kings of Scotland*, he is described as a "good, godly, and peaceable prince;" and it is further stated that he "made a League with Charles, the great Emperour, and King of Fraunce, which remayneth enviolably kept to this day" (1603).

spoils, they returned to their native hills and glens, leaving not more than fifty of their comrades in their last resting-places at Inverlochy. Donnell Balloch, and several other leaders, having thus had their revenge, steered their galleys across the channel, and sought rest and security, which they very much needed, in the wooded glens of Antrim. They were soon followed by a despatch from the Scottish king to O'Neill, requesting the latter to seize and send back Donnell Balloch alive or dead. O'Neil, who had previously entered into a treaty with James I. of mutual assistance against England, sent the latter a human head, which was joyously accepted as that of Donnell Balloch by the Scottish court then at Perth. But Donnell still retained possession of his own head, and at the time of this other head's transmission to Scotland, he was actually paying his addresses to O'Neill's daughter, whom he soon afterwards married, and through whose powerful connexions he was restored, without much delay, to his estates in Isla and Cantire.

Although the earlier portion of Donnell Balloch's life was passed in turbulence and political storm, he enjoyed more than an average share of peace from his marriage until the time of his death, about the year 1480. Several Scottish writers represented him as having been actually decapitated by O'Neill; and these same authorities also state that James I. came to Dunstaffnage castle, and there superintended the execution of three hundred of the victors at Inverlochy, whom he afterwards contrived to capture! Referring to these statements, Hugh Macdonald mentions the marriage of Donnell Balloch to "Conn O'Neill's daughter, (40) who was of the Clan-Buys in Ireland, by whom he had all his children." "It is of him," he continues, "that most of the Macdonalds in the south are descended, as those of Antrim and Sanay. (41) Besides that, he had as strong a country as any in Ireland, to protect him from the pursuit of his enemies, the seven proportions of the glens being his property; at the same time he was much more beloved in Ireland than the king of Scots, for generally those Irish who were not very obedient to the crown of England cared very little for that of Scotland; and his own tribe and kindred were so strong, that none durst undertake the beheading of him. Those likewise that say that the king came to Dunstaffnage after the battle of Inverlochy, and that 300 of Donald Balloch's followers were executed, are very much mistaken, for no such thing ever happened, and none of them were ever missed, or as much as

(40) *Conn O'Neill's daughter.*—This lady's father was the Conn O'Neill, whose residence was Edenduffcarrick (now Shane's Castle), and who died there in the year 1482. Conn was son of Hugh Boy, slain in the year 1444. Conn's son was Niall, surnamed *Mor*, who married Inneen Dhu Ny Donnell, probably a sister or near kinswoman of Donnell Balloch. This Niall Mor O'Neill, who died in 1512, was styled Lord of Trian-Congail, a territory including portions of the present counties of Antrim and Down. See new edition of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p 14.

(41) *And Sanay.*—The name of this island, which lies off the south-east coast of the Mull of Cantire, is more generally written *Sanda*. The Northern Sea rovers, who made it a place of frequent rendezvous, named the island Avona or Havin, which Buchanan translated *Portuosa*, or 'having many ports.' The Highlanders still retain its old Norwegian name of Aven or Avona. Pont, the topographer, was among the first to use the modern name of *Sanda*. Dr. Reeves states that the Highlanders' name, Aven, is only another form of the original Irish word *Abhuinn*, and adds—"This being the route by which the early Scotic immigration from Ireland passed over to Alba, the whole district is strongly impressed with social and ecclesiastical features of an Irish character. The language always bore the name of the colonists, and the term Erse of the present day is only a modification of it. The traditional associations of the people all look westward, and the titles of nearly all the adjacent parishes are commemorative of illustrious worthies of the Irish church." (See *Proceedings* of Royal Irish Academy, vol. viii., p. 132; see also *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 9.) Donnell Balloch's great-grandson, Angus, son of John Cahanagh, was founder of the Macdonnells of Sanda. This Angus made his escape to Sanda in 1499, when his father and two brothers were treacherously captured and executed by order of James IV. of Scotland. See *infra*.

lamented in the isles, or in any other place. (42) Besides, they had their choice, in case of being pursued, either to betake themselves to the hills, or to go to Ireland. That Donald Ballich died after another manner can be proved by four contemporary writers, who say that he died on an inch in a loch in his own country, called Lochdunord." (43) (See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 312). To Donnell Balloch, succeeded his son Eoin, also surnamed *Mor*, who married Sabina, the daughter of another Ulster chieftain named Felim O'Neill. (44) This John Mor does not appear to have lived long after his marriage. He was succeeded, however, by a son, also named Eoin or John, called *Cahanagh*, from being fostered in Northern Ulster with the O'Cahans, (45) and who was a warrior worthy of his race.

Immediately after the forfeiture of the aged prince of the Isles in 1493, (see p. 19, supra), James IV. hastened to the Western Highlands to receive personally the submission of the several powerful vassals who had rendered allegiance to the throne of the island-kingdom, but were then

(42) *Other place.*—Among the writers who thus misrepresented Highland affairs, Hector Boece and Buchanan occupy, perhaps, the chief place. Hugh Macdonald, whilst rendering due homage to their learning and abilities, is not slow to observe that they fell into the fashion of their times, which was to think harshly and speak insultingly of the people in the Highlands and Isles. (See p. *supra*.) Indeed, his estimate of their qualities as historians agrees very conspicuously with that which has been formed and expressed by other better known authorities. Bishop Nicholson, in his *Scottish Historical Library*, says of Boece's history, that "in the first books there are a great many particulars not to be found in Fordun, or in any other writer now extant; and unless the authors, which he pretends to have seen, be hereafter discovered, he will continue to be shrewdly suspected for the contrivance of almost as many tales as Geoffrey of Monmouth." Of Buchanan, Dr. Robertson, a high authority, says:—"Instead of rejecting the improbable tales of chronicle writers, he was at the utmost pains to adorn them; and hath clothed with all the beauties and graces of fiction those legends which formerly had only its wildness and extravagance." Le Clerc speaks of Buchanan "as not sufficiently exact in his dates, nor does he site his authorities; in some parts of his history he is rather too fond of the marvellous, and of putting fine speeches into the mouths of his great men, in imitation of the ancient historians, whose defects he had copied as well as their excellencies." See Allibone's *Dictionary of British and American authors*, vol. i., p. 257.

(43) *Lochdunord.*—Among many lochs in Isla, one was formerly called *Lochdruinard*. (See Camden, by Gough, vol. iv., p. 519) This place, however, is better known by its more common name of *Lochgruinart*. On an inch or island in this loch was a residence of the Macdonnells, the place, no doubt, where Donnell Balloch died. The "four contemporary writers" referred to in the text were among many chroniclers and biographical writers of Scotland in the fifteenth century who recorded leading events in the history of the Highlands and Isles. The reader may find notices of many such in Nicholson's *Scottish Historical Library*, pp. 22—60.

(44) *Felim O'Neill.*—This chieftain was probably Felim, surnamed *Baccach*, or 'Lame,' who died in the year 1533. He was son of Niall Mor referred to in a preceding and father of Brian, ruler in upper and lower Clannaboy until 1574, when he was assassinated by the earl of Essex at Belfast.

(45) *The O'Cahans.*—See p. 15, supra. For a reference to the custom of *fosterage*, see p. *supra* and *note*. This curious social arrangement was in force more generally, and to a later period in Scotland than here. The well-known marquis of Argyle, executed in 1661, had two sons, the elder of whom, Archibald, fostered with the laird of Glenurchy, and the younger, Neill, with the laird of Ardnamurchan, both foster-fathers, being the heads of the minor branches of the Clan-Campbell. The latter, sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, in 1641, entered into the following bond to his foster-child, Neil, younger son of Argyle, afterwards known as Lord Neill Campbell, of Armaddie:—"Be it kend, till all men be thir present lettres, me Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchane, knight-baronet, Forasmeikle as I have been earnestlie desiring to have the fostering of Neill Campbell, second lawful son to ane noble lord, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, Lord Campbell and Lorn, wherewith his lordship wes content; bot in regaird of the troubles of the tyme, the said Neill could not convenientlie be in my cumpany, likeas now he is to be putt to the schoolles; alwayes the said noble Lord, his father, is content that he be repute as my fostar, whereof I do verie gladlie accept. Thairfore, and for the love, favour, and affection which I have and beare towards the said noble Lord, his house, and children, and particularlie for advancing the said Neill Campbell, his Lordship's second lawful son to ane fortoun," &c. [Sir Donald Campbell goes on to grant, by a bond in common form, to the said youthful Neill the sum of 6,000 merks, payable in 1649, when the grantee should be fourteen years of age. This bond bears date 1st May, 1641, and the money was paid by George Campbell of Airds, executor to Sir Donald, as appears from a discharge or receipt, dated in 1653, and written on the back of the bond.] (See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 19, 20.) This large sum—the merk being 13s 4d—was paid simply that sir Donald might have the gratification of being known as foster-father to the boy!

prepared to transfer their fealty to the Scottish crown. Among these was John Cahanagh, whom James IV. was peculiarly anxious to conciliate, and on whom he conferred the honour of knighthood. It is believed that James granted to this chieftain a charter of all his lands excepting the the district of Cantire, or probably only reserving the fortress of Dunaverty, to be occupied when necessary in the royal service. This reservation, however, appears to have completely extinguished the faint beginnings of loyalty in the breast of the island-chief, for Dunaverty was a position specially associated with the history of his family, and—what he felt perhaps of greater moment—it was the place of all others through which the intercourse with his Antrim possessions was most easily preserved. The king was so anxious to get his northern troubles finally arranged that he returned to the islands in the July of the following year (1494), bringing with him an impossing force, and bearing himself in all respects towards his new island-subjects as a sovereign who was determined to enforce obedience. Without further explanation or ceremony, he seized the castle of Dunaverty, placing in it, as well as in that of Tarbert, a large garrison, amply provided with artillery and skillful gunners. Sir John Cahanagh was thus unpleasantly enlightened as to the king's intentions, and also decided on his own course. He secretly assembled his trusty followers, watching for an opportunity to expel the royal garrison from Dunaverty, and take possession of the district of Cantire. The king, not anticipating any opposition to his arrangements, was in the act of sailing away with his personal attendants from the Mull, when sir John stormed Dunaverty, and actually hung the governor from the wall, in sight of the king and his departing ships !

James was unable to avenge this insult at the time, but he arranged in his own mind, as he sailed southward, a fearful amount of retribution. To carry out his revenge, he summoned Argyle to his aid—for an Argyle was always found as an executioner when any chieftain of the Macdonnells was to be done to death.(46) Through Argyle's agency, a kinsman of sir John Cahanagh was found to undertake the treacherous seizure of the latter, with as many members of the doomed family as possible. This kinsman was John Mac Ian Macdonnell, of Ardnamurchan, who had a

(46) *Done to death.*—This Campbell was Gillaspick Ruadh, or Archibald Roe, the second earl of Argyle, who succeeded to the family honours and estates in the year 1492. Archibald Roe is known as the supplanter of the once great family of Calder in Nairnshire. In 1495, he obtained from the king the wardship of Morella Calder, the youthful heiress to her grandfather William, the old thane of Cawdor. Although the latter had four living sons, his immense estates were to go with the little orphan daughter of his eldest son, who had died in the year above named. In 1499, Argyle determined to remove his ward from the guardianship of her grandmother, the old lady Kilravock,—her mother, Isabel the Ross, having also died soon after 1495. Argyle sent his trusty kinsman, Duncan Campbell of Innerliver, with a force of sixty men to bring the girl from Kilravock to Inverary castle. Her uncles, however, with a larger force pursued, fearing that Argyle would take advantage of his wardship to marry the young heiress to some one of his own immediate connexions, and thus carry the property from its ancient possessors for ever. A furious battle ensued between the Calders and the returning Campbells, at a place in Strathnairne. Duncan Campbell, fearing that he would be overpowered, sent forward the little girl with an escort of six men, and hastily dressing a sheaf of oats in some of her clothes, placed the figure in the rere of his detachment, and was thus able to deceive the Calders until he believed his charge to be beyond their reach. After a bloody struggle, in which three of his sons and many others of his party were slain, Campbell retreated, leaving the fictitious child behind. During the conflict, and by way of urging his men to the most desperate efforts, he exclaimed—*S'fada glaodh o Lochow,—s'fada cobhair o Chlann Dhaoine!* 'It's a far cry to Lochaw, and help for the Clann O'Duin is very distant.' This exclamation became afterwards a proverb in Scotland. The worst fears of the Calders were soon realized, Argyle having given his ward in marriage to his own son when she was only twelve years of age. This earl's career came suddenly to a close on Flodden Field, in 1513, where he fell fighting by the side of James IV. Argyle, and his cousin, Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, who was also slain, were buried in one grave at Kilmun, "because," as the *Black Book of Taymouth* expressed it, "in the foirsaid field they deit valeantlie togidder." See Cosmo Innes's *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 360, 361, 409, 410.

feud with John Cahanagh, respecting the lands of Sunart adjoining Ardnamurchan; and who, being a kinsman, had better opportunities of treacherously seizing the Clandonnell chieftain than other more openly avowed enemies. MacIan did his work effectually, seizing not only sir John, but two of his sons, at Finlagan castle in Isla, and carrying them to Edinburgh, where they were soon afterwards found guilty of high treason, and executed on the Burrowmuir, their bodies being buried in the church of St. Anthony. These facts are recorded by Hugh Macdonald of Sleat, and also in the Macvurich manuscript. They are also recited in a charter from the king to John MacIan, dated the 24th of March, 1499, and preserved among the Argyle papers, rewarding the chief of Ardnamurchan, for his services in seizing sir John, together with his sons, and several of his accomplices. This grant conveyed to the grantee, lands in various districts, to the extent of 200 marks of old extent, or about 6,000 acres, including, no doubt, the portions disputed between the two kinsmen in Sunart (47) See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, pp. 89, 90; *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 195.

From the date of the marriage alliance between the families of Byset and Macdonnell, several members of the latter began to settle permanently on this coast. The tide of immigration from Cantire and the Isles, however, always flowed more fully at times which may be described as disastrous to the family and clan. In the course of the fifteenth century, as we have seen, at least four such periods occurred. The first was, on the defeat and dispersion of John Mor's adherents, when the insurrection against his brother failed, and many of the insurgents were compelled to seek refuge in the Glynns, where their discomfitted chief encouraged them to settle permanently. A second flight of the Clandonnell, and of others, their kinsmen and connexions, arrived after the battle of Inverlochy, in 1431. On the formal surrender of the kingdom of the Isles in 1476, there came a third company of settlers, more numerous, probably, than any of the two preceding. But the largest numbers arrived during the closing years of the fifteenth century, and immediately after the execution of sir John Cahanagh. This leader of the Clan Ian Vohr had married Cecilia Savage, (48) a daughter of the chieftain of that great family seated at Portaferry, in the county

(47) *In Sunart.*—The unscrupulous loyalty of John Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan thus procured for him royal favour and rich rewards, but drew down upon him the fierce vengeance of other branches of the Macdonnells, who afterwards wasted his lands with fire and sword, sacked his castle, and slew himself and his two sons. The Campbells, with whom John Mac Ian had basely co-operated in 1499, eventually rooted his posterity out of their ancient estate of Ardnamurchan. By a combination of cruelty and insult, the Mac Ians were driven into rebellion, in the year 1624, and Donald Campbell of Baslerick was appointed by Argyle to reduce them to obedience. This he did so effectually that the Mac Ians soon disappeared from the roll of Highland clans, whilst their exterminator became sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, and got grants of all their lands. Sir Donald forthwith replenished the waste lands by bringing in, as tenants, many families of Camerons, Mackenzies, and Hendersons. See *New Statistical Account of Argyleshire*, p. 138.

(48) *Cecilia Savage.*—This lady's name is the latinised form of the Irish *Sheela*, which was very common among all classes of the native women of this country. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Savages held more extensive possessions in the county of Antrim than in Down. "In 1347 Edward III. confirmed to Robert Savage, the manors of Rathmore, Duntorsy, Balancan, and Dunaghty, with their appurtenances." (See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 281.) The manors here mentioned were all in Antrim, excepting Duntorsy, which lay on the western side of the Bann at Coleraine; and these manors included much larger territories than are now designated by this term. The following extracts from *Rot. Pat. Calend. Hen. II.—Hen. VII.*, fol. 1828, although comparatively meagre, are sufficient to indicate the high rank and great influence enjoyed by the early representatives of this family:—

20 Edward II. 1326 11 September — Robert Sauvage was appointed Sheriff of the county of Coulrath (Coleraine). The present county of Londonderry was known as the county of Coleraine until the commencement of the seventeenth century.

26 April 20 Edward II. 1326-7 — Robert Sauvage was commanded by the King to liberate Brian, son of Henry O'Neil, on his giving security to the constable of Cragfergus.

Down, and by her had four sons, two of whom escaped from the massacre in which their father and brothers lost their lives. The elder of these two, Alexander, now represented the Clandonnell south, (49) whilst the younger, Angus, settled finally in the island of Sanda, and became there the founder of a numerous and powerful family. (See p. 32, *supra*). The chieftains of the Clandonnell, from Donneil Balloch to John Cahanagh, had incurred the incurable hatred of the Scottish kings, because of their active and persistent opposition to the royal policy, in reference to the surrendered kingdom of the Isles. It was believed that by the capture and death of John Cahanagh and his sons, and the consequent dispersion of the clan, the Macdonnells had been thus extirpated root and branch; whilst by way of making quite sure of this, MacIan of Ardnamurchan was sent to seize the fugitive youths, who had hidden themselves in the Antrim glens. The results of this mission are told in the Macvurich manuscript, as follows :—"There were none left alive at that time of the children of John Cathanach, except Alexander, the son of John Cathanach and Angus of the island, who concealed themselves in the glens of Ireland. MacCean, hearing of their hiding-places, went to cut down the woods of these glens, in order to destroy Alexander, and extirpate the whole race. At length MacCean and Alexander met, were reconciled, and a marriage alliance took place; Alexander married MacCean's daughter, and she brought him good children." (See sir Walter Scott's *Poetical Works*, vol. x., p. 286.) This alliance remained probably a secret to the king, who expressed his disappointment that the utter extermination of the Macdonnell leaders could not have been then accomplished. But failing this, James thought the next best thing to be done was to have a penal enactment forthwith passed in the Scottish parliament, prohibiting Alexander of Isla and Cantire from ever setting foot on Scottish soil, or owning an acre of land in that kingdom. A measure for this purpose was actually passed, and it remained in force during the lifetime of James IV., or, until he was slain at Flodden, in the year 1513.

In the interval, however, the young chieftain of the Clandonnell had made himself a name in Ulster. Hither he had been followed not only by large numbers of his own broken clan, but by many soldiers from several smaller clans that had agreed, at the time of the surrender of the kingdom of the Isles in 1476, to follow the Clan-Ian-Vor banner. With the assistance of these hardy

11 April 8 Edward III. 1334	Robert Sauvage was Seneschal of Ulster.
6 February 11 Edward III. 1337	Robert Sauvage was authorised to treat and parly with felons in Ulster.
19 May 17 & 18 Edward III. 1343-4	The King granted to Robert le Sauvage, Seneschal of Ulster, an annual fee of £10.
2 July 20 Edward III. 1347	Robert Sauvage, with others, was appointed to inquire, upon oath, into transgressions and felonies committed in Ulster, and as to prisoners in Cragfergus castle
26 March 47 Edward III. 1375	The King granted to Geoffry Scolmaistre and Robert Savage to be comptrollers of the great and little customs in Cragfergus, Culrath, and Down.
16 February 10 Richard II. 1387	The Lord Deputy gave license to Robert Savage that he might take to wife Christiana daughter of John de Isla lord of the Isles.
6 April 1 Henry IV. 1400	Robert Fitz-Jordan Savage held the office of Sheriff of the Ards.
6 March 3 Henry IV. 1403	Robert Savage was a burgess of Carrickfergus.
6 Decr. 9 Richard II. 1385	The King assigned to Ed. Savage, Thomas, Alwyn, clerk, and Richard Russell, to inquire into seditions in Ulster
9 October 10 Richard II. 1386	Edm. Savage, Seneschal of the Liberties of Ulster, and custodier of the Crosses of the same, with of 80 marks per ann
21 October 9 Richard II. 1385	Edm. Savage was appointed Seneschal, and John Rynaux chancellor and treasurer of the Liberties of Ulster.

(49) *The Clandonnell South*.—The Macdonnells of Isla and Cantire were designated the *Clandonnell* from their celebrated leader Donnell Balloch. The Macdonnells of Sleat were also thus named from the fact that *six* of their chieftains in succession bore the christian name of *Donnell*. To distinguish them, the former were known as the Clandonnell *South*, and the latter as the Clandonnell *North*.

Redshanks, (50) who are numerously represented at the present day in the population of the Antrim coast, Alexander Macdonnell was able not only to hold the family inheritance of the Glynns, but even seriously to check the progress of English invaders throughout northern Ulster. James V. soon found it convenient to reverse the vengeful policy of his father towards this exiled Scottish chief, and during the temporary visits of the latter to his native shore, many very distinguished marks of the royal favour were conferred upon him.

English officials penned alarming despatches on the doings of the Macdonnells in the North of Ireland, and predicted the eventual exclusion of any other than Scottish interests on the coast. In the year 1533, the Council in Dublin forwarded this gloomy announcement on the subject to the Council in London :—"The Scottes also inhabithe now buyselley a greate parte of Ulster, which is the king's inheritance; and it is greatlie to be feared, oonles that in short tyme they be dryven from the same, that they, bringinge in more nombre daily, woll, by lyttle and lyttle soe far encroche in acquyringe and wynninge the possessions there, with the aide of the kingis disobeysant Irishe rebelles, who doo nowe ayde theym therein after soche maner, that at lengthe they will put and expel the king from his hole seignory there." (See *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 172). It is curious to observe the solicitude with which the movements of these formidable Scots were watched. In 1538, John Allen, archbishop and chancellor, refers to the vexatious subject as follows :—"Hee (the king of Scots) hath alsoe this yeare twice sent for Alexander Carragh, (51) capteyne of the

(50) *Redshanks*.—A Highland priest, named John Edgar, writing to Henry VIII., in 1542, gives the following account of this term as applied to Highlanders and Islesmen:—"Moreover, they call us in Scotland Redshankes, and in your graces dominion rough-footid Scottes. Please it your Majestie to understand, that wee of all people can tolerat, suffir, and away best with colde, for boithe somer and wynter (except when the froeste is most vehemante), goinge alwaies bair-leggide and bair-footide; our delite and pleasure is onely in huynting of redd deir, wolfes, foxes, and graies, wherof wee abounde, and have grate plentie, but als in rynninge, leapinge, swymmynge, shootinge, and thrawinge of darts. Therefor in soe moche as we use and delite soe to goe alwaies, the tendir delicatt gentylmen of Scotland call us Redshankes. And, agayne, in winter, when the froeste is most vehemante (as I have sayd), which wee can not suffir bair-footide soe weill as snow, which can never hurte us when it comes to our girdills, we go to a huntynge, and after that wee have slayne redd deir, wee flaye off the skyne, bey and bey, and settinge of our bair foote insyde therof, for neid of cunnynge, by your graces pardon, wee play the sutters, compassinge and mesuringe soe moch thereof as shal retch up to our ancklers, pryckinge the upper part thereof with holes that water may repas when it enters, and stretchide upp with a strong thwange of the same, meitind above our said ancklers; soe, and please your noble grace, wee make our shoois. Therfor, wee using such maner of shoois, the roughe hairie syde outward, in your graces dominion of England wee be callit roughe-footide Scottis; which maner of shoois, and please your highnes, in Latyne be callit *perones*, whereof the poet Virgil makes mencioun, saying that the olde aunciente Latyns in tyme of warres used such maner of shoois. And although a greate sorte of us Reddshankes goe after this maner in our countrithe, yeit, never the les, when wee come to the court (the kingis grace our greate maister beinge alyve) waitinge on our lordis and maisters, who also for velvettes and silkis be ryght weill araide, wee have as good garments as some of our fellowes which give attendaunce in court every daye." *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 28, 29.

(51) *Alexander Caragh*.—The archbishop confounds Alexander of Isla and Cantire, the lord of Dunveg and Glynns, the real captain of the Ulster Scots, with his kinsman Alexander Macdonnell of Lochaber, the representative of Alexander, surnamed *Carrach*, a younger brother of John Mor. The representatives of this branch always appear to have retained the original sobriquet of *Carrach*, not because of its applicability in the original sense to them, but as a means of distinguishing their family from the multitudinous Macdonnells around them. In the following extract of a letter from sir Wm. Brabazon to lord Cromwell, dated Dublin, 26th May, 1539, this writer also confounds the leaders of the two families of Cantire and Lochaber:—"I doe certefie your Lordship, that ther is of Scottes, nowe dwellinge in Ireland, above two thousand men of warre, as I am credablie enformed, which Scottes have as well dryven away the fieholders, being Englische men of that contrey, as others the Irisshmen, and have bylded certeyn castells there. The capteyn of theim is oon Alexaunder Karrogh, otherwise called Macdonell, who, as hymself saith, will take the kinge's pairt ayent all men, but under pretence to doo the kinge's grace service, since he taketh the contrey to himself, and others of the Scottes. Some of the capteyns of the Scottes say they will serve no man, but what they may gate by the sworde, that will thei have." (See *State*

Scottes of this lande who hath gon thider, and by his retorne it is perceyvid what busynes he had ther; but oonlie it appereth hee was well enterteyned in the Courte of Scotland, though of trowthe ther was no amitie but mortalitie between them, the king of Skottes and his antecessours having killed and put to death the said Alexanders fader, grandfader, and grete-grandfader, (52) and exiled himself out of the Isles wherebye he was compelled to inhabite here." (*State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 136.)

Alexander of Isla and Cantire returned occasionally to Scotland, and appears to have taken an active part in the affairs of the expiring island-kingdom, but his permanent home was undoubtedly on the Antrim shore. When we get the last glimpse of him in the State Papers, he is returning from Scotland at the head of eight thousand men, supplied by James V., and intended to counteract the warlike operations so vigorously carried forward by the English in Ulster during the earlier years of the sixteenth century. This force was added to his own, and thus supplemented, was effectively employed, not only for the purpose now mentioned, but also in consolidating the Scottish settlements on the coast. Alexander Macdonnell is traditionally said to have occupied the fortress of Dunanynie, the ruins of which may still be seen on the headland westward of Castle-Hill, overlooking Ballycastle Bay, and commanding a magnificent view of the North Channel. His people, who came from Cantire and the Isles, landed from their galleys at Port-brittas, a little harbour almost adjoining the foot of the cliff on which the castle of Dunanynie stood. These devoted followers, who appear to have originally settled in the lower or northern glens, were not exclusively Macdonnells, many of them being members of other broken clans—such as Macneills (53)

Papers, vol. iii., p. 133.) The distinction between these Macdonnel leaders (of which the writers above quoted were quite in the dark) will appear more obviously as we proceed in our narrative. Brabazon states a circumstance, however, worthy of note, when he reports that Alexander Carrach was disposed to take the side of the English. This was literally true; and this chieftain's two sons, known afterwards as Alexander M'Alaster Charrie and Randal M'Alaster Charrie (Carrach), were divided in their allegiance—the one generally espousing the quarrel of his kinsmen, the Clandonnell Scots from Isla and Cantire, whilst the other as generally fought on the side of the English.

(52) *Grete-grandfader.*—This is the account of the massacre given also by Macvurich, whose manuscript is sometimes called the *Red Book* of Clanranald. "There happened great feuds," says Macvurich, "betwixt the families, insomuch that MacCean of Ardnamurchan destroyed the greatest part of the posterity of John Mor of the Isles and Cantire. For John Cathenach, son of John, son of Donnell Balloch, son of John Mor, son of John, son of Angus Oge,—and John Mor, son of John Cathanach, and young John, son of John Cathanach, and young Donnell Balloch, were treacherously taken by MacCean, in the island of Finlagan, in Isla, and carried to Edinburgh, where he got them hanged at the Burrowmuir, and their bodies were buried in the church of St. Anthony called the New Church." (See Scott's *Poetical Works*, vol. x., p. 286.) Hugh Macdonnald of Sleat has the following reference to the then lamentable disroganisation of society:—"After the death of Angus, son of John, last recognised lord of the Isles, the Islanders and the rest of the Highlanders were let loose, and began to shed one another's blood. Although Angus kept them in obedience while he was sole lord over them, yet, upon his resignation of his rights to the king, all families, his own as well as others, gave themselves up to all sorts of cruelties, which continued for a long time thereafter. We know, and might easily prove, that the Macdonalds are accused by many ignorant and malicious writers of treasons, rebellions, and such like crimes, for which they have no grounds to go upon than that of their (the Macdonnells') magnanimity in opposing some of the king's descendants, who wished to deprive them of their natural rights, and who were greater traitors towards the Macdonalds than the Macdonalds towards them, as any man versed in the affairs of the kingdom may easiiy discover."—*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 319.

(53) *Macneills.*—These Macneills, who came from Gigha and Cantire, descended from the same stock, although then believed to be a distinct family from the Macneills of Barra. This belief, however, arose most probably from their having adopted different armorial bearings, and having generally followed a different line of policy when circumstances permitted them to do so. On the forfeiture of the kingdom of the Isles, the Macneills of Barra followed the standard of the Macleans of Mull, whilst the Macneills of Gigha and Cantire attached themselves to the Clandonnell South. It thus happened that during the bloody feuds between the Macleans and Macdonnells in the sixteenth century, these two septs of

Macallasters, (54) Mackays, (55) Macrandalbanes, (56) from Gigha and Cantire, and Magees, from the Rinns of Isla.

By his wife Catherine Mac Ian, Alexander Macdonnell left six sons, and at least three daughters, whom Macvurich, the chronicler of the Clanrandal, has mentioned as "good children;" in other words, they were generally prosperous and distinguished in their generation, the sons being all leaders, more or less popular among the Scots of Ulster, and the daughters having contracted highly respectable marriages. (57) This chieftain is said to have left seven sons; some chroniclers believe in even a greater number, but it is the safer course to hold by a few *authoritative* documents as our guides. In the year 1545, Mary queen of Scots granted lands to James, the eldest son, with remainder to his brothers Angus, Colla, Alexander, Donnell Gorme, and

Macneills turned their swords most fiercely against each other. The Macneills who came with the Macdonnells from Cantire continued to keep up a close intercourse with their Scottish connexions, as did their descendants also in after generations. Among the Macneills of Carey, whose ancestors had come from Cantire, was a most respectable family settled at Drumaduan, in the parish of Culfeightrin. Doctor Macneill, a member of this family, married a sister of Christopher, the last lord Slane, who resided at Anticor in the parish of Finvoy, and whose grandmother was the lady Anne Macdonnell, eldest daughter of the first earl of Antrim. Dr. Macneill's great-granddaughter is married to Thomas Mitchell, Esq, of the Lawn, South Lambeth Road, London. The following extract from a letter of this gentleman, written in 1872, is interesting, as recording perhaps the latest illustration of the intercourse so long continued between the Macneills of Carey and Cantire:—"Dr. Alex. Macneill, of Drumaduan, was closely related to Hector Macneill on the opposite coast, and it was with this gentleman that nearly the whole of the Macneill family sojourned during the rebellion (1798), having crossed in a little ship, the Amy, belonging to Mr. Boyd; and, on their arrival, twenty-five Macneills sat down to breakfast at Captain Hector's. This was told me by my wife's mother, who died at my house a short time ago, in her 90th year, and who was one of that party."

(54) *Macallasters.*—The Clanalaster, or Macalasters from Cantire, are descended from Alexander or Alaster Macdonnell, a great-grandson of Somerled, thane of Argyle. The possessions of this clan, which were never extensive, lay in Knapdale, although several influential members of the family held landed property in other adjoining territories. The chief or representative of the clan in 1493 was John Dhu, son of Torlach Macalaster, the steward of Cantire in 1481. In the year 1516, Angus, son of John Dhu Macalaster of Loupe, was one of a number to whom special protection was granted by Murdoch, duke of Albany, as Regent of Scotland. Between 1593 and 1604 the Tutor of Loupe granted a bond of manrent to the house of Hamilton, for himself and the whole clan Alaster. The descendants of John Dhu were in possession of the lands of Loupe at the close of the last century. (See *Orig Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., pp. 3, 31, 32; see also Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, pp. 68, 281, 307, 400, 401.) The principal families of this surname in Cantire at the present time are represented by Keith Macalaster, Esquire, of Glenbarr Abbey, and Alexander Macalaster, Esquire, of Tangie, a beautiful glen, six miles north-west of Campbelton. These gentlemen are among the few landlords in Cantire who reside on their estates. See Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. i., pp. 230, 248.

(55) *Mackays.*—The Mackays of Cantire and other more numerous and powerful families throughout the northern counties of Scotland, are supposed to have descended from a Macdonnell of Sleat, in the island of Skye, whose Christian name was *Aodh*, or Hugh, and who was the common ancestor of all the families now bearing the names of Magee, Mackays Machugh, Macaw, and Mackee. Between the year, 1306 and 1309, king Robert Bruce granted lands in Cantire to Gilchrist MacImar M'Cay, from whom the Mackays of Ugadale, in Cantire, were descended. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 2; Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, pp. 82, 308, 388.) It is traditionally told in Cantire that the founder of the Mackays there was a farmer in whose house Robert Bruce lodged for one night, on landing from the island of Arran, and whilst on his way to seek temporary protection from Angus of the Isles at his castle of Saudell. The tradition is recorded at full length in Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. ii., pp. 17—19. The lands of Ugadale passed by a marriage from the Mackays to the Macneills of Cantire. The Mackays are pretty numerously represented in the population of the county of Antrim at the present day.

(56) *Macrandalbanes.* See p. 27, *supra.*

(57) *Respectable marriages.*—Their daughter Mary married Hector Mor Maclean, lord of Dowart in Mull, and of Morven or Kenalban, in Argyleshire. This couple left two sons, viz., Hector Oge, who succeeded his father in the estates of Dowart, and Ian or John Dhu, who inherited the family property in Morven. They had also seven daughters, six of whom were married into leading families of the Isles. According to an *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Clan Maclean*, their names were respectively Marian, Mary, Julian, Una, Jennette, and two named Catherine. Alexander's second daughter was married to a chieftain of the Macleods, and the third became the wife of a kinsman named Gillaspeck Macdonnell, of Lecale, in the county of Down.

Sorley. In 1554, Neal Macneill of Gigha sold lands in that island to James Macdonnell, which were to descend, failing his own heirs, in succession to his brothers Angus, Coll, Alexander Oge, and Sorley Boy. In 1558, Mary queen of Scots and her husband Francis, renewed the grant of 1545, with remainder to his brothers Angus, Coll, Alexander, and Sorley. Six brothers are here distinctly named in the first grant, but only five in the second and third. Donnell Gorme, whose name is omitted in the two last grants, had probably died in the interval between 1545 and 1554. Alexander Oge, generally considered the second son, appears to have been the *fourth*, he and Angus changing places, in the documents above referred to. All accounts of the family agree in speaking of Sorley Boy as the youngest of his brothers. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., pp. 5, 6, 24.) Of these six, four fell on Antrim battle-fields, the remaining two although constantly engaged in active military service, being fated to die quietly in their own castles of Kinbann and Dunanynie. They were probably all, with the exception of James, gathered at last to the same resting-place in the old abbey of Bunnamairge, near Ballycastle. The ruins of this abbey still remain, at the foot of Glenshesk, one of the most picturesque and historical of the Antrim Glens. Its name, Bunnamairge, denotes its proximity to the mouth, or opening on the sea, of a mountain stream called the Mairge. (58) This religious house is generally understood to have been used as a Franciscan priory from about the commencement of the sixteenth century, but its original foundation probably dates from a much earlier period. The Macdonnells began to settle in the district early in the preceding century, and Bunnamairge was selected, even then, as their principal place of sepulture. Although, as such, its retired position and picturesque surroundings naturally rendered it attractive, its selection by these settlers was, no doubt, a mere matter of convenience. At all events, the place literally heaves with Clandonnell dust, the chieftains having found a last retreat in two very gloomy vaults under the abbey, whilst their humbler kinsmen sleep around in the sunshine of the open cemetery. (59) The older of these two vaults is a very capacious chamber, and may have been probably built about the year 1440. The entrance, a little northward from the great eastern window, was walled up many years ago, and the vault has

(58) *The Mairge.*—The Irish word *Bun* literally signifies the 'end' of anything to which it may be applied—whether land, lake, or river. It is also used to denote the *mouth* of a river, thus exactly taking the place of another Irish word, *Bél*, for which it may have been corruptly substituted. Hence *Bun* is often found in the names of places situated at the mouths of rivers, as in the present instance, the old abbey occupying a position on the eastern bank of the river Mairge, near the point where its waters enter Ballycastle Bay. The town of Cushendun was known in former times as *Bun-Abhainn-Duin*, 'the mouth of the river Dun.' The names of *Buncrana* and *Bundoran* may also be mentioned as illustrations of this Irish term. The river Mairge is only so called for about half a mile of its course, when it approaches the sea, its waters being composed of two mountain streams, the Shesk and the Carey, which unite at Dunnamallaght bridge, and from that point are known as the Mairge.

(59) *Open cemetery.*—Local tradition speaks of a period of several years, about the middle of the sixteenth century, during which the grass—"Nature's pleasant robe of green"—was not here permitted to cover the surface, so frequently and in such numbers were graves required for the clansmen falling in battle. Within the memory of many still living, a huge heap of bones lay along the eastern wall of the graveyard, and this ghastly pile was said to have been collected from time to time in Glenshesk, as tillage gradually extended over lands that had not been disturbed by the spade or plough for an interval of more than two centuries. This tradition, and also this account of the accumulation of human bones, was corroborated by the well-known fact that Glenshesk, from the sea to the mountains, was literally a battle-field, on which the Macdonnells won the fertile lands of the Route from its former owners, the Macquillins. During that bloody struggle, many bodies were hastily buried where they fell. The bones of these gallant foemen rested quietly together, re-appearing in more peaceful times, and thus presenting sad memorials of the long-forgotten conflict.

remained since unvisited by a ray of light, or a breath of the outer air. The human remains inside, however, are thus at least protected from desecration, and permitted to repose in peace.

On the death of Alexander of Isla and Cantire, his eldest son, James, succeeded as the chief or representative of the Clandonnell South. (60) He was thus lord of Duneveg and Glynns, as well as the military leader of the Clan-Ian-Vor, or descendants of John Mor. This arrangement took effect, not as a matter of course because of his being the eldest son, but in strict accordance with the Celtic law of tanistry, (61) which recognised only that member of the clan as chief, who was believed to be best fitted to uphold and promote its interests. Soon after his father's restoration to the royal favour, when James Macdonnell was yet a mere lad, he was invited to the Scottish court, and whilst there, was placed under the care of William Henderson, dean of Holyrood, who had been selected to give him such a course of instruction as Scottish noblemen of the time were supposed to require. "By this," says Gregory, "two important objects were served. The mind of a future leader in the Isles, as this young man proved to be in after life, was improved and enlarged, whilst his presence in Edinburgh, under the eye of the Sovereign, secured the obedience of his father." (Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, p. 143). It was then, doubtless, that young Macdonnell was taught to write, and he appears to have been the only one of his brothers who had acquired that useful accomplishment. Very few of the Highland nobility or gentry aspired then to the knowledge of this useful art, which, indeed, they generally looked upon as the peculiar attainment of monks, and persons trained to act as secretaries for lords and chieftains. It was also, perhaps, during his residence at court, that he met the lady Agnes Campbell, a daughter of Colin, third earl of Argyle, to whom he was married, but whether legally or not, became afterwards a subject of dispute. (62) She appears always to have been publickly acknowledged as his wife, and

(60) *Clandonnell South.*—See p. 36, *supra.* When numerous members of the Clandonnell north and south came to Antrim, and fought side by side, this distinction was soon lost sight of among themselves, their English and Irish neighbours taking no note of it whatever.

(61) *Tanistry.*—We affect, at the present day, to look on the old Celtic law of Tanistry as a barbarous affair; but, all things considered, it was perhaps then the best method of regulating the succession of chief and kings. At all events, it was very generally adopted throughout Europe, and must, therefore, have been found a good arrangement during the times in which it prevailed. By this law, a successor was nominated to the chief or king during the lifetime of the latter, thus generally preventing the danger of civil war in choosing a successor, after his death. The *principle* was adopted in England when circumstances required it. Thus, in 1566, the Parliament urged upon queen Elizabeth the necessity of nominating a successor, that the nation, after her death, might escape the horrors of a civil war. The members were very much in earnest on this point, and gave great offence to her majesty, by positively refusing to vote any supplies, or even to enter on the consideration of any public business whatever, until she would consent to their proposition. During the life of the Celtic king or chief, the tanist's special duty was to hold the lands *in trust* for the clan and their posterity, to whom such lands virtually belonged. See *Cambrensis Eversus*, translated by Kelly, vol. iii., pp. 335—339.

(62) *Of dispute.*—This question is never introduced in the Irish State Papers of the period, probably because it was unknown to the officials of the English government in Ireland, and it does not appear, so far as we know, in any of the Scottish State papers yet printed, or calendared. In these documents, the lady Agnes Campbell is always spoken of as the *wife* of James Macdonnell. In the collection of family papers, however, preserved at Glenarm Castle, there are statements denying the legality of this marriage. At the period referred to, the line between legitimacy and illegitimacy was not clearly defined in Scotland, an evil arising from the strange custom that prevailed even among the highest families, of *handfasting*, or, in plain terms, taking wives for a time on approbation. When such unions were dissolved, as they frequently were, the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the children was generally established by an appeal to force. We can only suggest an explanation of the doubt as to the legitimacy of James Macdonnell's sons on the supposition that their mother had been *handfasted* to some other, prior to her marriage with Macdonnell, and that the lawyers of the time considered the first union only as valid. John Maclean, fourth laird of Ardgour, handfasted with a daughter of MacIan of Ardnamuchan. At the expiration of two years he sent the lady home to her

it was even believed that the marriage was a good political move on the part of the court, as tending to secure Macdonnell's loyal adherence to the interests of the Scottish crown.

His loyalty, however, was put severely to the test soon after the death of James V. In 1545, when Donnell Dhu attempted to restore the kingdom of the Isles, James Macdonnell was the only island-chief who supported the regent, and employed not only his influence but his great military resources on the side of the young queen of Scots. This Donnell Dhu Macdonnell, was grandson of John, last prince of the Isles, whose forfeiture, in 1493, was mentioned at p. 19 *supra*, and son of Angus, whose attempt to depose the old chieftain, his father, had hastened the latter in making his final surrender to the Scottish crown. (63) Angus had married a daughter of the first earl of Argyle, so that the latter was also grandfather to Donnell Dhu, the rightful heir to the island-throne. (See p. 20, *supra*). When only three years of age, he was carried off treacherously from his mother by the earl of Athol, at the instigation of Argyle, who took this measure to show his loyalty to the Scottish throne, and at the same time to secure the peace of his own newly acquired possessions in the Highlands and Isles. When a very young man, Donnell Dhu made his escape from Argyle, being released, as Macvurich's manuscript affirms, through the gallantry of his kinsmen, the Macdonnells of Glenco. (See Scott's *Poetical Works*, vol. x., p. 286). On his escape from Inchconnell castle, (64) in a dungeon of which he had been immured, the young island-prince hastened to place

father, and his son by her, known as John Maclean of Inverscaddell, was held to be a legitimate son, by virtue of "*the handfast ceremony*." But John of Inverscaddell was a powerful and warlike chieftain, and any one disputing his legitimacy must have done so at very imminent peril. A Macneill chieftain of Barra handfasted with the daughter of a chieftain of the Macleans, but their children were deprived of their inheritance by the more powerful offspring of his subsequent marriage with a lady of the Clanrandal family. This custom, as may be supposed, often led to bloody feuds. Donnell Macdonnell, a chieftain of the Sleat branch, handfasted with a daughter of Macleod, the chieftain of the great Dunvegan family, and having returned the lady without observing the conditions required on such occasions, he was furiously attacked by the Macleods, his lands wasted, and many of his people slain, before he had time to stand on his guard. It was probably in accordance with this custom that "the good John of Isla" abandoned his first wife, Amy MacRuari. See *Account of the Clan Maclean*, p. 105, *note;* Scott's *Poetical Works*, vol. x., p 81, *note.*

(63) *Scottish Crown.*—Angus, father of Donnell Dhu, was dead before the birth of the latter, having been assassinated by an Irish harper, at the instigation of a chieftain of the Mackenzies, near Inverness. Hugh Macdonnald, the chronicler of Sleat, in noticing his death, says:—"He took a journey south, where he killed many of the Macallisters in Arran, and also of his own name, for seizing and intromitting with some of his lands without his consent. Returning through Argyll and Lochaber, he came to Inverness. Mackenzie was like to be killed, or at least banished by Macdonnell, because he was always against him, contriving all the mischiefs he could, least, upon recovering his own, he would deprive Mackenzie of these lands which he held of the king. . . . There was an Irish harper of the name of Art O'Cairbery, of the county of Monaghan, who was often at Macdonnald's, and falling in love with Mackenzie's daughter, and Mackenzie seeing him in that mood promised him his daughter provided he would put Macdonald to death, making him swear never to reveal the secret. As Macdonald went to bed one night there was none in the room along with him but John Cameron, brother to Ewan, laird of Lochiell, and Macmurrich the poet. This John had some rights from Macdonald of the lands of Mammore in Lochaber, written the day before, but not signed by Macdonald. The harper rose in the night-time when he perceived Macdonald was asleep and cut his throat, for which he was apprehended, but never confessed that he was employed by any body so to do. The harper was drawn after horses till his limbs were torn asunder." (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 318, 319.) The Annals of Loch Cé, at the year 1490, mention this affair as follows:—"MacDomhnaill of Alba, *i.e.*, the young lord, the best man (of the Macdonnells) in Erin, or in Alba, in his time, was unfortunately slain by an Irish harper, *i.e.*, Diarmaid Cairbrech, in his own chamber." (*Annals of Loch Cé*, translated and edited by Wm. M. Hennessy, Esq., vol. ii., p. 187.) The Annals of Ulster state that the abovenamed chieftain was Angus MacDomhnaill, and that the name of the harper was Diurmaid O'Carpri.

(64) *Inchconnell castle.*—Inchconnell is the name of an island situated near the eastern shore of the beautiful Lochawe, and on this little island are the ruins of the once noble castle of Inchconnell, an ancient seat of the Campbells, lords of Lochawe, and subsequently of the earls of Argyle. It was occupied as a family mansion so early as 1361. In that year, a sale of lands was made by Cristina Campbell, of Craignish, to her kinsman

himself under the protection of Torquil Macleod of Lewis, by whom his cause was warmly espoused. This powerful chieftain was his uncle by marriage, his lady being a daughter of Argyle, (65) and his favourable opinion as to the rightful claims of Donnell had such weight with other Hebridean lords, that young Macdonnell soon found himself at the head of a considerable army. He immediately commenced warlike operations, by bursting over the district of Badenoch with fire and sword, and afterwards holding the greater part of the Highlands and Isles, for the space of three years. He was again seized, and kept a prisoner in Edinburgh castle, for the long space of forty years, until his hair had turned grey. At the end of that period he once more made his escape, and was received with equal enthusiasm by those clans which had formerly supported his claims. In the month of June, 1545, the regent, Arran, and his privy council, issued a proclamation against "Donald, alleging himself of the Isles, and other Highlandmen his partakers," and this proclamation was levelled against every Highland chieftain of any note, for they all had joined Donnell Dhu, with the single exception of James Macdonnell, who still adhered to the regent, and to the interests of the young queen.

On the death of Donnell Dhu, however, in the year 1545, his adherents, the great island barons and chiefs (see p. 20, *supra*), felt themselves suddenly placed in a difficulty as to the election of his successor. He had left no sons, and although the family of Sleat stood nearer than any other to the main line of the Macdonnells of the Isles, its chief, Donnell Gorm, was then a minor, and even its family possessions were in serious jeopardy from a claim put forward against them by the Macleods of Harris. Under these circumstances, the choice fell on James Macdonnell, which was indeed remarkable, as he had strenuously opposed the whole movement of his brother chieftains in favour of Donnel Dhu. They, nevertheless, elected him Lord of the Isles, which may have been done, principally, to detach him from the regent's service; and it seems to have had that effect, at least for a time. On the 10th of February, 1546, a messenger appeared in Dublin, bringing a letter from James Macdonnell, which announced his appointment, and contained proposals for the consideration of the Irish Privy Council. The following is a full and correct copy of this missive, which, under the circumstances, must be regarded as a curious and somewhat extraordinary communication:—

"Att Arnamurchan, the 24 day of Januar, the zeir of God ane thowsand fyef hundyr 46 zeir.

"We James M'Conaill of Dunnewaik and y^e^ Glinnis, and aperand aeyr of y^e^ Yllis, grantis us to

Colin 'Campel,' of Lochawe, and the sum agreed on as a penalty for any contravention of the sale by either party was to be paid at this castle of 'Ynischonnill.' About the year 1400, Fordun mentions three castles in Lochawe, of which this was one. 'Inchonyl' was the ancient messuage of the baronies of Lochawe, Glenorchy, Overcowale, and Kilmun; and in 1541, when the barony of Lochawe was erected anew by James V. in favour of Archibald, fourth earl of Argyle, this castle of Inchconnell was appointed as the chief residence on the lands. The Argyle family frequently occupied Inchconnell during the long period of Donnell Dhu's imprisonment therein. See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 128.

(65) *Daughter of Argyle.*—Donnell Dhu was grandson of the *first* earl of Argyle, who married Isabella Stewart, one of the heiresses of Lorne. (See p. 15, *supra.*) This first earl, Colin, was one of the most grasping and prosperous of all his grasping and fortunate race, and he was able to perform wonders in the way of adding to and consolidating his even then extensive estates. In 1475, he got possession of immense tracts in several parts of Argyleshire and the Isles, having been appointed by the crown to prosecute a decree of forfeiture against the Macdonnells, and several of their adherents. In 1489, he secured the beautiful and productive estate of Roseneath, on the Gareloch, in Dumbartonshire, which had belonged in succession to the Colquhouns, Macaulays, Drummonds, and Menteiths, but of which, as chancellor of Scotland, Argyle was able to make out a charter to himself. This first earl was the fifteenth chieftain of the clan who bore the surname of Campbell, from the time at which the family abandoned their old Irish title of O'Duin, in the eleventh century. He died in 1493, his wife having preceded him to the grave several years.

sene speciall letter, deretik fra zour Lordschip to owr knyis men and alyas, thwchyng the effecte and forme of yair (their) promyssis to y^e^ Kyng of Ynlandis Majeste, to fortyfe and suple our nobill cusyng Mathew Erle of Lenox. Quairfoir, we exort and prais your Lordschip, my Lord Deput of Yrland, with ye weill awyissit Consall of Duplyn, to schaw in owr behalf, and exprem to y^e^ Kingis Majeste, that we are raddy, eftir our extrem power, our kinyesman and alya, namely our cusyng, Alan M'Klayn of Gyga, Clanronald, Clanechanroun, Clancayn, and owr awin sowrname, bayth north and sowth, to tak ane pairt with y^e^ said Erll of Lenox, or ony oder qwhat sumever, y^e^ Kingis Majeste plaissis, to hauf autyrize or constitut be his grace, in Scotland; leilly and trewly, the foir-said Kingis Majeste sendand pairt of power to us, in cumpany with ye said Erll of Lenox in ane honest army to ye Yll of Sanday, besyd Kintyer, at Sanct Patrikis day next to cowm, or yairby, athowe ye said maist excellent Prence giffand to us his Majestes raward and sikar, band con-formand and equiwalent his Gracis band, maid to our cheyf maister Donald Lord Yllis, qhowm God asolzeit, ye quhilk deid in his Graceis serwece; yis beand acceptibill promist and admittit, we requyre twa or thre schyppis to be send to us to ye abowven expremit place, with yeis berar Hector Donaldsone, beand ane pylayt to y^e^ sammyn, 20 dayes or ye army cowmes, that we might be fornest and gadderit agayns ye comyng of ye said army; to quhawm plais your Lordschip geif firm credence in our behalf. And for kepyng and obserwyng of yir presente promittes, desyring siklyke formaly to be send to us with ye said schippis, we haif affixit our propir seill to the samyng, with our subscription manuall, the day, zeir, and place abowven expremit.

Signed, JAMES M'CONIL, (66) of Dunnewaik and Glenis."

State Papers, vol. iii., p. 548.

These offers of alliance from James Macdonnell and his island friends appear to have been then overlooked by Henry VIII., whose attention at this time was entirely absorbed by the progress of the Reformation in Scotland. Cardinal Beaton, who resisted this movement with all his power, and no less strenuously opposed the English attempt to force on a marriage between prince Edward, son of Henry VIII., and the young queen of Scots, soon fell a victim to his opposition, being assassinated on the 28th of May, 1546, in the castle of St. Andrews (67). James Macdonnell

(66) *James M'Conill.*—In this form of the name, the C instead of D is used to convey the Gaelic pronunciation in English letters. "Mac Domhnaill is the original name, and it has nothing to do with Connell, and bears no affinity whatever with it, except by corruption, although we have seen them classed together as one and the same name. This error must have arisen from want of acquaintance with the ancient language of Ireland and Scotland." O'Donovan's note in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 363.

(67) *St. Andrews.*—The intrigues of the English Government at this time with the Island-chieftains, and the perpetration of the murder above-mentioned, were brought about in a great measure by the inflammatory tirades of John Edgar—redshank and reformer—the Highland priest to whom we have already referred, at p. 37, *supra*. In his *proposal* for the union of England and Scotland in 1543, addressed to Henry VIII., he mentions cardinal Beaton, by name, as the chief obstacle to such union, and dooms him to destruction in the most unmeasured terms. The following is one of Edgar's introductory passages, in which he refers to the death of James V., and the marriage so anxiously wished for in England by Henry and his Court:—"Consideringe also what ease and quiettnes, what wealth and ryches, we shulde have in Scotland in few years, yf nowe eftir our said noble kynges decese, prynce Edowarde whom God preserve, your Mat^ies.^ son and heare of the noble empyr of England, shuld, as he shall by the Grace of God, marye our young Quene of Scotland; by reason whereof the foirsaid buschops, which be the Devil's convocacion and the father of mischief, Dauid Beton ther cardinall, with Beelzebub's fleshmongers, the abbotes and all ther adherentes, beinge quyte expulsed and dryven away, boith the realmes of England and of Scotland may be joynede in one, and so your noble Ma^tie.^ for to be superior and kynge. Furthermore, knowinge what trew faithfull hartes the moost of the commons of Scotland (yf thai durst speke), beyound the watir of Forth haue to your highnes, and wold hartly and glaidly so continew, yf the said pestiferous Cardinall, and his blynde ignoraunt buschops, with certane uther wylde, fals, crafty bores, which haue

must, indeed, have been a very powerful chieftain, and very popular with both the contending parties in Scotland, having been first elected Lord of the Isles by the barons whom he had previously opposed, and afterwards welcomed again by the regent, notwithstanding his temporary desertion, and even though he had assumed the obnoxious and then treasonable title of lord of the Isles. The court party was so well pleased to have him once more among them, that the regent settled by mediation a dispute between Macdonnell and Argyle; and in return this great island chief remained firm in his allegiance to the Scottish throne as long as he lived. (68)

drunkyne the French kyngis wynes, and taistide of his cups, plainge leger de mane (as thai say) with boith handes, wer tyed up in ropis and halters. . . . . Alsoe, perceavinge what sedition and variance, what dissension and insurrecions, what theifte and extorcions, what dearth and misery, what pryde and hypocrisy, what invye and haterat we shal have in Scotlande, so long as this miserable, wretched cardinall and his buschops reagnethe and rulithe among us ther, without your Highnes, by the provision of God, hunte and dryve thaim shortlie fourthe of the same with fyre and sworde." *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 24, 25.

(68) *As he lived.*—In the year 1545. Mary, queen of Scots, for the good service done by James Macdonnell, during her minority, especially in opposing the English —'the auncient enemys of her kingdom'—granted to him the lands of Cantire north and south, consisting of 294 marklands and 53 shilling lands; in Isla, 91 marklands and 1064 shilling lands; in Jura, 184 shilling lands; together with several smaller allotments in Arran, Gigha, Colonsay, and other islands. In the year 1558, Mary and her husband Francis, because that James Macdonnell's title-deeds had been destroyed in time of war, and also for his continued good services against the English, regranted all the lands specified in the original deeds. These deeds, together with all his family papers, had, no doubt, been destroyed during a raid then recently made by the Irish deputy, Sussex, in the course of which he burned the castle of Saudell, where James Macdonnell then resided, and another family residence in Cantire, named Machrimone. In the year 1559, Mary of Guise, then queen regent of Scotland, granted to James Macdonnell, the wardship and marriage of Mary Macleod, the heiress of Dunvegan. This lady was the daughter of William Macleod, of Skye, who died in 1553. His daughter being heiress to a large estate, her wardship and marriage were vested in the crown, and disposed of by James, earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, to George, earl of Huntly. The earl of Argyle, however, meditating a marriage between the lady and some of his own kinsmen, bought the wardship from Huntly, but contrived to get it without payment, on the score that Huntly had neglected to quell certain turmoils in the Highlands. The deed of wardship was about being made over by the queen regent to Argyle, but the latter having declared himself a friend to the principles of the Reformation, the queen changed her mind, and appointed James Macdonnell as guardian to Mary Macleod, and administrator of her affairs. But this fourth earl of Argyle's protestantism, appears to have quickened his eye to business matters, and he succeeded eventually in obtaining this lucrative wardship. (See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 141—146). In addition to several family residences on his extensive Scottish property, James Macdonnell occasionally occupied Red Bay castle, near Cushendall. The ruins of this castle, —which stood in a most picturesque position, and commanded most magnificent views of the coast,—consist now of a tower or keep, and a few crumbling fragments of the walls. In 1561, Piers, the constable of Carrickfergus, sent an official to Red Bay, to make a complaint to James Macdonnell, respecting certain disputes with Sorley Boy. This official reported that the castle at Red Bay was then being repaired by Scottish workmen, under the superintendence of James Macdonnell, and that the latter, in the course of conversation, "used very evil talk against the queen (Elizabeth), and said that the queen of Scotland was rightful heir." In 1563, James Macdonnell wrote to the deputy Sussex from Red Bay, stating that Sorley Boy could hold no further communications with the government until the assassins of the sons of Alexander Macrandalboy Macdonnell were punished, and a certain promised grant of lands from the queen duly delivered.

CHAPTER III.

COLLA MACDONNELL AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

THIS third son of Alexander Macdonnell was one of the most distinguished of the six brothers, although he died at a comparatively early age. He was surnamed *Dubh*, or 'dark-haired,' and was also known by the sobriquet *na-g Capul*, 'of the Horses,' probably because he was a cavalry leader. (1) With the exception of Sorley Boy, Colla was better known on the Antrim coast than any of his brothers; and from certain notices of him in the State Papers (few, but very significant), he had evidently made himself formidable in the eyes of all English officials, not excepting, as we shall see, the lord deputy Sussex himself. In the earlier and fiercer struggles with the O'Cahans and Macquillins, Colla appears among the most fearless and energetic of the Clandonnell leaders. Throughout such military services, he was generally associated with his elder brother James, at least until after their father's death. Although these young officers occasionally met with severe reverses, they held their positions on the coast with unyielding tenacity, even when assailed by more than one powerful foe. They were generally, however, able to engage their opponents in detail, defeating the English on the coast, the O'Cahans on the Bann, and the Macquillins repeatedly on the open fields of the Route (2) Unfortunately, we have only English officials' letters, and an occasional entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, from which to glean a few scattered inferences respecting the true state of affairs at any given period, on the Antrim coast. The State Papers can hardly be expected to reveal the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, respecting any affairs in which the English and Scots were the belligerent parties. We have, indeed, ample reason to suspect that the writers of these letters and despatches systematically extenuate their own defeats, and exaggerate their own successes. And it thus happens, that in coming to any definite conclusions, we are compelled to judge from the drift of events, rather than from any positive information supplied by the concoctors of State documents. Some witnesses, however, speak with a greater degree of candour than others; but not a single official letter, or paper (if we except a hasty expression from sir Henry Sydney, and one or two from sir Henry Wallop), could be found, perhaps, during the whole sixteenth century, containing any admission that the Scots of northern Ulster were brave or successful at any time throughout that struggle of a hundred years; although, notwithstanding occasional reverses, they steadily advanced, and eventually established themselves in all the possessions for which they had so gallantly contended.

(1) *Cavalry leader.*—A Macdonnell manuscript, preserved by a family in the Glens, affirms that Colla bore the epithet *na-g Capul*, from his being obliged, in company with his men, to live on horse flesh during a campaign in Tyrconnell, where he had gone to assist the O'Donnells in a clan war against the O'Neills.

(2) *The Route.*—(See p. 2, *supra*.) This name is the modern form of the old *Reuda*, or *Reuta*, which had been contracted from the original Riada or Righfada. The territory of the modern Route—Macquillin's country—lay between the Bush and the Bann; and, at its southern extremity, between the Bann and the Glynnes.

In the year 1551, the Clandonnell banner waved triumphantly over the Route and Glynns. It had been carried even into Clannaboy, the patrimony of the O'Neils, and spoils, it was believed by the English, of great value, variety, and extent, had been taken by the Scots from the latter territory, and stored in the island of Rathlin. The authorities in Dublin, who had watched the movements of the various parties in the North at a respectful distance, now determined to strike a deadly blow at the Macdonnells, and also to seize the rich stores, which, they confidently hoped, at one swoop to carry off from the island. A formidable expedition, with the deputy, sir James Crofts, (3) at its head, moved northward into Ulster, whilst four large ships filled with soldiers soon appeared in the North Channel. Of the results of this expedition, we have a short notice in the Annals of Ireland, by the Four Masters, and we have also a more detailed account in a letter written by sir Thomas Cusake (4) to the earl of Warwick, (5) September 27, 1551. The notice in the Annals would lead to the conclusion that the force on board the squadron was landed on the island, and soon afterwards, or probably whilst in the act of landing, cut off by the Scots. Sir Thomas Cusake, as a matter of course, makes as little of the affair as possible, and speaks of the Scots as being, on the whole defeated, although he admits that they had repulsed the attack on Rathlin with considerable loss to the invaders. The following, however, is a full and true copy of as much of chancellor Cusake's letter as refers to the attempt on Rathlin. This extract also contains several curious facts in connexion with the Scottish settlement on the coast at the date above-named :—

"The nexte morowe certain prisoners of the Skottes were brought before my Lord, who told his Lordship that James M'Connyll and his breathern, with a nomber of Skottis were all togidder in the Island of Raghlin, and had with them the mooste parte of all the praies of kyne and garrans (6) that VI daies before were taken by them out of Claneboy, (7) and for that the same Island was

(3) *Sir James Crofts.*—This knight was of an ancient Herefordshire family. In 1549, he was governor of Haddington, and appointed, in 1551, as Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was recalled in the following year, and subsequently held the office of Constable of the Tower. He was implicated in Wyatt's conspiracy, but escaped by paying a fine of £500. After the accession of Elizabeth, he was made governor of Berwick, and advanced, in 1570, to the office of comptroller of the queen's household.

(4) *Cusake.*—Lord chancellor Cusake was the son of Thomas Cusake of Cassington, in the county of Meath. He represented an ancient Norman-Irish family, and his ancestors had been sheriffs and seneschals of Meath so uniformly that these appointments almost came to be considered as hereditary in the family. One of the Cusakes wrote a *Description of Meath*, which was long preserved in manuscript among the collections of Trinity College, Dublin, and eventually printed in Vallancey's series of learned Papers. Chancellor Cusake drew up what he called a *Boke on the State of Ireland*, which now possesses considerable interest, and from which we shall make occasional extracts relating to affairs in Ulster.

(5) *Warwick.*—John Dudley, earl of Warwick, was son of the notorious Edmund Dudley, baron of Exchequer, who paid with his life the penalty of his extortions as the instrument of Henry VII. His son, above-mentioned, was restored in blood when twelve years of age, and two years after his father's execution, in 1509. He was knighted in 1523, and in 1538, created viscount Lisle. He was advanced to the earldom of Warwick on the accession of Edward VI., and to the dukedom of Northumberland in 1551. In May, 1553, he married his son, lord Guilford Dudley, to lady Jane Grey, actually obtaining the signatures of the dying king and the obsequious council to a patent naming lady Jane as successor to the crown. He failed, however, in the most important part of his scheme—that of getting possession of the princess Mary, and subsequently betrayed signal deficiency in promptitude and courage. He soon fell a sacrifice to his ambition, and dragged down with him to an untimely grave the incomparable lady Jane Grey, who is described as having, at eighteen, "the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, and the gravity of old age." See Nichol's *Autographs*.

(6) *Garrans,*—The word Garran is probably a diminutive of *gabhar*, pronounced *garron*, denoting a workhorse, or hack. See Spenser's *Works*, vol. viii., p. 329; Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. i., p. 345.

(7) *Claneboy.*—These spoils were no doubt carried off by the Scots from northern or lower Clannaboy, which lay nearer to Rathlin than the southern or upper territory so called, in the county of Down. Northern

scant from the land iv myles by sea, (8) and that there was at the same place tow barkes and tow small galleys that thai dud take from the Skottes vi daies before. The Captaynes of the footemen was mooste willing to be set a land with iii or iv hondreth men, as well to revenge themself upon the people for invading the kingis lande and destroing his Maties people, as to seik their praies, consideringe that James M'Connyll and his brethren destroid in effect all Claneboy and M'Collyns contre, (9) and banyshed a sept of gentlemen out of their contre named Alexander Carraghes sonnes, men which served the kingis Matie trewlie; (10) and besydes the same from Marketown (11) to Glenarme put under themselfe, wherein thai dud dwell as quiet as in Skotlande, and had good occupynge of corne and cattaill in the same. So as thai had under occupying aboue xxx myles, whereby thai gate the stringth of O'Cahan, M'Collyen, and all Claneboy, and putt all the captaynes and gentlemen in thoise partes of the Northe to ber them trybute and yerelie rent, which which was paied to them yerelie, and had no men of warre in bonnaght in thoise contres when oon of them dud warre upon the other but such Skottes as James and his brethren dud send them. (12)

Clannaboy comprised the present baronies of the two Antrims, the two Toomes, the two Belfasts, lower Massareen, and the county of the town of Carrickfergus. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 344.

(8) *By sea.*—The distance from the nearest point on the mainland to the island is exactly four miles. This point is eastward of Ballycastle, near the rock called Carrickmore. From the quay, near Ballycastle, the distance to the head of Church Bay in Rathlin is about seven miles.

(9) *M'Collyns contre.*—Macquillin's territory of the Route was small compared with northern Clannaboy, extending from the Ravel to the Lagan, all of which, it would appear, now lay prostrate under the triumphant Scots. The following passage from sir Thomas Cusake's *Account of Ireland* in 1553, describes the difficulties to which Hugh, son of Neal Oge O'Neill, chief of northern Clannaboy, was then reduced:—"And now lately I repaired to his contre to talke further with him, to tract the time till grass grow, for before then, the contries being so barren of victuals and of horsemeat, no good may be done to destroy him; whereby I perceived that though he was determined (as he said) to meet me and to conclude a further peece; yet he, hearing of the arrival of certain Scots to the Glynnes, refused to come to me, contrary to his writing and sending, and went to Colloe M'Conill, who landed with 6 or 7 score bows, and thought to bring them with him to war upon his next neighbours, so as there is no great likelihood in him (O'Neill) of any honest conformity." *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, 1st series, pp. 242, 243.

(10) *Trewlie.*—It would thus appear that the descendants of Alexander Carrach (see p. 18, *supra*), had aimed at forming a settlement in the lower Glens independent of the Macdonnells of Isla and Cantire. This project the latter, as legitimate owners of the territory could not permit. The sons of Alexander Carrach, however, occasionally continued to side with the English, but always at their special and great peril.

(11) *Marketown.*—This was the English way of writing *Maurgetown*, the name of the little town at the head of Ballycastle Bay, so called from the river *Mairge*, which then emptied itself into the sea at the point now known as the *Inner Dock*. When the harbour was being made there, in 1738, the river Mairge was shut off from its original winding channel, on both sides of which Mairgetown, or Marketon, formerly stood.

(12) *Dud send them.*—This account indicates a condition of great prosperity on the part of the Scottish settlers on the coast; and the fact that the Macdonnells supplied all the bonaghts or hired soldiers to the northern chiefs, implied that these proud Scots had established an arrangement which only princes had ventured to impose. The Macdonnells thus quartered all their soldiers in the Route, Clannaboy, and O'Cahan's country beyond the Bann, employing them, when necessary, for their own purposes, but requiring the native populations to support them. *Bonaght* meant coyne and livery, or food for man and horse, supplied partly in coin or money, and partly *delivered* as victuals. The amount generally imposed was, for every spear, quarterly, twenty shillings and tenpence sterling, with corn to the measure of three score and three half hoopes, or eight pecks wanting [half] a hoope for 63 cakes, and nine score and nine quarters of butter. (See Morrin's *Calendar*, 1st series, p. 459; Davis's *Historical Tracts*, pp. 140, 151.) This system implied a complete mastery on the part of those imposing it, and was always denounced by the English in Ireland unless when imposed by *themselves*. Although the latter found it often a very convenient way of living on the subjugated Irish, they could not tolerate the idea of an Irish chieftain imposing bonaght on his own vassals, or of Scottish leaders thus sustaining their own authority in the north. In the eleventh of Elizabeth, the abolition of coyne and livery, among the Irish at least, is made the theme of special congratulation and thankfulness, thus:—"Of late, to the great glory of God, and your (Elizabeth's) immortal fame, a greater conquest than this (the overthrow of Shane O'Neill) is wrought in this your lande of Ireland, which is the abolishing and extirpation of that horrible and most detestable coyne and livery, which was the verie nurse and teat that gave suck and nutriment to all disobediencies, enormities, vices, and iniquities of this realm, over foule and filthie here to be expressed, and such as did justlie provoke the wrath and vengeance of

Soe as betwixt M'Collyns howse and Bealfarst was obedient to his cesse of Skottes, which is above l or lx myles. (13) Then my Lord Deputie perceaving the willinge myndes of the Captynes and souldiers, and their peticions in that behalf and alsoe consyderinge the losse of the Kingis Maties lande and people, (14) beinge moost desirous soe to have the same avengid as no daunger might insue, sent for the maisters and captaynes of the barkes to him, to know how many men thai moght land at oon tyme in the Iland, who telt his Lordship not passe Ic. And then my Lord being mooste looth to adventure the losse of his men in such sorte, concluded that thai shold goo soe many by the coast to the place, whereas the same James his gallees laie at Roode; and if thai could bring the gallees with them, then thai moght land, Vc. at a tyme, whereby thai should atchue their interprise at their pleasure without daunger. And if thai could not come by their gallees afloate, that thai shold not launde in no wise, to bring them, unless thai could perfectlie perceave that the Skottis wolde yielde and retorne backe from the daunger of the schippis gonne schott. And soe his Lordschip and we all concluded to doe, with the advise of the captaynes.

"After which determinacyon, Sr. Raulf Bagnall (15) and Captayne Cuffe determyned to

Almighty God upon the people of this lande, and to be feared hath bred some peril of God's displeasure to your most noble progenitours, the princes of England, for so long suffering of the same. By the extermination whereof, there is, in so short a time, such an alteration of this estate happened, that where before there was everywhere but howling, crying, cursing, penury, and famine, now is there instead thereof mirth, joy, jollity, and blessing your Majestie,—with such plentifulnesse of graine and victualls among the people of this realme, as the like hath not been seen or heard of within the memorie of man; all parts of the same realm so quieted, the people, as it were, of themselves so inclined to justice, as wee dare say, your Maties. commissioners and justices may have at this day free concourse throughout this your whole realme of Ireland. . . . This is the diligent and painfull industry of your good servant, Sir Henry Sydney, whose parte we may not leave unreported without breach of conscience." See *Irish Statutes*, vol. i., pp. 333, 334.

(13) *Myles.*—The distance between Dunluce, Macquillin's "howse," and "Bealfarst," is about fifty-five miles by the then route along the coast. For an account of various kinds of Irish cesses and exactions, see *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 105; *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 46.

(14) *Lande and people.*—The kings of England were long in the habit of keeping up a claim on lands in Ireland, alleging certain rights of inheritance. Their claim on Ulster, for example, was made out as follows:—"Lacye enjoyed all Ulster during his life, which was 70 years after the Conquest, and had one only daughter, that was married to Sir Walter de Burke, Lord of Connaught, who enjoyed them both during his life, and had issue Sir William de Burke, Earl of Ulster, who had issue Richard de Burke, who was Earl of Ulster, and Lord of Connaught, and kept them both in prosperity, but was traiterously slain, leaving but one daughter, his heir. His daughter, named Elizabeth, was married to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of King Edward III. Lionel was his father's Lieutenant of Ireland, and had the same revenues as his father-in-law, and he made no long stay there. Neither he nor any of his heirs provided any good defence for their lands in Ulster and Connaught, by occasion of which, in the time of King Henry VI., all Ulster was clean lost. The king is right heir to the said Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, and yet hath no more profit thereby, but only the manor of Carlingforde, which is scarce worth 100 merks by the year." (*Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, 1st series, pp. 4, 5.) The plea put forward on behalf of English princes as *hereditary* sovereigns of Ireland is still more questionable. This plea is embodied in the well-known act of the 11th of Elizabeth abolishing the title of *The O'Neill*, and is thus stated:—"And, therefore, it may like your Majesty to bee advertised, that the auncient chronicles of the realme, written both in the Latine, English, and Irish tongues, allege sundrie auncient titles for the Kings of England to this lande of Ireland. And first, that at the beginning afore the comminge of Irishmen into the said lande, they were dwelling in a province of Spaine called Biscau, whereof Bayon was a member, and the chiefe cittie. And that at the said Irishmen comminge into Ireland, one King Gurmonde, son to the noble King Belan, Kinge of Greate Britaine, which now is called England, was Lord of Bayon, as many of his successors were to the tyme of Henry II., firste conqueror of this realme, and therefore the Irishmen should be the King of England his people, and Ireland his lande. Another tytle is, that at the same tyme that Irishmen came out of Biscay, as exiled persons, in sixtie ships, they met with the same King Gurmonde upon the sea, at the yles of Orcades, thin coming from Denmark, with great victorie, their captaines called Heberus and Hermon, went to this king, and told him the cause of their comminge out of Biscay, and prayed him with great instance that he would graunt unto them, that they might inhabite some land in the west. The king at last, by advise of his counsell, graunted them Ireland to inhabite, and assigned unto them guides for the sea to bring them thither; and, therefore, they (the Irish) should and ought to bee the King of England's men." *Irish Statutes*, vol. i., pp. 230, 231.

(15) *Bagnall.*—Ralph and Nicholas Bagnall, brothers, came from Staffordshire to this country, in the year 1542,

advaunce forwarde with thre hondreth souldiers, gonners, and part archers, towards the island. Then my Lord eftsones declared unto them his former conclusion, prohibiting them in no wise to launde, but to keape their boates afloate in eschewinge daunger of losse of men, and if by that meanes they coulde come by their gallees then to bringe them from thence, if not to retorne, onless they colde perceave that they colde come by them without daunger. Whereuppone they take shippinge, and comeinge nighe the Iland, Mr. lieftenaunte and Captayne Cuffe(16) went boothe in oon boate with certayne souldiers with thaim to the nombre of xxx., and iii. or iiii. boates more furnyshed with lyke men. And as the boate where the lieftenaunte and Cuffe was approachide nighe the place wher their gallees wer, they sawe their gallees drawen to drie land. Soe they coulde not come by them without daunger, and sawe a nomber of Skottes towards the same place, whiche did not yelde nor retier for anie greate gonne shott that was shott out of the shippes. And whiles the lieftenaunte were thus beholdinge the same, a soddaine sourde (surge) of the sea came at an ebb and sett their boate upon the rockes. Soe as after thai could not com thense, but abide the hazarde, and then as many as were in that boate wer drowned and slayne to the nomber of xxv., and the lieftenaunte, Captayne Cuffe, and two more taken prisoners. Soe as all this came through misfortune, assuring your honor that ther coulde noe governour sett forthe men more discreatlie and wise than my Lord dud, and for as goode a cause and purpose as ever men was sent. And thankes be to God, save onely for the losse of our men, there is like suche good successe to followe, as the Skottes will noe more attempte to inhabite Irlande.

"And then James M'Conill sent to my lord, that he never knew that anie deputie was in Irlande before nowe, meaninge that he thocht that noe deputie wolde hev travailed soe ferre in suche a wyldernes and desart places wher as noe governour went with men sence the conquest, that anie man may remember, soe as the same jorney is right notable, by the which ther doe natoorely insue greate quietnes to the contre but alsoe profitt to the kingis Matie, besydes the wynninge of subiectes and bannesinge of enemyes, whiche will not be oute of remimbrans in Irlande. (17)

"Alsoe, the same James, after the killinge of the men and takeinge of the prisoners, dud likewise send to my Lord Deputie lettres that he wolde inlardge the prisoners, and restore all suche

the latter having been implicated in a charge of manslaughter. (See *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 439.) Nicholas appears to have recommended himself in some special manner to Con O'Neill, first earl of Tyrone, who wrote to the council in England for a pardon to Bagnall, which was readily granted by Henry VIII. Ralph Bagnall was a soldier of fortune, and appears also to have succeeded in his avocation. In the year following his capture by the Macdonnells at Rathlin, he was a member of the Privy Council in Dublin, and as such, he signed an order for the due preservation of Irish Records. His son, sir Samuel Bagnall, was a colonel in queen Elizabeth's Irish forces. See *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, new series, vol. iii., p. 187.

(16) *Cuffe.*—This was captain John Cuffe, but to what place in England he originally belonged, we cannot discover. On returning from captivity in Rathlin, he brought his company or band into the service of sir Nicholas Bagenall, the marshal of Ulster. In March, 1563, Cuffe wrote to Cecil for a grant of the parsonage of Ballymaglassan, county of Meath; the Manor of Deeps, county of Wexford; and the priory of Innistioge, county Kilkenny. Six months subsequently, he wrote again to Cecil, informing him of his long sickness, and forwarding George Frevelle, who was to make request to the queen on Cuffe's behalf, for a warrant to Sussex, the lord deputy, to pass to him in fee-farm the priory of Innistioge, in consideration that Selsekar abbey was taken from him. Cuffe appears to have died soon afterwards, as his widow, Kathrine Cuffe, of Waterford, petitions the queen, in 1565, for a grant of Selsker and Depes, or the priory lands of Innistioge. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, first series, pp. 167, 210, 213, 225, 235, 284, 356.

(17) *Irlande.*—Cusake must have soon felt considerably shaken in his own prophetical powers—at least so far as these Scots were concerned. In 1553, only two years later, he stated in his "Book" on the State of Ireland, that the Macdonnells were all-powerful in northern Ulster, implying, indeed, that their sway had not been practically infringed by anything sir James Croft had

armour and goodes as was taken from thaim ; and that his brethren beinge suffrid to dwelle in the landes wher they dud inhabite in Irlande, sholde berre and yelde with the kingis Matie, and doe his grace service, bot yett of ther comeinge again to the lande, my Lorde and we wolde in no wise condiscende. Then my Lord sent onto hym that onles he dud inlardge the prisoners, and retorne ther armour and goodes, he wolde complayne to the kingis Matie, and certifie the governour of Skotlande of his evil demeanour in this behalfe. (18) Soe as at the writinge hereof, Mr. lieftenaunte went to Dublin, to my Lord Deputie, and the reste be inlardged, and what furder conclusion is taken upon ther enlardginge as yett, I doe not knowe, beinge assured the Lord Deputie will certifye your good Lordship the full effecte thairoff. (19)

"All such corne as the same Skottes had in those partes, which was more than all Clanneboy had, my lord destroid in effect, soe as men reporte, the mooste trust that James and his breathren had for provicōn of corne was in the same; and also Coll M'Connyll, seconde brother to James, had a stronge castill buylded upon a rock, with a strong baan (bawn) of lyme and stoon, over the sea, named the castill of Keanbaan, (20) which my Lorde causid to be defaced, and brake much parte thairof, so as nowe it is not defensible, whiche I am sure thai neid had for soe muche more displeasir doon to thaim.

"From Lessmoolin, (21) the 27th September, 1551."—*Public Record Office, London, Irish Correspondence*, 1551, vol. iii., No. 52.

From the foregoing account, although tenderly handled by Cusake, it is evident that the English party not only sustained a severe check, but completely failed also in the several objects of their

accomplished, and of which Cusake himself had so boasted in this account of the expedition of 1551. See also Calendar of the *Carew MSS.*, first series, pp. 242, 243.

(18) *This behalfe.*—Croft, the deputy, and Cusake, the chancellor, appear to have been in a hopeless dilemma. The governor of Scotland was then James Hamilton, earl of Arran, afterwards duke of Chatelherault, with whom James Macdonnell was in firm and cordial alliance ever since the year 1545. See p. 45, *supra*.

(19) *Effecte thairof.*—The following is the account of this affair as given in the Annals of Ireland, explaining "the furder conclusion," of which Cusake had not heard, when he penned the foregoing letter :—"A hosting was made by the Lord Justice (Lord Deputy) into Ulster, in the beginning of Autumn ; and he sent the crews of four ships to the island of Reachrainn to seek for plunders. The sons of Macdonnell of Scotland, James and Colla Maelduv, were upon the island to protect the district. A battle was fought between them, in which the English were defeated, so that not one of them escaped to relate their story, except their chief, a lieutenant, whom these Scots took prisoner, and kept in custody until they obtained (in exchange) for him their own brother Sorley Boy, who had been imprisoned in Dublin by the English for the space of a year before, and another great ransome along with him." The following entry in the Annals at 1551, almost succeeding the above, is a curious commentary on Cusake's pretended victory :—"A hosting was made by the English a second time into Ulster, to wreak their vengeance on the sons of Macdonnell, the sons of O'Neill, and the sons of Niall Oge, son of Niall, son of Con, son of Hugh Boy. The Ultonians and Scots were prepared to receive them. On coming together a fierce and furious battle was fought between them, in which the English were defeated, and two hundred of the English and Irish (of their party) were slain ; and such of them as escaped returned back in disgrace and discomfiture from these two expeditions."

(20) *Keannbann.*—Kinbann, 'the White Head,' is a huge chalk rock of dazzling whiteness standing out in the channel somewhat beyond the line of other adjoning headlands, and about a mile and half westward from the town of Ballycastle. It rises abruptly from the water about one hundred feet. The castle of Colla Macdonnell stood behind this immense rock, but connected with it by strong walls which were carried along the edges of the cliff so as to prevent any possibility of an assault from the sea. On the southern side it was protected by a range of cliffs standing considerably inland, but only capable of being descended by a precipitous path. This castle had a tower or keep, portions of which still remain.

(21) *Lessmoolin.*—Cusake had an hereditary residence at Lismullan, an old Anglo-Irish town in the barony of Skryne, county of Meath. Maria Cusake, the latest prioress of the ancient nunnery at Lismullin, was probably a sister of the lord chancellor. She surrendered her charge on the 10th of June, 31st Henry VIII., in obedience to the then recently enacted law for the suppression of religious houses. This nunnery had been originally founded in the year 1240, by Alicia de la Corner, sister of the then bishop of Meath. See Seward's *Topographia Hibernica*.

expedition. The partial defacement of Kinbann castle was but a sorry recompense to the invaders for the loss of life incurred at Rathlin, the heavy expenses of the expedition, the large money-ransom for Bagenall and Cuffe, and especially the surrender by the authorities in Dublin of so important a prisoner as Sorley Boy. Colla Macdonnell soon returned to his fortress of Kinbann, which he continued to hold against all comers until the time of his death, in the month of May, 1558. Lord-deputy Sussex, who had also led a comparatively fruitless expedition to the North in 1556, wrote to secretary Boxall, on the 3rd of June, 1558, announcing Colla's death, which had occurred about twenty days previously, adding that he was the best man of all the brothers, and that he had constantly remained in Ireland. (See Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, 1st series, p. 146). As Colla thus died in the vicinity of Bunnamairge, his dust no doubt reposes in the older vault under the abbey. This chieftain married a lady of the Macquillins, but there is no record in the State Papers of such family alliance between these hostile clans. The marriage is mentioned, however, in manuscripts still preserved both among the Macdonnells and Macquillins. The lady's name is traditionally stated to have been *Eveleen*, probably the dimunitive of Eva, or it may be a form of Eleanor, which, although not an Irish name, is frequently found in use among women of the native race. In one of the manuscripts referred to, Colla Macdonnell is represented as passing through the Route at some time—the date not specified—on his way from Cantire to Tirconnell, in command of a Scottish auxiliary force intended to assist O'Donnell, in a struggle then pending between him and O'Neill of Tyrone. It so happened that Colla arrived at Dunluce castle, as a sort of half-way house, where he and his redshanks were hospitably entertained. Macquillin, the lord of dark Dunluce, just then chanced to be at war with O'Cahan beyond the Bann, and the latter had swept away a vast spoil of cattle from the fields of the Route only a few days before the arrival of the Scottish party from Cantire. By way of making some small return to Macquillin for his hospitality, Colla Macdonnell offered a *day's fighting* of his whole party against the O'Cahans, an offer which Macquillin was only too happy to accept. "So Macquillin and the Highlanders went against the enemy, and where there was a cow taken from M'Quillin's people before, there were two restored back, after which M'Quillin and Colla Macdonnell returned back with a great prey, and without the loss of a man.' Colla and his men, on their return from the campaign in Tyrconnell, were invited to quarter themselves in the Route during the winter, which of course he gladly consented to do—this dark-haired, gigantic chief pleasantly passing the dreary winter season in wooing and winning the beautiful Eveleen Macquillin. Matters did not go on so smoothly, however, between the redshank host and Macquillin's people. They quarrelled, in fact, respecting certain dietary difficulties that had suddenly arisen, and the Macquillins are represented as having formed a conspiracy by which their burdensome and oppressive visitors were to be cut off in one night. The lady, who had discovered the existence of this plot, gave timely warning to her husband, Colla, and he had thus time to transfer his men to the island of Rathlin, where they were safe from the threatened massacre.

It is more likely that these redshanks, instead of being hospitably invited to spend the winter with Macquillin, had been quartered on that hapless chief, according to the custom of *bonachta*, (see p. 48, *supra*). and that the Scotch bonaghts, or hired soldiers, had become intolerably oppressive in their exactions. There is no doubt some truth in this manuscript, although it may contain a somewhat

distorted representation of facts. The events to which it refers probably occurred about the year 1551, when Cusake represents not only the Route but the adjoining territories as swarming with these bonaghts. In reference to the agreement thus found to exist between the State Papers and these family manuscripts, it is worthy of remark, also, that when Sussex made his grand raid in 1556, he found Colla Macdonnell's son, then a little child of probably about five or six years of age, under the protection of a vassal chief, called O'Kane. (22) Now it so happens that another Macdonnell manuscript is corroborated by this passage of the State Papers, for Colla's son is stated, in the family record, to have been fostered in the household of a gentleman of the O'Quinns of Carnrighe, near Coleraine. (23)

Colla left two sons, Gillaspick and Randal. For some scanty details respecting the former, we are chiefly indebted to a family manuscript, whilst of the younger, we have only two glimpses, which merely serve to identify him, and to show that, like so many of his race, he adopted the occupation of a soldier. The following letter, addressed to this Randal Mac Colla, will explain itself:—"James Fitz Maurice, to Randal MacDonnell—The custom of the letter (*i.e.*, salutation), from James, son of Maurice, to his friend and companion Randal, son of Colla Maeldubh, (24) and tell him that I told him to collect as many bonaght men (25) as he can, and to come to me, and that he will get his pay according to his own will, for I was never more thankful to God for having great power and influence than now. Advise every one of your friends who likes fighting for his religion and his country, better than for gold and silver, or who wishes to obtain them all as their wages, to come to me, and that he will find each of these things." (26) (*Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, new series, vol. ii., p. 345.)

(22) *O'Kane.* — The pursuivant who chronicled Sussex's movements from place to place whilst on his expedition to the north, says:—"On Sunday, the 19th July, he removed to Collrahan; on Monday night came in Colloh M'Connell's son, a little child, which was kept with O'Kanne." For an account of Sussex's expedition, see *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, first series, pp. 259—262.

(23) *Coleraine.*—The *Macdonnell Manuscripts* can be all, or nearly all, traced to three clergymen name *Macarthur*, who successively served as curates in the united parishes of Layd and Ardclinis. The last of these gentlemen was the Rev. Daniel Macarthur, who died about the year 1796, and the ministries of the three—son, father, and grandfather, extended from 1796 backward, for somewhat more than a hundred years. Probably the grandfather's papers were compiled by his successors; but, at all events, these *manuscripts*, whilst they occasionally jumble names and dates, embody many local traditions, and preserve the knowledge of several curious and important facts which would have otherwise been utterly lost. The Macarthurs, in their generations, resided at a place called Tromra, near Cushindall. See the Rev. Mr. Dobbs's *Account of Layd and Ardclinis*, in Mason's *Parochial Survey of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 20.

(24) *Maeldubh.*—In addition to the epithets of *Duv*, and *na-g Capul*, already mentioned at p. 46, *supra*, Colla had also *mael* occasionally prefixed to the former. "When this word *mael* is followed by an adjective, it is synonymous with *mal*, and signifies chief or king, *Maeldearg*, the red or ruddy chief; *Maeldubh*, the black chief." *Irish Topographical Poems*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, *Introduction*, p. 55.

(25) *Bonaght men.* (See p. 48, *supra.*) The Macdonnells grew powerful through the imposition of the bonnachta, or the exaction of coigne and livery for the support of their swarms of soldiers. By this means, also, the earls of Kildare, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, became great and feared, by their boldly imitating the custom by which Irish kings imposed the maintenance of their soldiers on their people. In the same manner, also, an earl of Desmond, at the close of the fifteenth century had come to the possession of exorbitant power. England made it a treasonable offence in any Irish subject to "putt eny bonaught upon eny Irisshmen," except when the person imposing it did so as deputy, and to meet some emergency of state. In the year 1557, several witnesses were examined before Sussex and his council, on certain charges against an earl of Kildare, for imposing the *bonnachta*, but these witnesses testified that Kildare had only done so as Irish Deputy. See Kilkenny *Archæological Journal*, new series, vol. ii., pp. 275, 276.

(26) *These things.*—The foregoing letter, rather obscurely expressed, was originally written in Irish, on the last day of July, 1579, and intercepted by the Government; so, although it was prevented from reaching

This officer, Randal MacColla, who resided in Colonsay, had probably employment enough on hands in the Scottish Isles, throughout which there raged several clan-feuds at the period referred to in the above letter. At a later date, in the summer of 1586, he was engaged in a bloody feud between the Macdonnells of Isla and the Macleans of Mull, in which he very narrowly escaped with his life. He is mentioned as an individual of rank, and was seized by the Macleans and thrown into a dungeon of Dowart castle, where his own cousin, Randal the son of James, happened to be imprisoned as a hostage. By a lucky accident, these captives were released through the interposition of LachlanMor Maclean, although they had been reported as put to death, and Angus Macdonnell, son of James, had actually avenged their supposed execution. See *Account of the Clan Maclean*, p. 57.

Gillaspick, the elder son of Colla, was fostered, as already stated, in the family of a gentleman, named O'Quinn, or O'Cahan, and he eventually married the daughter of his foster-father. (27) When he attained his majority, it is stated in the manuscript that his uncle, Sorley Boy, in order to mark the event in a manner worthy the young chieftain's rank, ordered the celebration of public games at Ballycastle, and that among other amusements, *Bull-fighting* or *Bull-baiting* (28) was introduced on the occassion. Unfortunately, an infuriated bull broke loose, and rushed upon

Randal Mac Colla, it was thus preserved as a curious record of the time. The writer of this and several letters of the same import to other leaders, was James, son of Maurice Duff, son of John, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, a near kinsman of the last earl of Desmond. The two sons of the latter were imprisoned during several years in the tower of London, and in the interval this James Fitzmaurice sustained against the English Government a fierce struggle in the interests of his imprisoned relatives. This struggle continued from 1569 to 1573 inclusive. In 1575 he was compelled to escape with his wife and family into France; and having returned in 1579, he was slain "after some useless fighting," by the Burkes and O'Briens of Ara. In O'Daly's *History of the Geraldines*, the author states that James Fitzmaurice had arranged with pope Gregory XIII. to appoint Stukely, an Englishman, to the command of the vessels which had been engaged to convey men and arms to Ireland for the purpose of continuing the war, but that Stukely sailed to Portugal, entering the harbour of Lisbon at the very moment king Sebastian was setting forth on his expedition against the Moors in Africa. Stukely, in violation of his promise to the pope, and of the oath he had sworn to James Fitzmaurice, joined the expedition to Africa, where he fell in a great battle,—three kings, Sebastian, Mahomet, and Muley Moloc, perished at the same time. See *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, vol. ii., new series, pp. 354—356.

(27) *Foster-father.*—As a further illustration of the curious Celtic custom of fosterage, (see p. 27, *supra*,) we quote extracts from a *Contract* entered into at Keill in Duror, Argyleshire, on the 8th December, 1665, between George Campbell of Airds, on the one part, and Donald Dow M'Ewin, and Rose O'Dogherty, his spouse, on the other part :—"Forasmekle as the said George Campbell gives in fostering Isobell Campbell, his lawfull dochter, to the said Donald and his spouse, for the space of seaven yearis from Beltane nixt: Lykeas the said George Campbell grants and gives for the said Issobel, tua new calfit kyne, with ane calf and ane stirk of ane yeir old, with ane tua yeir old quey at Beltane, 1667 yeiris. Lykeas the said Donald and his said spouse give and grant to their said foster tua farrow kyne, with ane stirk and ane tua yeir old quey, at the said term of Beltane nixt, and ane other tua yeir old quey at Beltane, 1667 yeiris. Quhilkis haill kyne, with their incres salbe in the custodie of the said Donald and his said spouse during the said space of seavin yeiris,—the milk of the said kyne to belong to the foster-father, and the incres of the cattaill to the said Isobell, being ane calf betuixt ilk tua new calfit kyne: Item, the said George Campbell is to grass the yeald kyne yeirly, yf the said Donald have not sufficient pasturage for them. . . . . And mair over, for the love and affectioun quhilk they (Donald and spouse) have towards their said foster, and also for uther gude considerations moving thame, the said Donald Dow and also the said Roiss N'Odochardie, ylkane of thame for thair awin pairts, sells and dispones, without recalling, to the said Isobell Campbell, their foster, ane bairn's pairt and portioun naturall of their haill guidies and geir whatsomevir, quhilk sall pertain to thame the tyme of thair deceis, siclyke as if she war thair awin lawfull chyld: Provyding always, that in caise the said Donald and his said spouse depairt out of this life without children procreat of thair awin bodies surviving thame,—in that case it shall be lesum to thame at thair deceis to nominat, ayther of thaim, ane *dileabhach* (legatee) allanerlie to succeid thame, in ane equall portioun with thair said foster, and heirto they are obleist in the most sure form obligatioun." See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 20, 21.

(28) *Bull-baiting.*—For much curious information on the subject of bull-baiting in Ireland, see *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. ii., pp. 319—330; M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, third edition, p. 186; *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii. p. 236.

Gilaspick, inflicting a mortal wound before any of his attendants had time to interpose. By his wife, he left one son, named Colla, who was born on the island of Loughlinch, (29) and who was removed at an early age to Colonsay, which was always subsequently known as his family home, as it had been that of his uncle, Randal MacColla. This son of Gillaspick was known among his island-kinsmen as *Coll Keitache mac Gillaspick vic Coll* of Colonsay. He received the sobriquet of *Ciatach*, which may be latinised *ambi-dexter*, from the fact of his being able to use both hands with equal dexterity. The phrase does not imply merely the dexterous use of the *left* hand, as generally supposed; in his case at least, it meant that he could wield his ponderous sword in whatever hand the peculiar circumstances of each encounter with his foes required that it should be grasped. He was destined to take a prominent place in the history of the Western Highlands, and his name never failed to inspire uneasiness and fear in the ranks of the *Siol Diarmid*, or Clan Campbell. (30) During the final struggle of the Clandonnell, in 1614, for the recovery of Isla and Cantire from the Campbells, Coll Kittagh soon proved himself to be a daring and intelligent leader. He was entrusted with the possession of Dunyveg in Isla, which the Macdonnells had seized by a *coup de main*, and which was considered the most important position in the Isles. Coll continued to hold the castle against the bishop of the Isles, who had undertaken to keep it for the government; but the earl of Argyle, whilst he urged the government to sustain the bishop in his efforts, at the same time, secretly encouraged the Clandonnell to resist the government, promising that he could, and would, secure for them their estates. The bishop discovered this treacherous conduct, on the part of Argyle, which was intended, of course, to lead

(29) *Loughlinch.*—This is a well-known locality in the parish of Billy. About fifty years ago, the lake, although then greatly diminished, covered upwards of twenty acres, its waters forming part of the boundary line between the townlands of Loughlinch and upper Glassanierin. On the centre of the lake was an island, and here stood a fortress of the Macquillins, which, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, was captured and plundered by the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell, in the year 1544. Loughlinch is the modern form of the ancient Irish name *Loch-Leithinnsi*, or the 'Lake of the Half Island,' because it was considered half-and-half the property of the people on its opposite shores. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 278.

(30) *Clan Campbell.*—The Campbells were, and still are known in the Highlands as *Slioch na Diarmid O'Duibhne*, or 'Descendants of Dermod O'Duinne'—the founder of their clan. The surname of Campbell is derived by the older seanachies from a chieftain surnamed *Cam-Bél*, or 'Crooked-mouth,' but later seanachies have adopted a more pleasing derivation of the name, accepting it as from *Campo Bello*, the latinized form of Beauchamp, the name of a Norman knight who married Eva O'Duinn of Lochawe. From the time of this marriage, it is said that the whole Clan Oduibhne assumed the surname of Campbell. (See Buchanan of Auchmar's *Ancient Scottish Surnames*, pp. 31, 32.) It is more than probable that the old surname of O'Duin was abandoned by the Campbells on the introduction of the feudal system into Scotland during the reign of Malcolm, surnamed *Canmore*, that system requiring that the grantees should assume the names of their lands—a stipulation supposed to be necessary from the fact that many such grantees were of foreign birth. The family of Lochow, with the loss of its old Irish surname, lost also its patriarchal rule in the district, and was required, like other leading families, to hold its lands from the Scottish crown. The feudal system, however, soon found favour among the Celtic chiefs, for although it required them to sink their family surnames, it granted them in return the power of *pit* and *gallows*, in other words, the power of imprisoning and putting to death, not only criminals in the proper sense of the term, but all opponents to their petty sovereignties. Capital punishments were not permitted under the old Celtic *regime*, and were wholly unknown in Scotland until the days of Malcolm III. The Campbells possess no family charters older than the year 1296, the earlier ones having been destroyed by fire during the many feuds in which their owners so freely took part. They fought gallantly on the side of Robert Bruce, and in return, received very extensive grants of the lands forfeited by the Comyns, the Macdougalls of Lorne, and other leading supporters of the Balliols. The grant from Bruce in 1315 was made to sir Colin Campbell, his nephew, the son of his sister Mary Bruce. The son of sir Colin was Duncan Campbell, created a viscount, and Colin a grandson of Duncan, was advanced to the earldom of Argyle. Indeed, from the time of Bruce, the Campbell family rose rapidly into great wealth, and almost unbounded territorial influence. Of its unexampled advancement, the record and charter history of the parishes, not only of Lorne, but Argyle and the Isles, bears the amplest testimony.

to the utter ruin of the Macdonnells. In writing from Isla to the Scottish council, the bishop concludes his letter with the following statement:—"The Clandonnell have built a new fort in a loch which they had manned and victualled. Angus Oge, their captain, affirms in the hearing of many witnesses, that he got directions from the earl of Argyle not to surrender the castle, and that he (the earl) should procure for Angus the whole lands of Isla, and the house of Dunyveg." Instead of assisting the bishop, however, the government, mainly through the machinations of Argyle, gave a commission of fire and sword against the Clandonnell, to John Campbell of Calder, a near kinsman of Argyle. The bishop, on hearing this, remonstrated as follows:—"Neither can I, or any man, who knows the estate of that country, think it either good or profitable to his majesty, or this realm, to make the name of Campbell greater in the Isles than they are already; nor yet to root out one pestiferous clan, and plant in another little better." The war went on for the space of two years, with various success; but, in the end, the Campbells, being sustained by the government, succeeded in exterminating the Clandonnell of Isla and Cantire. The following commentary on this struggle is worthy of remark, as being addressed to the Scottish court at the time, by sir Alexander Hay, an acute statesman:—"By many it is thought, that, if good will did second the duty which they (Argyle, Calder, and others) are bound to do, these frequent Island employments would not occur so often. For when these employments are so profitable in present pay, and a preparative for making a suit at court for service done, how easy a matter it is to have some of these unhallowed people, (the islanders), with that unchristian tongue (the Gaelic), ready to furnish fresh work for the tinker; and the matter so carried as that it is impossible to deprehend (detect) the plot." See Gregory's *History of the Highlands*, pp. 354—356.

The principal Clandonnell leaders made their escape, most of them to the Antrim glens; Coll, being driven from Dunyveg, took part in all the dangerous services of the war, and again got possession of that stronghold. He now held it until Argyle was fain to grant him and his garrison the right of marching out, which they did, when no further fighting was of any avail. Coll then returned to Colonsay, where he had large landed property, and enjoyed a high social position. In 1632, the Bishop of the Isles granted to him a lease of all the church lands in the island, with the teinds of the parsonage and vicarage of the parish of Kilchattan in Colonsay. This island had been the patrimony of a leading family of Macdonnells since the time of Somerled. It was subsequently granted, in 1335, by Edward Balliol to the "good John of Isla," and in 1343, by David II. to a member of the same family. The island afterwards came into the possession of John Mor Macdonnell, as in 1542, archdeacon Monro states that Colonsay "pertened of auld to Clandonald of Kyntire." When James V. restored his estates to Alexander of Isla and Cantire, Coll of Kinbann, Alexander's third son, probably obtained Colonsay as part, at least, of what he may have inherited from his father. In the grants from Mary queen of Scots, to James the eldest son and the trustee of his brothers, the following are the lands specified as belonging to the family in Colonsay, viz., Ballyrammynmoir, Machrenclew, Ardschenis, Ballytow, Machrebeg, Ballemoir, Karremore, Ballewtrache-Kilchattan, Ballynima, Ballyromyndow, Scalvasage, Killorane, and Ballenehard. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 283). The following is Monro's

notice of Colonsay :—"Northward from the iyle of Ornansay, be ane half mile of sea, lyes ane iyle callit Colnansay, seven myle lang, from the north-eist to the south west, with twa myle breadthe, ane fertill iyle, guid for quhit fishing. It hath ane paroche kirk. This iyle is brukit by ane gentle capitane, callit M'Duffye, and pertaned of auld to Clandonald of Kintyre."

A Macdonnell manuscript states that Coll *Ciatach* was married to a lady of the O'Cahans of Dunseverick, although the compiler mentions also that it was traditionally affirmed his wife's name was Macneill. It is very probable, however, that the old chief had been twice married, and if so, the manuscript and the tradition are thus both correct. By his wife, or wives, he left sons and daughters. His sons names were Gillaspick or Archibald, Alexander or Alaster, and Angus. When the covenanting movement became general in Scotland, all who opposed, or even refused to co-operate, soon found themselves involved in serious dangers. Many households were then broken up, never to be united again. Among the latter was the household of Coll Macdonnell, which was dispersed by a party of the Campbells, whose leader was nearly related to the earl of Argyle. The following reference to this affair is preserved in the following letter, addressed to the earl of Strafford, lord deputy of Ireland, by a naval officer named Owen :—

"May it please your Lordship,—I should have given a speedier Account of our Proceedings, had the Weather been answerable to my Desires. After the Receipt of your Lordships dated the 7th of this Month, and upon Information given me by a Letter from Mr. Slingsby of the Flemish Ship taken out of the Harbour of Dublin, the Wind being Northerly, I set sail for the Isle of Man, hopeing to have met with her there ; where missing of her, and the Wind being come about Southerly, I stood for the Coast of Scotland, arriving upon the 17th of this present in the Sound of Ilay where I came to an Anchor. (31) Immediately after there came a Boat on Board of me from the shore to see what we were, the Men whereof I used at first with Courtesy ; but seeing that by that means I could not gain knowledge how the Island stood affected, I threatened to hang them, which wrought more for my Purpose, they telling me the Strength among them to be about seven hundred Men, the chief being a near kinsman to the earl of Argyle, by name Colene Campbell, (32) who was then absent, and had committed the charge to Mr. William

(31) *Anchor.*—The Sound of Isla comprises the greater part of the strait between that island and Jura. The water is smooth, although the tides run through with the rapidity of a river. The eastern entrance is supplied with a natural breakwater consisting of a group of little islands, on one of which, named Freuch, or Fraoch Eilan, are the ruins of a castle called Claig, said to have been used by the Macdonnells as a prison-house for their captives taken in war. There is another little island of this name in Lochawe. The lofty and conical paps of Jura tower above the northern shore of the Sound. The island of Colonsay appears in perspective westward, and the peninsula of Cantire, backed by the rugged summits of Arran, eastward. This strait instantly attracts a stranger's attention on account of the remarkable correspondence of its opposite shores — as if the two islands had been one, and were disjoined by some violent agency of long ago. See Macculloch's *Western Isles of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 420; Lord Teignmouth's *Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 335.

(32) *Colene Campbell.*—The island of Isla then belonged to sir John Campbell, fourth laird of Calder, who got a royal grant of it after he had assisted finally to extirpate the Clandonnell South, in 1615. (See p. 55, *supra.*) It would be difficult to identify the Colin Campbell above referred to, the number of gentlemen bearing that name in full, being 'legion,' and all those Colin Campbells being about equally related to Argyle and Calder. The probability, however, is, that the Colin who led the marauding party to Colonsay, was either Colin Campbell of Lundy, or Colin Campbell of Aberuchill.

Campbell, his unkle. (33) Him I wrote unto in a courteous manner to come on Board, which at first took no effect. But after understanding him to be a fervent Papist, I gave myself out to be the like, and that I had on Board of me a Priest. I caused a Letter to be drawn as from this Priest to him, protesting he should have Liberty at Pleasure to return. This took; for on the Morrow he came on Board, where I gave him the best Entertainment I could, which so well pleased him, having withal Liberty to return, that the next Day following he came again, and his Nephew who was returned from Coll's Isle, (34) whether he went as I well understood with an hundred men, having brought with him the spoil of the Island, killing all their cattle, and taking all their corn, butter, and cheese in boats, which were discerned to come thenceward, rowing closely along the shore. . . . Both the aforesaid Campbells I have brought with me, either to be examined by the Master of Ordnance, or to be sent to your Lordship. I have likewise brought a man with me that gives in evidence against them, being then present with them in Coll's Isle, upon this barbarous usage of the inhabitants. I perceive that most of the Islands are more for fear than affection on the Earls (Argyle's) side, which appears by complaints made against his heavy Taxes on them."

"Carrickfergus, June 25, 1639." "RICHARD OWEN."

Although the native Irish were, at that period, oppressed almost beyond the power of human endurance, they had reason to dread also that a combination, or conspiracy, for their utter destruction was being matured alike among English puritans and Scottish covenanters. This frightful suspicion on the part of the inhabitants, especially of Ulster, was goaded to madness by certain threats openly uttered against their lives and their religion, by several leading members of the English and Scotch parties already named. "Hence it did arise," as stated in the celebrated Catholic *Remonstrance* addressed to the king, 'that some began to consider the deplorable and desperate condition they were in, by a statute law here found among the records of this kingdome, of the second yeare of the raigne of the late queen Elizabeth (but never executed in her tyme, nor discovered till most of the members of that parliament were dead), by which no Catholique of this Kingdome could enjoy his life, estate, or libertye if the said statute were executed; (35) whereunto no im-

(33) *His unkle.*—It is curious, if true, that any member of the Clan Campbell could have remained "a fervent Papist" in 1632, and being such, that he could have been left, even for a short time, in a position of considerable trust. We shrewdly suspect that Mr. William, uncle of 'Colene,' was feigning the "fervent Papist," with some special view for the time being.

(34) *Coll's Isle.*—'Coll's Isle,' or rather *Colla's Isle*, was the English translation of the Gaelic *Collinsa*, written now Colonsay. That this island was meant by Strafford's correspondent is evident from its position in relation to Isla, the boats of the marauding party of Campbells being "discerned coming thenceward, rowing close along the shore" of Isla. For a notice of Colonsay (see p. 57, *supra*). "The scenery of the north and north-west coast is very grand, consisting of a long range of black cliffs rising in successive terraces beetling far over the base, and worked out into caverns and broken into caves and promontories." See Lord Teignmouth's *Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 341, 342.

(35) *Executed.*—Elizabeth succeeded her sister Mary in the year 1558, and wrote her positive 'Instructions' for the enactment of this iniquitous law on the 18th October, 1559. Several distinguished officials in Ireland, at the death of Mary, took care to retain office, suiting their religious views to the humours of both queens. Sussex continued to be viceroy, and led the way in reversing his previous acts, whilst sir Henry Sydney found it convenient to remodel himself according to the new standard. The penal enactment supposed to be necessary in reversing the whole religious system of the country, was passed in the packed parliament of 1560. We may imagine how matters were managed when no county in Ulster was allowed a representative, and only one of its borough towns, Carrickfergus, permitted to elect a member. Munster furnished twenty members. Connaught had no county members, and only two for the boroughs of Galway and Athenry. The remaining fifty were chosen from Leinster. All the members, 76 in number, were selected as likely to agree with the new order of things. In the Upper House there was a majority of catholics—old English catholics, who made a show of opposition, but allowed the

pediment remayned but your majesties prerogative and power, which were endeavoured to be clipped, or taken away; then the plot of destruction by an army of Scotland, and another of the malignant partie in England must be executed; the feares of those twofold destructions, and their ardent desire to maintain that just prerogative, which might encounter and remove it, did necessitate some catholiques in the North, about the 22nd of October, 1641, to take armes in maintenance of their religion, your majesty's rights, and the preservation of life, estate, and libertie." The fears thus expressed were indeed awfully real, considering that the act of 2nd Elizabeth, and others almost equally sweeping, remained on the Statute Book, that no hindrance to their execution could be opposed except through the absolute exercise of the king's prerogative, that such hindrance was being rapidly removed in England and Scotland, and that a truculently expressed ferocity against the native Irish race was then the order of the day in both those kingdoms. "Some time before the rebellion broke out," says the protestant historian Carte, "it was confidently reported that Sir John Clotworthy, (36) who well knew the designs of the faction that governed the house of commons in England, had declared there in a speech, that the conversion of the papists in Ireland was only to be effected by the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other; and Mr. Pym gave out that they would not leave a priest in Ireland. (37) To the like effect, Sir William Parsons, (38) out of a strange weakness, or detestable policy, positively asserted before many witnesses, at a public entertainment, that within a twelvemonth, no catholic should be seen in Ireland; he had sense enough to know the consequences that would naturally arise from such a declaration, which, however it might contribute to his own selfish views, he would hardly have ventured to make so openly and without disguise, if it had not been agreeable to the politics and measures of the English faction, whose party he espoused, and whose directions were the general rule of his conduct." (Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. i., p. 234.) At this crisis, also, the Scottish covenanters, having obtained large concessions in an arrangement known as the *Pacification of Berwick*, (39) were

horribly penal part of the bill to pass—on Sussex actually swearing to them that it would never be carried into execution.

(36) *John Clotworthy.*—Sir John Clotworthy was eldest son of sir Hugh, an English military adventurer who settled near the town of Antrim early in the seventeenth century. Sir John was one of the most successful of the many selfish aliens who first plundered, and afterwards would have gladly extirpated the native Irish inhabitants. For notices of him, see Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall.; M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, 3rd edition, p. 402.

(37) *In Ireland.*—See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 312.

(38) *Parsons.*—This was another most selfish and successful adventurer; and, therefore, very much interested in the extirpation of the native race. He got immense grants of land in the counties of Meath, Cavan, Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, and Fermanagh. He was eventually appointed surveyor-general, and in this capacity became enormously wealthy. Yet such was his "immortal hatred to any welfare and happiness of this nation," and his ambition to make himself "still greater and richer by the total ruin and extirpation of this people, that, under pretence of his majestie's service, the publique faith" was violated. For an account of the wholesale robbery of the natives through the dishonest practices of Parsons, as surveyor, see *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii., p. 97; Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, pp. 615, 616.

(39) *Of Berwick.*—This treaty between the king and the covenanters was signed on the 18th of June, 1639, and has been well called a "travesty of amicable adjustments," as it really adjusted nothing, but rather rendered the relations between the opposing parties much more unfriendly than before. The commissioners sent from the Scottish camp were Rothes, Louden, Douglas, the sheriff of Teviotdale, Warriston, and Henderson. They met in the tent of the English commander, the earl of Arundel. The king was present, and made a favourable impression on the cannie Scots; and even principal Baillie, who acted as a reporter in the interests of the covenant, says:—"His Majesty was ever the longer the better loved of all that heard him, as one of the most just, reasonable, and sweet persons they had ever seen." Unfortunately, the parties soon afterwards differed very widely as to their several versions of what the *Pacification of Berwick* really was. The king, at a meeting of the

reported as uttering vows and imprecations never to lay down their arms until uniformity of religion —presbyterianism of course—was established in the three kingdoms, the catholic religion being first utterly suppressed. "A letter," says Carte, "was intercepted coming from Scotland to one Freeman of Antrim (40) bringing intelligence that a covenanting army was ready to come for Ireland, under the command of General Leslie,(41) to extirpate the Roman Catholics of Ulster, and leave the Scots sole possessors of that province; and that to this end a resolution had been taken in their private meetings and councils, to lay heavy fines on such as would not appear at their kirk, for the first or second Sunday; and on failure the third, to hang without mercy, all such as were obstinate at their own doors." (Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. i., p 160.) The slight military success achieved soon afterwards by the covenanters over the king at Newberne, coupled with their threats of forcibly imposing their covenant on the Irish catholics, determined the latter to appeal also to the arbitrament of the sword. If the Scots had restrictions on their religious liberty to complain of, how much more cruel and oppressive were those under which the Irish catholics had groaned? The latter, therefore, determined to take up arms as the Scots had done; and the leaders of the Irish party of 1641, O'More and MacMahon, actually justified their own movements by an appeal to the conduct of the Scots. Spalding, the trustworthy chronicler of passing events, when referring to the movements of the Irish, tells us that they, "with an uplifted hand, vowed, protested, and declared their own rebellion and popish religion against our covenant and proceed-

English Privy Council, denounced the account given by the Scottish commissioners as being, "in most parts, full of falsehood, dishonour, and scandal to his Majesty's proceedings in the late pacification given of his Majesty's princely grace and goodness to his subjects in Scotland." He further called on the English commissioners to attest the falsehood of the account; and the minute of the meeting of Council recorded their testimony against its accuracy. Indeed, the whole board "became unanimously humble petitioners to his Majesty that this false and scandalous paper might be publickly burned by the hangman." (See Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. iii., pp. 965, 966.) On the other hand, the Scottish commissioners, aided loudly by the preachers, denounced the king as a truce-breaker.

(40) *Of Antrim.*—These terror-inspiring statements were not confined to the letter addressed to an obscure individual in the town of Antrim. They were circulated with diabolical intent by persons in authority. The *Remonstrance of the Catholics of Ireland*, addressed to the king in 1642, contains the following passage:—"The said Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, your Majestie's vice-treasurer of this kingdome, and others, their adherents, did declare that an army of ten thousand Scots was to arrive in this kingdom to force the said Catholics to change their religion, and that *Ireland could never doe well without a rebellion, to the end the remaine of the natives thereof might be extirpated;* and wagers were laid at general assizes and publique meetings by some of them then, and nowe, imployed in places of great profitte and trust in this kingdome, that within one yeare no Catholique should be left in Ireland."

(41) *General Leslie.*—This was Alexander Leslie, an humble and unlettered soldier, of small personal dimensions, and deformed; but, by his talent and perseverance, he rose to the rank of a field-marshal in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. He was the illegitimate son of a gentleman named Leslie, laird of Kininvte—an estate on the water of Fiddich, which this laird's posterity hold at the present day. General Leslie's mother was a servant, and he used to say of himself that his education was defective, he having never been able to get further than the letter *G* in the alphabet. When Leslie returned from his service in Sweden the covenanting war was about to commence, and he was taken in hand by the earl of Rothes—a Leslie also by name, and a zealous covenanter. The little general was placed at the head of the Scottish army, which he forthwith marched to Dunse Law to confront the army of Charles I., at Berwick-on-Tweed. It was feared that other great men of the covenant would have refused to be commanded by Leslie, but such was not the case. "We feared," says principal Baillie, "that emulation among our nobles might have done harm when they should be met in the field; but such was the wisdom and authority of that *old, little, crooked soldier*, that all, with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been great Solyman. Certainly, the obedience of our noblemen to that man's advice was as great as their forbeers wont to be to their King's command; yet that was the man's understanding of our Scots humours, that he gave out, not only to the nobles, but to very mean gentlemen, his directions in a very homely and simple form, as if they had been but the advices of their neighbour and companion." See Napier's *Life of Montrose*, vol. i., pp. 173, 176.

ings; yea, to the admiration of many, *saying as our covenant expelled prelates and papists, so they would expel both protestants and puritans.*" "About this time, the Irish, fearing to be pressed with our covenant, as are the Scots, they began to look about them, and break loose, chiefly the papists and natives of the land; they had provision out of Dunkirk and West Flanders, of ammunition, powder, and ball, together with store of brave officers of fortune out of France, Germany, Sweden, Holland, West Flanders, and other countries, and had drawn to an head whereof Sir Phelim O'Neill was chief." Again Spalding says:—"They (the Irish) rage at our covenant, compelled thereto by their own Irish parliament holden by the kings of England (for their parliament is sub-delegate to the English parliament, and whatever is enacted or done in this Irish parliament is by the English commissioners, and by direction and command of the council and parliament of England), who now had given warrant against the natives and others to subscribe the covenant, whilk bred meikle sorrow and trouble among the Irishes, and vexation and trouble to the Scottish and English, as is hereafter noted." *Troubles of Scotland*, pp. 198, 255, 256, 266.

Alexander or Alaster Macdonnell, a younger son of Coll, was destined to take a prominent part in the struggle which was soon to commence in Ulster. Soon after the breaking up of his father's household in the summer of 1639, he appears to have come to the Antrim coast, to sojourn for a time among his numerous kinsmen, the Stewarts of Ballintoy. He is generally represented as coming in the summer of 1641, and for the special purpose of taking part in the conflict which commenced on the 23rd of October in that year, but he must have arrived much sooner, and most probably in a company of three hundred Scottish refugees, who, having refused to accept the covenant, were compelled to seek an asylum on the Antrim coast. In coming here, Alaster Macdonnell literally came among troops of kinsfolk, for he was closely related to the earl of Antrim, and more or less distantly to many of the northern gentry. Intermarriages among the latter, early in the seventeenth century, had established numerous relationships in the families of the O'Neills, O'Haras, Magees, Machenrys, O'Quinns, O'Cahans, and Stewarts. A family manuscript states that Cahill O'Hara of Loughguile. (42) had five daughters, the eldest of whom was married to Art Oge O'Neill, of whom the family of Shane's castle is descended. (43) His second daughter was married to Felim O'Neill, of whom French John O'Neill is come. (44) His third was married to Gill-

(42) *Loughguile.*—The residence of the O'Haras of Loughguile is now known as Lissanoure, the abode of the Macartney family. The old castle, portions of which yet remain, was generally believed to have been built by sir Philip Savage, the father of sir Robert, who died in 1390. (See p. 35, *supra.*) When Sussex, the Irish deputy, passed through Loughguile on his way from Coleraine to the Glynns, in 1556, the pursuivant, who recorded the events of that expedition, states that the old castle there was originally built by Richard de Burgo, the second earl of Ulster, known as the *Red Earl*, from the colour of his hair. See an account of Sussex's expedition in *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, first series, pp. 259—262.

(43) *Descended.*—This Art Oge O'Neill was son of Arthur, son of Shane, son of sir Brian MacFelim, who was treacherously murdered by the earl of Essex, at Belfast, in the year 1574. Art Oge O'Neill above-mentioned, married Grace O'Hara, and left two sons, viz.:—colonel Cormack O'Neill, of Broughshane, who never married; and captain John O'Neill, who died in 1687. The latter left three sons, the youngest of whom, Charles, inherited the Shane's castle estate, and married lady Mary Paulet, daughter of the duke of Bolton.

(44) *Is come.*—French John O'Neill, or Shane *Frankagh*, as he was familiarly called, because he had lived many years in France, was son of Bryan, son of Felim, son of Bryan MacFelim, whose assassination is mentioned in the preceding note. French John succeeded to the Shane's castle estate, on the death of Charles. (See preceding note.) Charles died without issue in 1716, and French John came into possession of the property as a

duff O'Cahan of Dunseverick. (45) His fourth daughter was married to John Stewart of Lisadavan, (46) and his fifth to one of the Machenrys of the Bann side. (47)

Among these numerous kinsmen, Alaster Macdonnell was no doubt hospitably received. Whilst several others of the Scottish refugees returned to Scotland, he remained in Antrim, and probably induced many of the humbler class of Highlanders, who had come with their chiefs, to remain and take service in a regiment of eight companies, which was then being organised by his kinsman, Archibald Stewart. This gentleman was lord Antrim's principal agent, and as such was able to enlist large numbers from the poorer tenantry of the estates. When the war burst forth, Alaster and his Highlanders, with some recruits, in all forming two companies of Stewart's regiment, immediately seceded therefrom, and took his stand, as in duty bound, among his own people. He is unfairly blamed for not fighting against his own friends and his own cause, if it had been only to show his gratitude to Stewart, who, it is admitted, gave Macdonnell his appointment in the regiment as a politic move, and as a means of "detaching the surrounding Roman Catholics from the insurrection."(48) This youthful Scot proved a terrible antagonist on a fair field, but he was not a treacherous foe, like so many of his opponents; and during his brief but brilliant career, he was never known to treat prisoners with inhumanity. It would appear that, for a time, he remained entirely on the defensive, and took no active part in the conflict until after the opposite party had fired upon, and killed several persons in Irish mobs. The struggle at other places in Ulster had commenced on the 23rd of October; and so early as the 16th of November, a Mr. Robert Wallbank was able to inform the Irish House of Commons that two hundred of the people of Coleraine had, previously to that date, slain six of a party of one thousand Irish, and that not even one of the former had been hurt. He also stated that, in another affair, no less than sixty Irish had been slain, and only two of the protestants had been hurt. (See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, and Appendix to the *Commons' Journals*, as quoted in Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, p. 166.) These events must have occurred early in November, or perhaps in the latter end of October, and yet several writers of history, quoting each other in succession, even down to Froude, represent Alaster Macdonnell as initiating the war in the Route by an act of treachery and murder at Portnaw, on the Antrim side of the river Bann.

The truth on this point, however, is, that Stewart with the six remaining companies of his

very distant remainder-man under the will of Rose O'Neill, marchioness of Antrim.

(45) *Dunseverick.*—There were intermarriages between the O'Cahans and Stewarts, and the relationship of the latter to the family of Alaster MacColl probably came through his mother, who was said to have been a lady of the house of Dunseverick, and consequently a kinswoman of the Stewarts of Ballintoy,

(46) *Lisadavan.*—This is the name of an old residence in the parish of Dunaghy, and at a little distance from the present town of Clough, county of Antrim.

(47) *Bann side.*—The residence of the Machenrys on the Bann was known as castle Loughan, on Inislochan, an island in a lough formed by the waters of that river, about a mile and half southward from the town of Coleraine. This had been once a very strong position, and the Machenrys, to whom it belonged, were a formidable power in northern Ulster. The Clan-Henry was often distinguished by exploits in war against the English, the O'Donnells, and sometimes the O'Neills. This clan was descended from Henry O'Neill, surnamed *Aimhreidh*, or the 'Contentious,' whose principal residence was the castle or fortress near Newton-Stewart, where he died in the year 1392. See Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, pp. 51—53, *note*.

(48) *Insurrection.*—See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 300. Dr. Reid dignifies this young Macdonnell—who never had been previously heard of beyond his own little world of Colonsay—by calling him "an influential Romanist." He was in fact a juvenile outcast from his own land on account of his religion, although the son of an ancient house.

regiment, and a garrison hastily formed at Coleraine, had completely overawed the Irish population of northern Antrim. Towards the end of December, it was rumoured that a small Irish force was preparing to cross the Bann from the Derry side, at a ford called Portnaw, near the town of Kilrea. Alaster Macdonnell, in the mean time, had kept his little force well in hand, but he knew that unless help could reach him from the west, his two companies must soon be cut off. At this critical juncture, his danger was greatly increased by a sudden movement on the part of Stewart, who marched rapidly from Coleraine, and encamped on the Bann side, exactly at the ford abovenamed, and in such a position as effectually to block the passage against the crossing of the Irish from the western bank. Macdonnell now felt that he had only one course left—to clear the passage across the river, if possible, by a desperate assault. He determined, therefore, with his two companies to spring upon the six companies of the enemy; but he felt, at the same time, how hopeless must be the attempt unless it could be made under circumstances favourable to his numerically insignificant force. After carefully calculating the chances, he attacked Stewart early on the morning of the second of January, and when daylight appeared, he had scattered the enemy in all directions, leaving several dead in their encampment, and some even in their beds. If Stewart placed no sentinels on the watch, or if his men were asleep when they ought to have been standing to their arms, any blame in the affair attaches to him, and certainly not to Macdonnell, who thus inflicted upon him such a signal defeat. The Derry force immediately crossed the Bann to unite with that of Macdonnell, followed by a mob of Irish who were afraid to remain in their own houses, and who encountered mobs of the opposite party along the lines of road leading southward from Ballymoney to Clough, then called Oldstone, and northward to Ballintoy and Dunluce. These mobs destroyed life and property to a much greater extent than the regularly organised forces on both sides.

The Irish had now possession of the whole district excepting the castles of Clough, Dunluce, and Ballintoy. Dunluce was held by an officer named Digby, for the earl of Antrim, and its strong position prevented its capture by the Irish. The town of Dunluce, however, was seized, and the inhabitants, who were nearly all Scottish settlers, were supplied with boats and sent across the channel to their own land. (49) The castle of Ballintoy, although held but by a small company, refused to surrender, and would have taken more time to capture than the besieging force had to spare. Macdonnell then divided his little army, sending one portion of it along the coast to Ballycastle, and leading the other himself southward through Stranocum, a little town on the Bush, towards the castle of Clough. This place had been hastily seized by Archibald Stewart a few months previously, although it really belonged to a private gentleman named Donnell Gorm Macdonnell, and to the shelter supposed to be here afforded, numbers of country people flocked, bringing into the castle whatever valuables they could hastily carry with them from their own houses. The garrison was com-

(49) *Own land.*—Still a few traces of the Scottish dwellers in Dunluce may be found in the old churchyard at a little distance southward from the castle. Around the edges of a tombstone is the following inscription :—"*Heir Lyeth the Children of Walter Kyd, Marchant of Dunluce, Burgess of Irvin. He made thes Stone tenth of March, in Anno Domini*, 1630." Inside the old ruinous church, on the north wall, a tablet of beautiful gray limestone bears the following inscription :—"*Here . under . Lyeth . the . Body . of . Florence . McPhilip . alias . Hamilton . Late . wife . of . Archbald . McPhilip . of . Dunluce . Mercht . And . Daughter . to . Captaine . Robert Hamilton . Of . Clady . who . departed . This . Life . The . 20th . of . July .* 1674.

"Death can dissolve but not destroy.
Who sowes in tears shall reape in joy."

manded by a country gentleman named Walter Kennedy.(50) Macdonnell's force, whilst approaching, was joined by that under the command of Art Oge O'Neill (see p. 61, *supra),* and the latter was the first to summon Kennedy to surrender the place. The men, who had been hurriedly collected, were neither disciplined nor provisioned for a siege. Their officer, therefore, concluded that, under the circumstances, "discretion was the better part of valour;" but with even more than an ordinary amount of discretion he replied to Art Oge's summons, that he would "never surrender to an O'Neill the castle that belonged to a Macdonnell!" Kennedy, a cannie Scot, took care, of course, that his words were spoken so as to be heard by Alaster Mac Coll, and the latter was so pleased and flattered by the reply, that he swore to Kennedy by the "cross on his sword," that, provided the castle were peacefully snrrendered, the garrison would be permitted to pass out in safety, and that the multitude of non-combatants who had sought refuge therein, might carry away all their effects and retire to their own houses. This was more than Kennedy could have hoped for. He surrendered, therefore, without delay, and so far as Macdonnell was concerned, or had the means of controlling others, the terms of this surrender were faithfully carried out. (51)

Perhaps the earliest and most impartial account of affairs in the Route, from the commencement of actual hostilities there, is contained in a letter written by sir James Macdonnell to his kinsman, Archibald Stewart, who, after his defeat at Portnaw, closed himself and his regiment in Coleraine. This letter, under the circumstances, is highly creditable to the writer, and could only have been written by a humane and honourable man. Sir James Macdonnell was son of sir Alexander of Kilconway, and grandson of sir James of Dunluce, who was believed to have been poisoned by an emissary commissioned for that purpose by lord Burghley, in 1601. Sir James first named, resided at the Cross, near Ballymoney, and took an active part, on the side of the Irish, in the wars commencing in 1641, for which he suffered forfeiture of his estate, but was partially restored in 1662. (See Lodge's *Peerage,* edited by Archdall, vol. i., p 201.) His letters are interesting and valuable, as furnishing additional testimony of a most respectable character, that there was no premeditated plan of massacre on the part of the Irish, but that, on the contrary, it had been arranged among their leaders carefully to avoid even the appearance of

(50) *Kennedy.*—This gentleman was the son of Anthony Kennedy, of Balsaragh, in the parish of Kirkoswald, Ayrshire, who settled on the Antrim coast about the year 1603. He appears to have resided at Turnarobert, near Armoy, although his lands principally lay in Ballyloughbeg, near Bushmills. Anthony died in 1620, his son Walter being then 24 years of age. The grant from sir Randal Macdonnell (afterwards first earl of Antrim) to Anthony Kennedy of Twornyrobert, included one hundred acres of Ballyloughbegg, fifty acres called Merside, and a mill with five acres adjoining. His wife, Anne Moore, daughter of Quintin Moore, had a life interest in these lands. Anthony Kennedy was buried in the old cemetery of Billy, near Bushmills, where a tombstone, inscribed with his armorial bearings, and the following inscription written along the edges in Roman capitals, still marks his grave:—"*Heir . Lyeth . The . Honourable . Man . Callit . Antony Kennedy . of . Balsaragh . Who Departed . The . Threde . Day . of . December . The yeir . of . Our . Lord . God .* 1620." Although, at the time of his death, this gentleman had been a resident on the Antrim coast for several years, he yet preferred to be designated, even on his tombstone, as of *Balsaragh,* his native place in Scotland. His son, Walter Kennedy abovenamed, married a daughter of William Boyd, of Dunluce. For the will of the last mentioned gentleman see Appendix III.

(51) *Carried out.*—After the surrender, however, several persons were said to have been massacred by a mob. The victims, including women and children, were making their way towards Larne, or Carrickfergus, when they were attacked on the side of the Ravel Water, by a murderous gang led by one Toole M'Hugh O'Hara. M'Skimin gives this statement, at p. 46, of his *History of Carrickfergus,* third edition, on the authority of one of the 'Depositions' preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

such a design. In truth, the only objects they had in view, as explained by sir James Macdonnell and others, and as admitted by many of the opposing party, were to expel the Scottish and English settlers from the lands in Ulster which had formerly belonged to themselves (the Irish); and also to free themselves from the oppression of those penal laws which had bowed them to the very dust, and which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear. Throughout every corner of Ulster, with a few rare exceptions, the Irish had been swept from all the arable lands,—from their own green fields, fertile straths, sheltered valleys,—and doomed to live among the bogs and morasses, or on the mountain sides. We learn from sir James Macdonnell that the Scottish settlers in the Route, on being expelled from their lands, were expected to return to Scotland through the several sea-ports at hand; and this humane leader offered to provide means of transport for them, rather than that the protestants should perish in such numbers at Coleraine. The following is sir James's letter:—

"Cossen Archebald,—I receaved your Letter, and, to tell the Truth, I was ever of that Opinion, and soe was the most of all these Gentilmen, that your own selfe had noe in you; but certainly had I not begun when I did, I and all these Gentilmen, with my Wiffe and Children had been utterly destroyed; of which I got Intelligence from one that heard the Plott alayinge; And those Captayns of yours (whome you may call rather Cowboyes) (52) were, every daye, vexinge ourselves and our Tennants, of Purpose to picke Quarrells, which noe Flesh was able to indure: And judge you whether I had Reason to prevent suche Mischefe; And I vow to the Almightie, had they not forct me, as they did many others besides me that would rather hang than goe on as they did, I would stick as firm to your side as any of yourselves; though I confesse it would be the worse thing for mee and mine that ever I sawe. To speake to you really the Truth, and the true Information of the whole kingdome—upon my Creditt I nowe doe it. All the whole Kingdome in generall are of our Side except Dublin, whoe hath 2000 Men about it, in Leager of it, if it bee not now taken; (53) Drogheda whoe hath 1600 Men about it, and are these ten Days

(52) *Cowboyes.*—The names of these bungling, but unfortunate captains were Glover, Peebles, and Macdougall. (See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 313, and *note.*) From the fact that Macdonnell speaks of Stewart's officers so disparagingly, the latter must have been guilty of some glaring mismanagement, first in provoking the collision, and afterwards in permitting themselves to be surprised at Portnaw.

(53) *Now taken.*—The authorities in Dublin, although they had a strong garrison and ample munitions, were paralysed with fear on hearing of the movements of the Irish under sir Felim O'Neill. The lords-justices ordered the castle draw-bridge to be raised, going up at intervals to the platforms of the tower, and expecting every moment to witness the approach of the northern enemy. They only, at first, beheld vast flocks of sea-birds, which kept filling the air with their shrieking above the city, and would not desist although repeatedly fired at from cannon. The two thousand men, supposed by sir James Macdonnell to besiege Dublin, were only crowds of unarmed peasantry, who could have opposed no organised resistance to a disciplined force, however small. About the time of his writing this letter to Stewart, the whole aspect of affairs had changed around Dublin, for whilst the lords justices trembled and temporised in presence of the unarmed country people, several regiments arrived from England, in the end of December, 1641. The soldiers composing these regiments were instantly sent out by the lords-justices, and instigated by them to the perpetration of all imaginable cruelty against the inhabitants of the districts around Dublin. The slaughter of unarmed men, women, and children, became at last sport to the brutal English soldiers, which they called *Birding;* and officers who could not give a glowing account of the massacres done on these expeditions had no chance of favour in the eyes of the authorities. See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, second edition, pp. 56, 57.

past eatinge of Horse Flesh;(54) Carrickefergus,(55) Coulraine,(56) and my Lord Claneboyes,(57) and my Lord of Ardes.(58) This is the Truth on my Creditt; Ballemeanagh,(59) Antrim,(60) and

(54) *Horse Flesh.*—The peasantry who surrounded Drogheda were, also, comparatively undisciplined and unarmed, but equally formidable for a time, to the strong garrison in the latter place. Sir Henry Tichbourne was the commander in this garrison, and when he ventured out, he proved himself to be one of the most ruthless of all the military butchers of the time. He wrote a history of the siege of Drogheda, and boasts that, in a few weeks after he got out, "there was neither man nor beast to be found in sixteen miles, between the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk; nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the county of Monaghan, nearer than Carrickmacross, a strong pile twelve miles distant." Until after the perpetration of these atrocities at Dublin and Drogheda, it does not appear that the Irish, under sir Felim O'Neill, had commenced their system of cruel retaliation. Even sir John Temple owns that "those British whom the rebels suffered to live among them, and such as they kept in prison, were not put to the sword by the Irish, until, in the several encounters they had with his majesty's forces, they suffered loss of their men, and so were enraged." See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. i., p. 126; Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 169.

(55) *Carrickefergus.*—This place was secured by the vigilance and energy of the governor, colonel Arthur Chichester, who had heard of the outbreak on the evening of the 23rd of October, and forthwith ordered drums to be beaten and fires lighted for the purpose of warning the inhabitants of the adjoining districts. Great numbers rushed into the town during the following two days, many of whom were immediately armed and formed into companies, whilst multitudes of women, children, and non-combatants, to prevent over-crowding, were assisted to get across the channel, to their friends in Scotland. M'Skimin, without giving his authority, states that "Sir Henry Mac O'Neill was to have surprised Carrickfergus." Dr. Reid, without giving his authority, states that, according to previous arrangement, "the attack was to have been conducted by one of the Macdonnells." Probably the real hero intended for this service was sir Henry O'Neill of Killelagh, who was a Macdonnell by his mother. Sir Henry O'Neill of Edenduffcarrick, whom Dr. Reid supposed to be alive in 1641, had died in 1637. See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, third edition, p. 43; Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., pp. 292, *note*, 298.

(56) *Coulraine.*—This town was secured by the timely efforts of Mr William Rowley, who had escaped from Moneymore on the afternoon of the 23rd of October, and reached Coleraine about eight o'clock on the following (Sunday) morning. Multitudes of fugitives from the counties of Antrim and Derry, reached Coleraine during the following two or three days, many arriving from the Route. It ought to be observed that, at the commencement of the war here, as elsewhere, the Irish committed no acts of massacre. The protestants and presbyterians were frequently pillaged, but allowed to escape with their lives to the nearest place of refuge. It was originally intended by the Irish that "the enterprise should be conducted in every quarter with as little bloodshed as possible," and, at first, not even an insinuation was expressed of any massacre committed on the protestants, although the latter had killed nearly a thousand of the Irish in Ulster, during the first two weeks. See Leland's *History of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 101; Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. i., as quoted in Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p, 166.

(57) *Lord Claneboyes.*—James Hamilton, the son of Hans Hamilton, a preacher in the parish of Dunlop, Ayrshire. See *Hamilton Manuscripts*, edited by T. K. Lowry.

(58) *Of Ardes.*—Hugh Montgomery, second viscount Ards, son of Hugh Montgomery, sixth laird of Braidstane. See new edition of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*.

(59) *Ballymeanagh.*—The protection of the whole country northward from Ballymena devolved on Archibald Stewart, who, being lord Antrim's agent, was supposed to have a widely extended influence. Much more was expected from him than he, or any one else, under the circumstances, could have accomplished. He seems to have had little talent for organisation, and still less for the management even of small numbers of men in active service.

(60) *Antrim.*—Sir James Macdonnell was partly correct in this statement respecting Antrim, although it is a fact that, in the absence of sir John Clotworthy, his brother, colonel James Clotworthy, and others, were able to secure the town and castle "against any sudden attack of the rebels." Sir James Macdonnell, however, underrated the strength of those put upon their defence at other points, for Castle-Upton was secured, so also was Ballygellie castle, and the town of Larne. (See Reid's *History*, vol. i., p. 299.) The officer in sir John Clotworthy's regiment, who wrote a sketch of the *Warr in Ireland*, 1640—1652, informs us that when news came that the Irish army approached Antrim over the Six Mile Water, orders were sent to major Foulk Ellis, who held Antrim, "to secure the castle, and to march away (or retreat) with Bag and Baggage. On which some townsmen went away, the Alarm of the Irish Army's approach being so terrible to them." The officers, however, took counsel together, and resolved to defend the place. These officers, besides major Ellis, were captains James Clotworthy, Robert Houston, Arthur Langford, and William ——, and James Colville. The Irish army, 4,000 strong, soon appeared under the command of Turlough Oge O'Neill, brother of sir Felim, who had no skill as a leader. His feeble attack on the town utterly failed. "Of the Irish killed at the town-head there were two captains, one Captain Hagan and one Captain Hara, whose heads some of the soldiers, without directions, brought into the town, both the heads knotted together with the hair, and hung them on a Batteries' Crook a day or two. . . . After the Irish fell off, they marched over the River at Muckamur, and quartered all Night at Old Stone. The next Morning Captain Clotworthy, only with his man, went to Carrickfergus for Relief; before it came, being about 300 Horse and Dragoons, the Irish burnt all the Haggards of Corn in the Country, and marched away to Larne, where they acted as meanly." See pp. 18—21.

all the Garrisons between this and Carrickefergus are fled to Carrickefergus ;(61) soe that it is but a Follie to resist what God pleaseth to happen ; But certainly they will have all Ireland presentlie, whatever Time they Keepe it. You may truely inform my Friendes in Coulraine that I would wish they and if they yielde me the Towne, it shall bee goode for them and me, for the Booty shall be myne, and they shall be sure of goode Qurtrs., for I will sende for all the Raghlin Boates to Portrush, and from thanes send all the People away into Scotlande,(62) which, if it bee not done before sir Felim(63) his army comes to the Towne who comes the next week thousand Men and Peece of Artillery, all my desire of doeinge them good will bee to noe Purpose, therefore sende mee Word what you doe therein : As for both your Houses they shall bee safe,(64) and soe should all the Houses in the Countrey, if they would bee persuaded by mee : The Oldstowe(65) was rendered mee, and all they within had good Quarters, onely the Clandeboyes Souldiers,(66) and the two Regiments from beyond the Ban were a little greedy for pillaginge,(67) whiche could not bee healpt ; As for Killinge of Women, none of my Souldiers dare doe it for his Life, but the common People that are not under Rule doth it in Spight

(61) *Carrickefergus.*—By the numerous arrivals at this place, not only was a sufficient garrison collected under the command of captain Roger Lyndon, but a considerable force sent out under colonel Chichester, to co-operate with other forces intended to encounter sir Felim O'Neill. In the beginning of the month of December, however, the Irish troops, principally collected in lower Clannaboy, were completely masters of the whole country districts, even occupying points within sight of Carrickfergus. These Irish forces from Clannaboy were all officered by O'Neills—Art Oge O'Neill, Con Oge O'Neill, and Toole or Tuathal O'Neill. See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, third edition, p. 44.

(62) *Scotlande.*—It would have been well, had Archibald Stewart promptly adopted this suggestion about sending the overplus population of Coleraine to Scotland, as the authorities in Carrickfergus had done. Pestilence, the fearful result of over-crowding, as well as want of sufficient supplies of food, soon appeared in several places, but perhaps more fatally in Coleraine than anywhere else in the north. From a manuscript formerly in the possession of the Moira family, Berwick, the author of *Historical Collections relative to the Town of Belfast*, quotes the following passage :—"The Lord sent a pestilential fever, which swept away innumerable people; insomuch that in Coleraine there died in four months by computation six thousand." Temple, at p. 138 of his *History*, quotes from a volume of 'Depositions,' T.C.D., as follows :—"James Redfern of the county of Londonderry, deposeth, that in the town of Coleraine, since the rebellion began, there died of robbed and stripped people that fled thither for succour, many hundreds, besides those of the town who had antiently dwelt there ; and that the mortality there was such, and so great, as many thousands died in two days ; and that the living though scarce able to do it, laid the carcasses of those dead persons in great ranks, into vast and wide holes, laying them so close and thick as if they had packed up herrings together." See also Reid's *History*, vol. i., p. 317.

(63) *Sir Felim.*—Sir Felim O'Neill was from the same stock as the earls of Tyrone, being a descendant of Owen O'Neill, the great-grandfather of Con, the first earl. Sir Felim was educated in Lincoln's Inn, and professed for a time the protestant faith, but on his return to Ireland, he became reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church. The supposed deaths of all the sons of Hugh, the last earl of Tyrone, enabled sir Felim to place himself, at least for a time, at the head of the whole clan in 1641. He was never destined to reach Coleraine (as sir James Macdonnell supposed that he would), nor even Carrickfergus. He intended to capture Lisburn first, afterwards to march on Carrickfergus, and then proceed northward to Coleraine. To carry out these intended movements, he and sir Con Maginnis, collected at Magheragall the principal Irish army in Ulster, consisting of eight thousand men. On reaching Lisburn they were held in check by a small force under sir George Rawdon and sir Arthur Tyringham, and when some additional British troops arrived from Belfast and Carrickfergus, the Irish were defeated and driven back, and sir Felim was never able to approach Carrickfergus, much less Coleraine.

(64) *Bee safe.*—The two houses belonging to Archibald Stewart were those of Ballintoy and Ballylough. The former stood about a quarter of a mile westward from the present village of Ballintoy. The house of Ballylough stood in the townland of Ballyloughmore, parish of Billy, and it probably occupied the site of the present mansion known as Ballylough House. Until the year 1745, the two parishes of Billy and Ballintoy formed the one parish of Billy. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 285, 287.

(65) *Oldstowe.*—Oldstone or Clough. See pp. 63, 64, *supra*.

(66) *Souldiers.*—The Clannaboy soldiers were marched from the Feevagh under Art Oge O'Neill. See p. 64, *supra*.

(67) *Pillaginge.*—The Derry soldiers came from about Dungiven, under the command of Manus Roe O'Cahan and John Mortimer.

of our Teeth ;(68) But for your People, they Killed of Women and Children aboute 3 Score. My Lord and Lady are gon to Slain—to whom I have sent ;(69) Tell my bror. Hill and Mr. Barwicke that their people are all in good Health, but in my owne company.(70) I desyre you not to stirr out of that till I be neere you myselfe, for feare you should fall in the hands of the seaven Hundred I have in the lower Part of the Countie, whoe would give you noe quarter at all ; (71) but when I have settled thinges here, you may come to me yourselfe, and your dearest friends , and the rest to transport them with the rest into Scotland ; As for goinge against the Kinge, wee will dye sooner, or my Lord of Antrim either,(72) but their only Aim is to have their Religion settled, and every one his owne antient Inheritaunce ;(73) Thus wishinge you to take my Counsell, whiche I proteste to God I will give you as reallie as to myselfe, and haveing the hope of your beleivinge mee hereinn, I reste your verie loveinge Coussen still,

"JAMES M'DONNELL.

"From the Catholic Campe, at Oldstowne, the 11th of January, 1641." See the volume of 'Depositions' lettered *Antrim*, F. 3. 9., Collection 3402, T.C.D. ; see also Hill's *Stewarts of Ballintoy.*

The foregoing letter probably failed to produce any other result than to warn Stewart of the

(68) *Our Teeth.*—Sir James Macdonnell thus admits the melancholy fact of massacres by Irish mobs, but denies that his *soldiers* had been guilty of such barbarity. The massacre perpetrated by Stewart's people here referred to, is probably that which occurred at a place called Island-Ross, near Dervock, where, between sixty and eighty Irish women and children are said to have been slaughtered. Among those afterwards slaughtered were two hundred and twenty Irishwomen and children, who had taken refuge in caves along the coast, and were mercilessly suffocated by those brutal Scots who came with Monro and sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck. See Dr. Moran's *Historical Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the Rule of Cromwell and the Puritans*, p. 169.

(69) *Have sent.*—The writer refers to lord Antrim, the second earl, and his wife, the duchess of Buckingham, to whom Antrim had been married in the year 1635. At the time of the outbreak, they happened to be residing in Dublin, where lord Antrim was attending his parliamentary duties. On hearing of the commencement of the rising, they left Dublin, and went to sojourn for a time at Slane castle, the residence of one of the earl's sisters, who married William Fleming, the nineteenth baron of Slane.

(70) *Company.*—"Bror. Hill and Mr. Barwicke" were evidently persons who had escaped to Coleraine. Until about the year 1830, an old tombstone lay in Ramoan churchyard, indicating the grave of a John Hill, who died in 1610, and who, probably, settled in that district before the close of the sixteenth century. From him all the inhabitants of this surname, who were once numerous in Ramoan, are supposed to have descended. The name of *Barwick*, is not now known in the district.

(71) *Quarter at all.*—The party here referred to was probably a lot of irregulars drawn from lower Clannaboy, and from beyond the Bann.

(72) *Antrim either.*—The Irish in Ulster, and afterwards throughout all Ireland, constantly proclaimed that among the leading causes which induced them to take up arms, one was a determination on their part to defend the king's royal prerogative against the encroachments of the puritanical and covenanting factions in England and Scotland.

(73) *Inheritaunce.*—Sir James thus undoubtedly expresses the two main objects of the insurgents, which were, as already stated, first, to have their religion freely tolerated, and secondly to win back the lands from which they had been expelled. This statement of sir James Macdonnell in reference to the religious question confirms the represention already quoted at pp. 59, 60, *supra*. The Catholics believed that their religious faith was to be violently rooted out, and that if such could not be accomplished, their lives were to be the penalty. In the humble remonstrance of the northern nobility and gentry to the king, there is the following passage :—"There was a petition framed by the puritans of this kingdom of Ireland, and preferred to the house of commons of the now parliament of England, for suppressing our religion, and us, the professors thereof, within the Kingdom of Ireland, which, as we are credibly informed, was condescended unto by both houses of parliament there, and undertaken to be accomplished to their full desires, and that without the privity or allowance of your majesty." (See *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii., p. 86.) Thus, the manifesto, under the name of an "humble petition of some Protestant inhabitants of the counties of Antrim, Down, Derry, Tyrone, &c.," had the effect of leading directly to the commencement of the war in Ulster, as the Scotch settled in this province, humbly prayed in that document, "that that unlawful hierarchical government, with all its appendixes, may be *utterly extirpated*." This, whilst aiming mainly at the Catholics, alarmed the episcopal protestants also. See Dr. Robert Maxwell's *Examinations ;* see also the celebrated *Remonstrance of the Gentry and Commonalty of the County of Cavan*, drawn up by the excellent bishop Bedell, as quoted in Curry's *Review*, pp. 163, 164.

risk he would incur by venturing out from Coleraine, whilst the seven hundred Irish remained in his immediate vicinity. Exactly a month, however, after the date of sir James Macdonnell's letter, Stewart had got his force so recruited, that he resolved again to try conclusions with his youthful and herculean kinsman, Alaster the son of Coll. On Friday, the 11th of February, old style, (74) he marched from Coleraine, at the head of a well-disciplined and well-appointed little army of nine hundred men—six hundred Scots and three hundred English. Alaster was encamped at Ballymoney, and his force also had been considerably improved and increased. It was set in motion the moment he heard of Stewart's approach, the hostile parties meeting at a place called the *Laney*, about a mile from the town of Ballymoney. The Irish skeins, or short swords, soon did fearful work, for, in the space of two hours, almost the whole of Stewart's force was slain on the field, or in the pursuit. The following account of this conflict was written by a contemporary, the Rev. Alexander Clogy, son-in-law to bishop Bedell :—"The Scots then throughout all the province of Ulster, where they were most numerous, betook themselves to holds, leaving all the open country to the enemy. For the first attempt of Coll Kittach had so frightened them that they thought no man was able to stand before that son of Anak. (75) In his first encounter, at the head of a few Irish Highlanders and some of Antrim's Irish Rebells, that were Brethern in Evil, against Eight hundred English and Scotch, having commanded his Murderers to lay down all their Firearms, he fell in among them with swords and durks or scanes, in such a furious manner, that it was reported not a man of them escaped of all the Eight hundred." It is believed that fully eight hundred were slain, but one hundred must have escaped, Stewart having had nine hundred under his command leaving Coleraine. The survivors returned to Coleraine, but were there worse than useless, having only added to the awful confusion and over-crowding of that luckless town. A gentleman, named Coll M'Alester, who resided in the parish of Derrykeighan, when examined afterwards, in 1652, before one of Cromwell's courts, was asked "if he was in the fight at the Layney, when the English and Scotch, on the 11th February, 1641, called black ffriday, were routed, and about 700 hundred Brittish slain," replied that he "came that very daye unto the Lainey, 120 cowes being lately taken from him for not compliance with the Irish, to get restitution of them. And Allester M'Coll M'Donnell (the Brittish forces then approaching) made this Examinate to joyn him and his men, and upon joining battell the British were defeated, and enough of them killed, but this Examinate saith he killed none of those who would have killed him." (See the vol. of 'Depositions' lettered *Antrim*, T.C.D., F. 3. 9., Collection 2504). An officer in sir John Clotworthy's regiment who sketches the events of the war, does not mention the Laney by name as the battle-field, but only refers to the locality in general. His account of this affair is as follows :—"The next meeting of the British and Irish was at Bunderaga, (now Bendooragh) near the Crosses in the Route. (76) The British of Coleraine marched out under the

(74) *Old Style.*—The new year then did not commence until the 25th of March, so that the battle of the Laney, although happening on the 11th of February, was still within the year 1641. Very great confusion arose from the fact that the historical year commenced on the 1st of January, or according to the new style, whilst the civil or *legal* year did not commence until the 25th of March. To avoid the confusion thus produced, it was finally arranged that the year should only commence on the 1st of January, and by an Act of Parliament to this effect, the old style ceased on the 2nd of September, 1752.

(75) *Anak.*—There is here an allusion to the gigantic stature of Alaster Macdonnell, misnamed by Clogy, *Coll Kittach.* Napier, the author of the *Life of Montrose*, also speaks of his "herculean frame." See vol. ii., p. 416.

(76) *Crosses in the Route.*—The place thus designated

command of Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, and other officers, to the number of 600 men and a Troop of Horse to get a prey. On which the Alarm was up, and the Irish under the command of Alexander MacColla MacDonald, to the number of six or seven hundred men, charged them in boggy ground, and beat their Horse in amongst their foot, and followed close in their Rear, and without any great opposition took the Rout, which was the Ruin of most of them, leaving their Colours with the Enemy. This was a fatal Break to the British in these Parts, and that at Garvahy (Garvagh) before, on the other side of the Ban. For after this Defeat, being on good Friday, the Irish of the Route and the O'Cahans, and their Associates in the county of Londonderry, besieged Coleraine on both sides, and getting no relief by sea it was reduced in five or six weeks' time to a low condition, and had yielded up, if the lord of Antrim had not come into the country from Dublin, and raised the siege on the Antrim side, and caused to send meal and provisions into the Town, himself being at his House in Dunluce." *The Warr of Ireland from* 1640 *to* 1652. pp. 22, 23.

Soon after the occurrence of this battle, sir James Macdonnell wrote another letter, which he addressed to several influential leaders of the opposite party, who had got a garrison into Ballintoy castle. This garrison was of course busily employed, when opportunities suited, in making raids among the Irish population of the surrounding district. Coll M'Alester, above mentioned, being asked why he had left his own house during the outbreak, replied, "the Reason thereof was, because the Brittish garrison in Ballintoy house was within three miles; and being demanded what need he had to fear the Brittish, he being soe careful to preserve as many of them as lay in his power, 'he saith because at that time the British durst not trust one another.'" After the commencement of actual hostilities, the lamentable condition of affairs in the Route is thus further described by the same gentleman :—"The Irish being jealous of the English and Scotts, and the English and Scotts jealous of the Irish, without any difference or distinction, the Irish killed all the English and Scotts they could lay hands on, and the English and Scotts did the like unto the Irish, except some few Irishmen who showed mercy unto the English and Scotts, whereof this Examinate was one, who did as much for the preservation of the Brittish as lay in his power." This represents truly and simply, perhaps, the state of nearly the whole of Ulster at the time. The following is James Macdonnell's letter to the occupants of Ballintoy castle :—

"Loveinge ffreinds,—If so you please, I thought good to informe you of the folly you undertake in bringinge yourselves to ruyne, where you may quietlie and without Trouble worke the Way of your Saftie, in takeinge of faire Quarter for yourselves, Your Wives, and Children, as others have done that were in greater Saftie, and were better able to subsist than you are; where likewise you are not in any Case like to receive any succour from any Place, for those of Coulraine are strictly besieged on both sides, and by reason of their greate Diseases and Dearth of Fire and Corne doe daylie dye apace; (77) besides many were daylie cutt off them by sixes, eights, fifteens, and the last daye killed and drowned 20 at once; and they haue not left above a verie few musketts in the whole towne, by that they lost in the great Conflicte. (78) Antrim is besieged and all your People,

was known in ancient times as *Aonach-Cros*, or 'Enagh of the Crosses,' now the Cross, near Ballymoney.

(77) *Dye apace.*—See p. 67, *supra.*

(78) *Conflicte.*—The writer evidently refers to the battle of the Laney, so that this letter was written subsequently to the 11th of February.

soe many as was left are gone to the Clanaboys ; (79) though I confesse that Parte was not caused by our Valoure, so that upone my Creditt your State is ill unless you take Quarter, which you shall fairly haue, as I haue done with Dunluce, (80) which is to sett them a booty and to suffer all such that pleaseth to depart freely, and such as will stay to live in the Country with some such gentillmen in the Country as they will choose to bee with hereafter; whiche, if freelie you will take, I vow before God to performe by the grace of Jesus Christ. (81) And of all Men, I would wish Mr. Foullerton (82) to take it if the rest doe not, for I had direction from Mr. Terlough Oge O'Neale, Governour of the County of Armagh, (83) to send him and his family to his brother Maxwell, who

(79) *Clanaboys.*—This meant, no doubt, that they had made their escape to upper or southern Clannaboy, or rather to the Ards adjoining, where there was protection for many who assembled there from other districts. See the new edition of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, pp. 151, 309.

(80) *Dunluce.*—There was evidently no slaughter at Dunluce, and the arrangement between the Irish and the town's people appears to have been peaceably carried out. Captain Digby, who held the castle for lord Antrim, would not surrender it. The town was partially burned, but the Scottish inhabitants got away to Scotland. See p. 63, *supra.*

(81) *Jesus Christ.*—From what is known of sir James Macdonnell's character, we are disposed to believe that he made this solemn statement in all sincerity. The same humane and christian spirit appears to have actuated the other principal leaders of the Irish party. Thus, when Owen Roe O'Neill was appointed general of the Irish confederacy, his first words were an expression of his abhorrence of certain cruelties that had been perpetrated by some of sir Felim O'Neill's soldiers. He even ordered the houses of these soldiers to be burned down, declaring that he would rather join the English than submit to be compromised by the conduct of those who would tolerate cruelties towards the enemy. The protestants of the county of Cavan actually placed themselves under the protection of an Irish leader and chief named Philip O'Reilly, who fed, clothed, and conveyed them safely to the English quarters. Among the persons thus saved was Henry Jones, who afterwards became a noted slanderer of the Irish to please Cromwell. Jones was made bishop of Meath at the Restoration. In Munster, lord and lady Muskerry devoted their time, and energies, and wordly means to the work of preserving Protestants, and relieving them in great numbers from cold and hunger. Indeed, all the leaders in that province were exceedingly careful to prevent bloodshed, and to protect the English from being pillaged. Lord Mountgarret shot a Mr. Richard Cantwell, who was in the rank of a gentleman, but who had been guilty of cruelly plundering certain English victims. This nobleman's humane character did wonders in the preservation of protestants in the city of Waterford, and throughout the wide extent of his territorial lands. Lord Ikerrin, sir Richard Everett, general Preston, and very many other Catholic leaders that might be named, were also most exemplary in their humane treatment of protestants. See Carte's and Warner's accounts of the Wars of 1641. Other equally good authorities might be quoted, but these two were *protestant* clergymen, and therefore not likely to be unduly biased in favour of the Irish.

(82) *Mr. Foullerton.*—This Mr. Fullerton was archdeacon of Armagh, but had probably escaped to Ballintoy, his native place; or he may have been there at the time of the outbreak. There is uncertainty as to his Christian name. Richard Fullerton, A.M., was made archdeacon of Armagh January 23, 1637, and also a William Fullerton, A.M., appointed prebendary of Loughgall, in the cathedral of Armagh, January 23, 1637. Loughgall is a parish about four miles from Armagh, running northward to Charlemont. Dr. Maxwell, in his deposition, says:—"The number of people drowned at the bridge of Portadowne are diversely reported, according as men stayed among the rebells. . . . There were by their owne report 190 drowned with Mr. Fullerton." Ellen Fullerton, the widow of the latter, deposed that he was robbed of property amounting to £1208, besides the value of his living, £247. (MS. T.C.D., F. 3. 7.) "By a copie of the Records from the late commissioners for adjudication of claimes, Sir Phillomey O'Neale did mortgage unto William Fullerton of Loughgaull, clerke, aboute a yeare and a halfe before the late rebellioun, for the sum of £400 sterling, the townelande commonly called and known by the name of Mollogmhosagh." (*Ulster Inquisition*, Tyrone, Car. II. No. 3.) This was part of Mr. Fullerton's claim. Colton, in his *Fasti*, vol. iii., p. 46, calls the archdeacon *William;* he is so named also as a witness in the Court of Claims against the marquis of Antrim. (See *Carte MSS.*, in Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. 67.) He is spoken of by the name of *William* in this letter of sir James Macdonnell; and in the Records above quoted, the prebendary is styled *of Loughgaull*, to distinguish him probably from William Fullerton of Armagh. *Richard*, therefore, may be a mistake for William. It is not known whether the Mr. William Foullerton who assisted in the defence of Ballintoy castle left any family, but he probably did, as his own *christian* name prevailed subsequently among the numerous families of Fullertons throughout the Route. See new edition of *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 80 and *note.*

(83) *Mr. Terlough Oge O'Neale.*—This O'Neill belonged to one of the leading families of the race. He was son of Henry O'Neill, son of sir Tirlough, who died in 1639, son of sir Henry, son of Turlough (married to Sarah, daughter of Turlough Luineach), son of Henry (who had a grant from James I.), son of Felimey Roe, son of Art, who died in 1515, son of Owen, son of Hugh, great-great-grandfather of Con *More*, first earl of Tyrone. See *Annals of Four Masters*, vol. vi., pp. 2402, 2403. This Mr. Tirlough's father, Henry, was greatly opposed to the rebellion, but suffered severely notwithstanding.

lives on his owne House as quietlie as ever he was, onely that his Churche Benefices is taken from him; (84) and soe is his brother Echlin too. (85) Therefore, Gentillmen, for abaydinge further Bloodshead, of which I vow I have noe Desyre it I could helpe, I would advise you to take this faire proffer or else blame your own obstinacy and not us; for bee sure wee will have our Wills of you at last, when it will bee too late for you to cry *pecavi*. If you take this faire proffer, I will tomorrow goe to you and conclude, if not I will bee to you as you will be to mee which wold wish to be your friend "

"JAMES M'DONNELL."

"For the Gentillmen in Ballintoy, Mr. Will. Foulerton, Archd. Boyd, (86) Thos. Boyd (87) and the rest." See the vol. lettered *Antrim*, F. 3. 9., Collection 3404, T.C.D.; see also Hill's *Stewarts of Ballintoy*.

A few personal friends of sir James Macdonnell, in the garrisons of Coleraine and Ballintoy, might have, probably, been disposed to accept his terms, but the majority were naturally afraid to surrender. They had made up their minds, in fact, to sell their lives as dearly as possible, believing that they could do this to better purpose when banded together than separately in their own houses. Accordingly, they held on, although unable to do more at last than keep their gates and doors well barricaded. The arrival of the earl of Antrim from Dublin brought relief to the besieged at both places. Although this nobleman had taken no part with the Irish, but had already denounced some cruel acts committed by those under sir Felim O'Neill, yet his influence at once prevailed with the besiegers of Coleraine to admit supplies of food into the town, which supplies were liberally provided and sent in from his own resources. (88) By this interposition they were enabled to hold on until the arrival of large numbers of Scottish troops; but Monro, the commander of the latter,

See Russell and Prendergast's *Report* on the *Carte MSS.*, pp. 147—150.

(84) *Taken from him.*—Dr. Robert Maxwell, then rector of Tynan, near Armagh, is here called brother of archdeacon Fullerton, both being married to daughters of Robert Echlin, bishop of Down and Connor. Maxwell's house was, soon after the writing of this letter, plundered and burned. He was bishop of Kilmore at the time of Cromwell's government, from which he received a pension of £120 yearly, on account of his numerous family and distressed condition. At the Restoration he resumed the emoluments of his bishoprick, and was granted also the see of Ardagh *in commendam*, which he held until the time of his death in 1672. See Ware's *Works*, vol. i., p. 243.

(85) *Echlin too.*—This Robert Echlin was son of the bishop, and called brother of Fullerton, because the latter had married his (Echlin's) sister. In the year following the rebellion, Echlin was collated chancellor of Down, *i.e.*, rector of Portaferry and Ardglass.

(86) *Archd. Boyd.*—Archibald Boyd of Carncullagh, near Dervock. He and John Logan are mentioned, 1634, in the will of William Boyd, of Dunluce, as 'curators' of Issabel, a daughter of the latter gentleman. In this document Archibald Boyd is bequeathed "ane younge browne cowlte quch I have off the Earle of Antrum for his food." See Appendix III.

(87) *Thomas Boyd.*—Thomas Boyd of Carncoggie, also in the vicinity of Dervock. He was an executor to William Boyd's will, and appointed therein 'curator' of Kathrine, a daughter of that gentleman. Thos. Boyd was bequeathed by the testator his "beste silver piece," and his "beste saddell and bryddell." See Appendix III.

(88) *Own resources.*—On this occasion Alaster MacColl, who was chief in command, consented so to relax the severity of the siege, that the inhabitants not only got ample space for themselves and their cattle, but were supplied with the best descriptions of food—beef and oatmeal. Alaster M'Coll, who had here the fate of so many presbyterians literally in his hands, thus dealt with them very much more humanely than even the rules of modern warfare would permit, and certainly very much more so than the presbyterians would have dealt with him, had the circumstances been reversed. In the great conflicts recently between the northern and southern states of America, or between the German and French nations, no general of either party could have dared to act so humanely as did Alaster MacColl at Coleraine. Grant and Lee, Moltke and Macmahon, would have alike required an *unconditional* surrender under the circumstances, at any expense of suffering and life. And no leader opposed to Alaster MacColl, so far as we can judge from other similar occasions, would have shown one particle of charity or mercy towards himself, or his men. The presbyterians were taught to regard him and his adherents simply as the enemies of God, on whom it would have been a reproach and a crime to have had mercy. They would have gladly hewed him in pieces, had they got him into their power, even as Samuel hewed in pieces Agag, when he rebuked Saul for sparing the king of the Amalekites.

in return for lord Antrim's humanity and hospitality, seized his lordship and sent him a prisoner to Carrickfergus. These troops formed part of an army of ten thousand men, which the Scots volunteered to send against the Irish, but which many Englishmen suspected would have the effect of making Ireland a dependency of Scotland rather than of England. The Scotch offer, however, after some discussion between the two kingdoms, was accepted to the full extent, and ten thousand Scottish troops, at two instalments, in the months of April and August, 1642, landed at Carrickfergus. First came major-general Monro, at the head of 2,500 men, the remaining part following, three months afterwards, under Alexander Leslie, the commander-in-chief. (See p. 60, *supra.)* The marquis of Argyle had got a commission to be governor, for the time being, of the island of Rathlin, which was to be made a depôt for the troops to be supplied by him in the expedition against Ireland. "Know ye," so runs the royal commission, "that we have given and granted full power and licence to the said Archibald, marquis of Argyle, to conduct and lead the said regiment into our said realm of Ireland against the rebels, enemies, and traitors. And we do nominate and appoint him, and such other person or persons as he, in his judgment and discretion, shall assign, to be governor or governors of our isle of Rachraye, giving and granting unto him and his said deputy full and absolute authority to take possession of the said island and plant a garrison there." If the rebels had previously got possession, the marquis had authority to expel and exterminate them, making Rachraye exclusively a place for the accommodation of such troops as he intended to transfer to Ulster (89). See *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ* part iv., p. 144.

Argyle appointed, as colonel of his regiment, and probably as governor of Rathlin, a much better soldier than himself. This was his own kinsman, sir Duncan Campbell, of Auchinbreck (90), who proceeded at once to that island, and thence to the Antrim coast, finally uniting his force to that of Monro, who had burned Glenarm, about the 15th of April, and was then on his march to Dunluce. The following curious passage, having reference to these events, is taken from a Latin work hitherto almost unknown in this country :—"The Earl of Antrim, in 1642, returning from Dublin to Antrim, relieved Coleraine, besieged by the Catholics, hoping the Heretics would give him the governorship of the town; but being disappointed, he retired to Dunluce; and soon after, when Colonel Robert Monro came with his forces into Ulster, he (Antrim) ordered his tenants

(89) *To Ulster.*— Although Argyle's regiment, like each of the other nine then raised, was to number one thousand men, yet 1600 of the Campbells made their way to the little island of Rathlin, and literally swept it bare of every living thing. A vivid and harrowing tradition is still told there of this Campbell invasion, which is represented as having been more remorseless than any similar event that had ever previously happened in that island. At a place known as *Port-na-Cailliagh*, many women are said to have been thrust or hurled alive from the cliffs, and a curious episode is told in connexion with this atrocious deed. One woman, comparatively young, survived the fall from the rock, and was picked up by a stalwart Campbell, who tenderly cared for her until she became convalescent, and afterwards removed her to his home in the Rinns of Isla. Her husband had been slain before her face, and her little son had disappeared, no one knew where. She became the wife of Campbell, and being irresistibly attracted in her old age by some mysterious yearning of the heart, she returned to look at her once happy home in Rathlin, and there discovered her son, who had grown to be a man, and retained possession of the little farm.

(90) *Auchinbreck.*—This knight was a cousin of the marquis of Argyle. Auchinbreck is situated in the parish of Kilcalmonel, at the northern extremity of Cantire, near Tarbert. In 1632, sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, and dame Isabell Boyd, his wife, exchanged the teinds of Kilcalmonell with Archibald lord Lorne for the teinds and patronage of the chapel at the head of Loch-ger called Kilmachumag. See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 28.

and followers, who had besieged Coleraine, and had taken arms for their defence, to retire to the further parts of Ulster beyond the Bann, and kept himself at home, as abhorring the war. Yet Monro besieged and took Dunluce, and sent Antrim prisoner to Carrickfergus; and, at the same time, Sir Duncan Campbell—MacCollin, as the Scots call him—(91), a cousin of Argyle's, who got Antrim's estate, had landed with 1,600 Scots in the Isle of Rathlin, adjoining to Ulster, and was by Monro put in possession of Dunluce and Antrim's estate." (92) Monro's wanton destruction of property on the Antrim estate, and his perfidy towards the northern earl, are mentioned by the historian, Carte, in the following terms:—"Mr. Archibald Stuart, chief agent to that earl, had raised, in the beginning of the troubles, about eight hundred men, a great part of them the Earl of Antrim's tenants and dependents, near Ballymenagh, and with them secured that part of the County Antrim; notwithstanding which, this major-general, with two thousand five hundred Scots, marched about the middle of April, 1642, into that county, where he made a prey of about five thousand cows, burnt Glenarm, a town belonging to the Earl of Antrim, and wasted that nobleman's lands. The earl came, in the latter end of April, to his seat at Dunluce, a strong castle by the sea-side; and after his arrival there, found means to supply Colerain, which had been blocked up by the Irish, and was reduced to extremity, with an hundred beeves, sixty loads of corn, and other provisions, at his own expence. He had offered Monro his service and assistance for securing the country; in the peace of which he was greatly interested, by reason of his large estate, the rents of which he could not otherwise receive. Monro made him a visit to Dunluce, where the earl received him with many expressions of gladness, and had provided for him a great entertainment; but it was no sooner over than the major-general made him a prisoner, seized the castle, and put the rest of the earl's houses into the hands of the Marquis of Argyle's men."—*Life of Ormonde*, vol. i., p. 188.

On the arrival of the Scots, Alaster MacColl had no force sufficient to offer a successful resistance; his only alternative, therefore, was to collect his men and lead them across the Bann, for the purpose of strengthening the now insignificant army under sir Phelim O'Neill. The latter was then occupying certain strong positions in the county of Derry, and on receiving the reinforcement under Alaster M'Coll, he gathered up his levies and marched on Raphoe in Donegal, expecting to encounter his most formidable enemy, sir William

(91) *Scots call him.*—*MacChaillean Mor* was, until a comparatively recent period, among the Highlanders and Islesmen the Celtic title of the earls, and afterwards the dukes of Argyle. It is literally MacColin Mor, or descendant of 'Big Colin,' who was one of the early chiefs of the family, and whose tombstone may still be seen in the old churchyard of Kilchrennan, on the shore of Lochawe. This Celtic title is generally written in the corrupted form of *MacCallum More*. Scott writes it so, as in the following passage:—"'I'll say naething against the MacCallum More and the Slioch-na-Diarmid,' said the lesser Highlander, laughing. 'I live on the wrang side o' Glencroe to quarrel with Inverara.' 'Our loch ne'er saw the Cawmill lymphads (galleys),' said the bigger Highlander. 'She'll speak her mind and fear naebody, she does na value a Cawmill mair as a Cowan, an' ye may tell MacCallum More that Allan Iverach said sae.'"

(92) *Antrim's estate.*—The full title of the Latin work of which the foregoing is an extract, is as follows:—*De Haeresis Anglicanæ Intrusione et Progressu, et de Bello Catholico ad Annum* 1641 *incepto, exindeque per aliquot annos gesto Commentarius.* Carte made an extract of this work, which is preserved among the *Carte MSS.* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. 97. John P. Prendergast, Esq., author of the *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, has kindly forwarded extracts, with the following *note:*—"This account of Irish Affairs was written at Florence in 1666, by a Monk of the [ ] Order, by command of their General. He was associated with Richard Farrel, who was at this time supervising Massari's *History of Irish Affairs*."

Stewart (93). The latter was better prepared than O'Neill had expected, and met him at a place now called Glenmaquin in the parish of Raphoe, inflicting a severe defeat on the Irish chief and his Antrim allies. This battle occurred on the 16th of June, 1642, the slain on the side of the Irish being, according to Cox (*Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. ii., p. 115) two hundred, and according to others as many as five hundred men. The Antrim reinforcement suffered most severely, and on it, indeed, mainly depended O'Neill's hopes in the affair. Among the Antrim officers slain was Donnell Gorm Macdonnell, an influential leader in the Route (94).

The Donnell Gorm slain on the field of Glenmaquin had a kinsman, also named Donnell Gorm, who was known as of Killoquin, in the parish of Magherasharkin, and was also actively engaged on the side of the Irish in 1641 (95). This gentleman, when examined in 1652 at Coleraine, stated that the conflict at Portnaw took place partly on the lands of his father, and partly on those of Henry O'Haggan, and that there were about thirty of the British soldiers slain there. Other *hearsay* accounts represent the loss of life as immense, and evidently confound the two battles of Portnaw and the Laney. "The Irish," says Donnell Gorm, "under the command of Allester M'Coll, James M'Henry, and Toole O'Hara, routed the English and Scotch forces, and killed five or six hundred of them in the Layney; after this defeate James M'Coll M'Donnell (96), Allester M'Coll M'Donnell, and James M'Henry, with their men, beleagured Colrane, and camped at Peter Lowries and the Sterlins houses, about one mile and a half from Colrane; the said Allester M'Coll sent for this Examinate to come and joyne with them and bring some men with him, whereupon he, this Examinate, went thither, and took five or six men with him; he had no command there, but stayed with James M'Coll M'Donnell (Allester M'Coll, who sent for him, being gone into the Glenns before he came) and with James M'Henry and the rest (he doth not remember who then were there), about fower or five daies; during his being there, he saw one Donnoghy M'Deltan hang a Scotchman upon a Carr at Peter Lowries house end, but by what order, or wherefore he did it, he knows not; and he was then about to hang another Scotch boy, called George Thomson, whom this Examinate saved, and made him his man, and gave him his own cloake and targe to bear, lest any of the Irish should do him hurt; at his return home he tooke the said George Thomson home with him, and sett him to

(93) *William Stewart.*—This fortunate knight was a native of the parish of Whithorn, Wigtonshire. The family lands were known as those of Barclaye, Castlewigg, and Tondergie. He was the son of Archibald, son of John, son of Walter, who died in 1550, son of sir Walter, son of sir William of Garlies—of the house of Darnley. Sir William and his brother, sir Robert Stewart, had served many years in foreign wars, under count Mansfeldt, and also under the kings of Denmark and Sweden, raising themselves to the command of regiments, and at the same time collecting considerable wealth. They both became extensive undertakers in Ireland, were knighted by James I., and became baronets. Sir William was a privy councillor during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. In 1643 he sold his patrimonial lands in the barony of Garlies to Patrick Agnew of Barmeil, and thisfinally closed his connexion with Galloway. His Irish property lay in Tyrone, the principal family residences being those of Aughentain and Newton-Stewart. He was the founder of that family afterwards represented by the earls of Blessington. See *Galloway Lands and their Owners*, vol. i., pp. 482, 483; Lodge's Irish *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., pp. 243, 244.

(94) *In the Route.*—This Donnell Gorm had occupied Clough Castle in 1641, and was a grandson of sir James of Dunluce, who died in 1601. He was appointed to hold Ballycastle for the Irish soon after the outbreak. This position he abandoned on the approach of sir Duncan Campbell from Rathlin. The battle-field on which he was slain, within two miles of Raphoe, is called *Glanmackwin* by Cox and Reid, but *Glanmaguiny* in the 'Depositions.'

(95) *In* 1641.—Donnell Gorm of Killoquin was son of Angus, son of Donnell Gorm, son of sir James. His father got lands from the first earl in 1625.

(96) *James M'Coll.*—James, son of Coll, son of sir James of Dunluce, son of Sorley Boy.

worke; sometime afterwards he came to see the said officers, who lay at Ballyreshane to besiege Colerane (97), and sometimes he went to Oldstone Castle, to see James M'Coll M'Donnell and his wife, who lived there after it was surrendered to him, except at such times as he came unto the Irish campe lying before Colrane. And this Examinate saith that he never saw any killed or put to death but the said Scotchman who was hanged, but he hath seene very many dead corpses of men who had been killed by the Irish, but by whom he knows not; when the Scotch army under the command of Generall Lasley or Munro came into the Roote, he and all the Irish that could escape fled over the Bann, and joyning themselves with sir Phelemy Roe O'Neile, went and fought the Brittish forces at Glanmackquin, where the Irish were routed, but this Examinate saith that he had no command there, but served as a horseman, or trooper; and after the defeat at Glanmackquin, he lived by his husbandry for about five years, after which; haveing noe maintenance left him, he took on to be a captain in Mr. Alex. M'Donnell, the Earle of Antrim's brother's regiment of foot, and served two years in Mounster under him against Ormonde and Inchiquin's forces." Volume of 'Depositions' lettered *Antrim*, T.C.D., F. 3. 9., collection 4,245.

After this defeat, we hear no more of Alaster Mac Coll until his re-appearance in 1644, when he was appointed by the earl of Antrim to command the troops sent into Scotland to co-operate with Montrose. In the Latin work from which we have already quoted, we have the following very interesting references to Antrim's escapes from prison, and his movements subsequently in connexion with the sending out this expedition to Scotland :—" Antrim after six months made his escape,(98) and went to the king in England, and was by him, as Colonel James M'Donnell, his relative and friend, told me, (99) designed to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and came hence in a vessel stored with arms, and off Greencastle sent one in a boat to see if they were friends or enemies in the Castle. The man was taken by Monro, and by a shirt placed on a stick, signifies they were friends. Antrim landed, and was taken, and put in Carrickfergus again, whence after nine months he escaped,(100) and was by Lord Chichester's keeper conveyed on foot through

(97) *Colerane.*—The liberties of Coleraine were included in a circuit of three miles around the town, the centre of which circuit was the place known as the Diamond. The earl of Antrim prevailed on the Irish to abandon every position within this circuit, so that the besieged might have room to graze their cattle. Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 209.

(98) *His escape.*—Lord Antrim made this first escape by a simple but ingenious stratagem. Baillie's account of it is thus:—" Having obtained the General's pass for a sick man, two of his servants carried him in a bed, as sick to the shore, and got him boated for Carlisle whence he went to York." Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 365.

(99) *Told me.*—This colonel James Macdonnell was the son of Sorley, son of sir James, who died at Dunluce in 1601, son of Sorley Boy. He was cousin to sir James of the Crosse, whose letters have been above quoted, and cousin also to James MacColl of the Vow. See note, *supra.*

(100) *He escaped.*—Lord Antrim was, during his second imprisonment, in imminent danger, and it behoved him to get free from Monro's clutches without delay. For greater security the prisoner had been committed to the custody of a very godly officer named Wallace; which, under the circumstances, was, in itself, a rather ominous proceeding. Fortunately for Antrim, however, there was associated with Wallace another officer named Gordon, not perhaps so "truly Christian" as the former, but evidently more obliging. For, says old Spalding, "this lieutenant Gordon craftily conveyed up, unespied, in his breeches, certain tows by the whilk the Earl escaped, and wan fairly away, to Wallace's great grief; and the Lieutenant followed and fled also. His escape was wrought in October, whereat Major Monro leuch not a word." (See Spalding's *History of the Troubles in Scotland*, p. 358.) This lieutenant Gordon was a brother to the earl of Sutherland. At p. 511, Spalding refers to him as follows: — "In the beginning of the year 1643, Captain George Gordon (the Earl of Sutherland's brother) staid himself a while in Ireland with his other company there in General Leslie's regiment; during which time he married Lady Rose Macdonald, the daughter of Randal, Earl of Antrim, in the year of

Ulster to Charlemont, a garrison of the Roman Catholics, where he was well received by Owen O'Neill,(101) but would not follow his advice, but being persuaded by a certain knight was so infatuated that he did nothing afterwards but to his own and his best friends prejudice (as the said Col. M'Donnel told me) and relates in the Account of the Antrim affairs and Antrim's Scottish expedition, which he wrote at Rome—the more to be depended on, because he was a Colonel in that expedition. (102) The knight that persuaded him was, I believe, Sir Felim O'Neill, jealous of Owen, for fear he should supplant him in the headship of the family,(103) who probably

God, 1643, and afterwards made Lieut.-Colonel there." Lady Rose was sister to the second earl of Antrim, and this marriage accounts for Gordon's zeal in the earl's behalf. (See Reid, vol. i., p. 439) By the way, Spalding tells a good story of this godly captain Wallace's Sabbatarianism. "Upon Sunday, the 21st June (1640), six soldiers, alledging a warrant frae Captain Wallace, their Captain, to take Salmon frae the fishers of Don, whilk were taen on Sunday, came with six creels on their backs, and began to fill them up with Salmon taken the night before. Frasmoir, an heritor of said water, advertised thereof, goes with his brother, John Gordon, takes back the fishes plundered frae him and his neighbours, and caused them carry them back in their own creels, and took from these six beastly fellows the fish and creels." (*History of the Troubles in Scotland*, pp. 180, 181.) According to a local tradition, lord Antrim, on his second escape, first of all visited Glenarm, but was closely pursued by Monro's emissaries from Carrickfergus. He was thus soon compelled to abandon the castle and seek safety in the beautiful glen, which was then even more densely clothed in woods than at present. Both lord Antrim and his servant were well mounted, and on being informed, the day following, that a large party of Monro's men had renewed the search for him, and were approaching in hot pursuit, the servant, whose name is said to have been *Maconkey*, insisted on changing clothes with his master. When this was done, the fugitives waited until seen by Monro's horsemen; they then galloped off in different directions, the apparent servant as if abandoning his master. The real servant, disguised as lord Antrim, soon drew the whole party in pursuit of himself, and, being mounted on his lordship's best charger, was able to keep ahead of his pursuers until he believed his master was beyond their reach. He then surrendered himself, hoping, as did lord Antrim, that his punishment would only be some term of imprisonment. But, as old Spalding significantly expressed it, Monro was not the man to *leuch* (laugh) at a matter of this nature, and the tradition affirms that this faithful servant was hanged in Carrickfergus for his fidelity.

(101) *Owen O'Neill.*—This celebrated soldier was removed when a child from Ireland, in 1607, when the earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell hastily withdrew to the continent. In 1642, he had made a distinguished military reputation on the Continent, and was invited by the northern Irish leaders to return to this country. On his landing at Doe Castle, in Donegal, he was escorted to Charlemount by a large assemblage of the Ulster gentry, among whom were the representatives of the O'Neills, the O'Reillys, the O'Cahans, and the Macmahons. He was accompanied to Ireland by certain other distinguished Irish exiles, among whom were his own three sons, Henry, Bryan, and Conn O'Neill; Bryan MacFelim O'Byrne, Owen O'Dogherty, Gerald Fitzgerald, and Daniel O'Cahan, a gifted linguist and general scholar. Before taking Owen Roe to Charlemont, the assembled chiefs, including sir James Macdonnell of the Cross, county Antrim, adjourned to Clones, where Owen Roe was elected commander of the northern forces, and sir Felim Roe president of Ulster. See Meehan's *Fate of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 449.

(102) *That expedition.*—See p. 74, *supra*.

(103) *The family.*—There was a rivalry between sir Felim O'Neill and Owen Roe on the question of their respective claims for precedence. Each aimed at being acknowledged as *The O'Neill*, or head of the whole race. Sir Felim was legitimately descended from Hugh, the great great grandfather of Con, first earl of Tyrone. Owen Roe was grand nephew of Hugh, the last earl of Tyrone, who was grandson of Con the first earl. But Owen Roe's father was illegitimate. Whilst sir Felim, however, had the advantage of legitimacy, Owen Roe was greatly superior in talent and military acquirements. Neither of them was declared the O'Neill, the defect of merit in the one, and of birth in the other, preventing the assembly of the Irish gentry at Kinnard from deciding that dispute. (See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. i., p. 349; O'Kelly's *Macariae Excidium*, edited by O'Callaghan, pp. 180—182). In November, 1649, sir Felim married lady Jane Gordon, a daughter of the marquis of Huntly, and widow of lord Strabane. Their courtship was rather of a romantic character, and was carried on solely by epistolary means. At length they were brought suddenly face to face in the year abovenamed, the lady's castle of Strabane, being then assaulted and taken by Monro, and the lady herself narrowly escaping suffocation from the smoke of her burning rooms. Her faithful knight soon made his appearance, and the preliminaries having already been pretty fully gone into by letter, they were forthwith married. Only three years afterwards, in 1652, sir Felim was taken prisoner in the island on Lough Roughan or Ruchan, near Dungannon. His captor, lord Caulfield, placed him in the custody of colonel Venables, at Carrickfergus, the latter receiving him apparently with much kindness, and promising to be kind to his lady and children. Venables, in two days afterwards, forwarded sir Felim to Dublin, "on a little paced Nag," *alias* a pony, where he was forthwith tried and convicted. The work in *Cromwell's Shambles* was vigorously carried out, sir Felim being quartered whilst he was half alive. One quarter was sent to Lisnagarvey or Lisburn, "as a Memorial of his Burning that Town at the beginning of the Warr, in November, 1641; another quarter was set up

suggested to Antrim that his own estate might be taken away and given back to the Irish (104). Antrim went from Charlemont to Kilkenny, and was pressed by the Supreme Council(105) to take the oath and some command, but he would needs go to the King; and Antrim's grandfather having come out of Scotland, being of the Mac Donnel,(106) and the Highland Scots favouring the Irish, it was resolved that Antrim should be put at the head of some of the Confederate Irish to spirit up the Scots and the Marquis of Montrose's command there,(107) with a promise that Antrim should be made Duke of Argyle, if he could suppress Argyle and his adherents.(108) . . . . The Supreme Council approved of Antrim's design, but said Ireland wanted soldiers, and money to furnish out an army, and soldiers would not engage in such a perilous war without money. Antrim answered, to keep his word with the King—'Do you but furnish me with arms, and ships to trans-

in Dundalk, for taking that Town then; another quarter in Drogheda, for besieging the same with forces the same Winter; and the other quarter and his head, in Dublin, he being the chief man that contrived and plotted to take it on Friday night, the 23rd Oct., 1641, *who was not there the same night but at Charlemount.*" (See an Officer's Account of the *Warr in Ireland*, 1641—1652, pp. 97, 147) Sir Felim was tried for high treason, and not for murder, and was put to death simply because he was a staunch royalist, who nobly refused at last to save himself by any base attempt to criminate the king. Sir Felim had treated lord Caufield with great kindness, in 1641, instead of murdering him, as the popular account has it. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte MSS.*, pp. 120, 121.

(104) *The Irish.*—One portion of Antrim's estate, the Glynns, his ancestors had inherited from the year 1399. The other part, known as the Route, had belonged to the Macquillins, whose traditional policy in favour of England was not likely to induce the old Irish party to make any change, even should it have the power, in the ownership of Antrim's property.

(105) *Supreme Council.*—This was the executive body of the whole *Confederated Catholics* of Ireland. The Irish, in self-defence, were obliged to form this confederacy in 1642. "Nor did they find any great difficulty in engaging them (the English Catholics); they being ready enough to consider it as a common cause, and to imagine that the same snares, which they were persuaded had been laid for the lives and estates of the lords of the pale, would be made use of to destroy them, by piecemeal, one after another; and that the only way to prevent the destruction of each particular, was to unite all together as one man, to make a general association for their defence, and to depend upon the fate of war to make the best terms they could for themselves." (Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. i., p. 262.) The Confederacy, on being formed, immediately presented an humble and dutiful address to the king, stating the necessity, "after long patience, of putting themselves in a posture of natural defence; with intention, nevertheless, never to disturb his Majesty's government, to invade any of his high prerogatives, or oppress any of his British subjects, of what religion soever, that did not labour to oppress them." This address concludes in the following words:—"We, therefore, with hearts bent lower than our knees, do humbly beseech your majesty, timely to assign a place, where, with safety, we may express our grievances, and you may with freedom apply a seasonable cure to them." See Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, pp. 231, 232.

(106) *Mac Donnel.*—Antrim's great grandfather, Alexander of Isla and Cantire, is probably here meant, that chieftain having come out of Scotland about the year 1493. Antrim's grandfather, Sorley Boy, was probably born in Ireland, having first seen the light at a time when his father was prohibited by a Scottish parliamentary enactment from setting foot on Scottish soil. See p. 38, *supra.*

(107) *Command there.*—James Graham, the most distinguished of Scottish royalists, was born in 1612, and succeeded as fifth earl of Montrose at the death of his father in 1627. He was an advocate of the original national covenant, in the cause of which he was sent against Lord Aboyne in 1639, whom he defeated at the bridge of Dee. He soon found sufficient cause (as he explained in a lengthened statement) to separate from his covenanting associates, who imprisoned him for six months, in 1641, in the castle of Edinburgh, for having stated his conviction that the marquis of Argyle contemplated the deposition of the king. In 1644, he and the earl of Antrim determined to initiate a movement in Scotland intended to impede the aggressive policy of the covenanters. The well-known and sagacious John Evelyn has the following reference to Montrose's difficulties at the commencement of his brilliant career:—"Montrose had long been faithful to the king's cause, although the king was kept ignorant of it by the artifices of the marquis of Hamilton; for though in the beginning of the troubles in Scotland, as far back as 1641, Montrose had joined the Covenanters, yet, seeing reason to change his politics, and trusting to the weight of his family alliances, he came to England with the loyal intention of rendering all the services in his power to the king. On his arrival at the English Court, Hamilton, generally accused of deceiving Charles with respect to Scottish affairs, contrived so artfully to throw slights upon Montrose that the latter returned to the Covenanters, with whom being again disgusted, he wrote to the king expressing his loyalty and desire of serving him; but it is asserted that Hamilton took the letter out of his majesty's pocket in the night and sent it to the Covenanters, in order to destroy Montrose's character in every quarter." See Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 82, *note.*

(108) *His adherents.*—There is no evidence that Antrim ever expected more from his Scottish project than the

port them, and I will find soldiers.' The Supreme Council agreed, and Antrim got together his tenants of Antrim and Claneboie, who had served in the Irish army, and the Supreme Council provided them quarters till they embarked.(109) James M'Donnel (whose relation I follow) was then in Conaght, after the Cessation,(110) at his sister's house, who was married to David Bourke, a brother of Viscount Mayo, and was wrote to by Antrim to come, which he did, and called also Alexander M'Donnel,(111) son of Coll Kittagh : Antrim sent them both to Dublin to Ormonde, who (as James says) promised them his utmost assistance, and from the time of their landing in Scotland, promised to send them supplies, and would pawn his goods and plate for it.(112) They returned satisfied, and went to Waterford to embark ; but the commissioners deputed by the Supreme Council would spare only three ships, with a frigate or pinnace; upon which it was resolved that the men should embark and be sent before into Scotand, and Antrim himself, and his brother, Alexander Mac Donnel, should follow with the rest of the 5,000, for so many were resolved to be sent." *Carte Manuscripts*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. xcvii. See p, 74, *supra, note.*

restoration of such lands as had belonged to his family, and of which the Macdonnells had been deprived by the Campbells.

(109) *Embarked.*—"The men were almost all of them levied in Ulster, and consisted chiefly of his (Antrim's) own tenants and neighbours that served in the Irish army, and were commanded by discontented officers, who had been disbanded, as being averse to the Cessation, and desirous to renew the war, so that the carrying of them out of the kingdom was no ill piece of service. He had done this with a good deal of expedition, having raised 2,000 men before the end of April, and marched them into the counties of Longford and Westmeath, which were by the Supreme Council assigned for their quarters till they embarked." (Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. i., p. 481). The vessels in which they embarked were hired from Wexford, Waterford, and Dungarvan, but these ships were required to rendezvous at *Passage*, as the point from which they could most conveniently set sail at low water.

(110) *Cessation.*—In 1643, the Confederated Catholics memorialed Charles I. for an armistice, offering at the same time to assist the king against his enemies in England. Charles eagerly caught at the proposal, for although these Confederates were, in some measure, to be regarded as in opposition to his worthless Irish government, he looked on them justly as much less so, than were the parliamentarians to his own authority in England. Through Ormonde, as Irish deputy, a *cessation* of hostilities, for the space of one year, was therefore arranged between the royal forces in Ireland and those of the Irish Confederates. The king, by means of this armistice, obtained a sum of £30,000 from the catholics, and was able, besides, to draw ten of his own regiments into England. The puritans in England and the covenanters in Scotland paid no attention to this cessation of arms, the latter, indeed, taking advantage of it to continue their devastations in Ulster with, if possible, greater atrocity than before. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 324, *note.*

(111) *M'Donnel.*—Alaster Macdonnell, it would appear, had been seriously wounded at the battle of Glenmaquin, near Raphoe, and was probably not altogether recovered when he received this call from the earl of Antrim. He had been staying at the house of a priest named O'Crilly, whilst suffering from his wound. The following reference to this passage in his career is made by the officer of sir John Clotworthy's regiment :—"The next Boute the Irish and British had in Ulster was at a place called Glommaquin, in the County of Dungall, whither Sir Phelim O'Neill and O'Cahan, their chief Commanders, marched with about 4000 men, which, the British hearing, under the command of Sir Robert Stewart, an old soldier, entrenched themselves in Night time, but had not time to make it full Breast high before Morning, when the Irish appeared close to them, and sent a Brigade under the Command of Alexander Mac Colla Mac Donnell, a stout brave Fellow (under the command of Mountrose afterwards in Scotland), who charged up alone to the work, but was shot, and after a very sharp skirmish the Irish fell back, and took the Retreat, where many were slain, and with much ado O'Cahan brought off Mac Donnell in a Horse litter." See *Warr of Ireland from* 1640 *to* 1652, pp. 23, 24.

(112) *Plate for it.*—Ormonde's professions of zeal in this service very much outran his actual practice afterwards. Antrim, however, was rather taken by surprise at the exhibition of any anxiety, much less of zeal, on Ormonde's part, to promote the objects of this Scottish expedition, the bearings of which, indeed, he (Ormonde) at first either did not understand, or was disposed to interpret as an illustration of Antrim's selfishness and ambition. When Ormonde saw, however, that the movement would go on without, if not with his co-operation, he gave an order to supply Antrim with some gunpowder, which was wanted to complete the little armament, and which he (Ormonde) had only then just purchased at Waterford for some other special purpose. The Confederate Assembly had resolved "to assist Antrim with 2,000 muskets, 2,400 weight of powder, proportionable match, and 200 barrels of oatmeal by the first of May ; upon knowledge, first, that all other accommodations be concurring, and a safe and convienient Port be provided in Ulster, for receiving the said arms, ammunition, and victual." The only Ulster ports in Ormonde's power were those of Carlingford and Greencastle, and these, he was afraid, for this or any other purpose, to permit the Irish Confederates to occupy. See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol i., p. 479.

At length, after much delay, and not a few disappointments, the little expedition moved off from Passage (113) at nine o'clock on the morning of June 27, 1644. When Lord Antrim had got it fairly afloat, he forwarded a brief communication to Ormonde, in which he states that the number of men sent was "hard upon 1600, completely armed by my own shifts, besides 1500 pikes; I discharged seven or eight hundred men for want of shipping. I shall desire your lordship to join with me to procure the remaine of the armes promised me, that I may send my brother with a second supply, who shall goe thither with more men. Passage, June 27, 1644." (See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. iii. pp. 318, 319.) Antrim continued to exert himself in this business with at least moderate success, as Ormonde, referring to the result, in a letter dated July 17, says:—"The number of men then embarked by him (Antrim) from Waterford and other places amounted to 2,500, well-armed and victualled for two months." (*Ibid.* p. 328.) On the 16th of the preceding May, Antrim stated, in a letter to Ormonde, that he "had then for three months past, maintained by his own credit and that of his friends, at least two thousand men, ready to be shipped off, waiting for their arms and provisions, which, he feared, would not come so soon as expected, while the parliament ships were so thick on the coast." Indeed, this delay so much deplored by Antrim was a fortunate circumstance connected with his expedition, for had it sailed in the month of April (as he engaged to his Scottish friends that it would do), or at any time during the month of May, his little handful of men could hardly have escaped the enemy's cruisers, which then swarmed on the coasts, and showed no mercy to such ill-fated Irish royalists as happened to suffer capture in their attempts to cross the Channel. In the month of May, Ormonde had sent 150 men to Bristol, in the king's service, but they were captured by a captain Swanley, commander of a parliament ship, who inhumanly ordered seventy men and two women to be thrown overboard, simply because they were *Irish*, the English newspapers in Lancashire jocularly announcing that, *if they would not take the covenant, they could take the water*. (114) It so happened, however, that in the interval between the end of May and the 27th of June, the parliament war-ships had completely deserted the Channel, on the fall of Liverpool before the king's forces. The ships, therefore, that carried the Antrim soldiers had thus a free and safe passage, though not a very quick one. Alaster MacColl, the commander-in-chief, and his principal officers took their place in a pinnance or frigate named the *Harp*, which accompanied the three ships containing the soldiers. These officers, colonels of three regiments, were—1. James M'Donnell (see p. 76, *supra*); 2. Randal Oge, son of Alexander, son of Randal, son of Angus, brother of Sorley Boy; 3. Manus or Magnus O'Cahan, who belonged to a family in the county of Derry. The names of these leading

(113) *Passage.*—There was a celebrated fort at this place, on the other side of the river Barrow, opposite the fort of Duncannon. When Cromwell afterwards took the Fort of Passage, Waterford easily fell into his power. See Carte's *Manuscripts*, vol. ii., pp. 92—103.

(114) *The water.*—This Swanley was a true exponent of the puritanical ferocity of that time. On the 24th October, 1644, the English parliament enacted that no quarter would be given to any Irishman or papist born in Ireland, that should be taken in hostility against the parliament, either upon the sea, or in England or Wales. Strict orders were given "to the lord general, lord admiral, and all other officers by sea and land, to except all Irishmen and all papists born in Ireland, out of all capitulations, agreements, or compositions, hereafter to be made with the enemy; and upon taking of every such Irishman or papist born in Ireland, forthwith to put such person to death." (See Hughes's *Abridgment of Acts*, p. 165.) For another remarkable illustration of this ferocity towards the Irish, see new edition of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 345. In the same year, 1644, the parliament of Scotland also passed a similar ordinance, by agreement with the Parliament of England, against giving quarter to any Irish soldiers that might fall into

officers are preserved in a Macdonnell manuscript, but it is to be regretted that many other names of those concerned have not been recorded—at least in any document to which we have had access. The fate of these, and several other Irish officers, will be mentioned in a subsequent page.

On the third day after setting sail, the *Harp* picked up at intervals no less than three vessels, one of which had a cargo more curious than useful; but the other two were loaded with provisions, which, under the circumstances, were most valuable prizes for the Irish captors. The first vessel thus seized contained forty passengers, several of whom were preachers returning from Ulster, where they had been administering the covenant, being accompanied on that mission by a number of laymen. The other two vessels were loaded with victualling of various kinds, which the parliament had sent to relieve their famishing soldiers in Ulster, for by this time (1644) the Lowlanders under Monro and Leslie, and the redshanks under Duncan Campbell, had swept the whole province of its food, so that the old Scots and the new Scots were now just ready to devour one another (115). In the meantime, the provisions in these two ships were most acceptable to Alaster MacColl and his friends, who had really left home very scantily provided in this respect, notwithstanding the empty boast in Ormonde's letter on the subject, as quoted in the preceding page. On seeing four preachers in his hands, it occurred at once to Macdonnell that he had now a providential opportunity of redeeming his old father, and two of his brothers from Argyle's dungeons, by exchanging these preachers for his kinsmen. He did not pitch the other passengers overboard, in retaliation for the fiendish atrocities of the Swanleys; but, on the contrary, Macdonnell humanely released them all, except three preachers, named respectively Weir, Watson, and Hamilton. These, too, he would have been delighted to release at once, on the condition above-mentioned; but although Argyle loved covenanting preachers, he loved still more the recreation of putting Macdonnells to death, and in this case he actually permitted two of the three preachers to die in captivity rather than forego his bloody recreation. See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., pp. 442—444, 536.

On the 5th day after their departure from the Irish coast, the expedition had only got as far as a bay in the sound of Isla (116), where they cast anchor, and no doubt congratulated themselves on their good fortune for so far. They were told, however, that within a day's sailing there were two castles, strong, but negligently kept and weakly garrisoned by the marquis of Argyle. The

Scottish hands even in the course of regular warfare. This act was fiercely put into operation, as we shall see, in the year 1647.

(115) *One another.*—In 1642, the Scottish forces were principally occupied in robbing the counties of Down and Antrim of their cattle, which counties they wasted very much more grievously than did the Irish insurgents under Hugh O'Neill. Those Lowland Scots, *old* and *new*, as they were called (according to the times of their arrival), now numbered 20,000 in Ulster; and they kept continually driving vast herds of cattle to the coasts from which they sent them to Scotland. The cattle were thus swept from Ulster in such prodigious numbers that the lords-justices, in their letter of June, 1642, complain to the parliamentary commissioners about this unparalleled spoliation, which, they say, would be all well enough if only the papists were to suffer, but calamitous when the starvation of others must also be thus involved! See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol i., p. 311.

(116) *Of Isla.*—See p. 57, *supra*. The Scottish preachers are represented by Dr. Reid as being captured by Alaster Macdonnell on the 3rd of July, although the *Kirton MSS.* are quoted in the succeeding page, and represent the capture as having occurred on the 2nd of July. One of the preachers, named Weir, preached in Donaghadee on the latter day, and embarking after the sermon, fell into Alaster Macdonnell's hands. The matter of that sermon, however, is reported to have "much refreshed him (the preacher) in all his sufferings afterwards." See Reid's *History*, vol. i., pp. 440, 442.

latter never dreamed that, as the little Irish armament had disappointed its Scottish friends before, it would now venture across so promptly, after the departure of the parliament war-ships, and just at the time when its men could be safely landed on the Argyleshire coast. But it did. The two castles were attractive, and besides, Alaster and his friends flattered themselves that their arrival would be anxiously awaited by enthusiastic royalists. When they did land, however, at Ardnamurchan, on the 8th of the month, the actual state of affairs must have proved very discouraging indeed. The Irish had been led to expect that the earl of Seaforth would be impatiently watching from his own headlands their approach to the shore,—that the marquis of Huntley was in arms—and, above all, that Montrose had unfurled the royal standard to the breezes of the Highland hills. But nothing of the kind. Seaforth, although he promised to be there, yet, on second thoughts, he had joined the covenanters, and was then actually their chief in command north of the Spey. Huntley, who hated the covenant, but saw no hope in opposing it, had dissolved his forces, and retired to hide himself in some Highland fastness. And Montrose—where was he, or how employed? He was lurking in the house of a kinsman at Inchbrackie, near the foot of the Grampians, with no very definite hope now of being able to move at all in the royal cause. They all, it is true, had already made a show of assembling an army in Scotland for the king, but in the absence of their Irish allies, the attempt had proved utterly abortive. In the month of April, Montrose had entered the borders with one thousand men, horse and foot, and seized Dumfries; but the people "made no sign," and his own adherents rapidly disappeared from around him. The marquis of Huntley had risen at the same time in the North, and seized Aberdeen, but there was there also the same total absence of royalist enthusiasm, and so Huntley also retired. Such was the state of affairs when Alaster MacColl landed at Ardnamurchan with that little Irish band, which was literally the forlorn hope of Scottish royalists—the nucleus of that army which was soon afterwards to perform such brilliant exploits.

On looking around after the disembarkation of his men, and witnessing something of the dismay and desertion which prevailed on all sides, Alaster's first impulse was to return whence he came; but lo! his means of doing so had been already destroyed, for Argyle, who watched him with a much larger force at a distance, contrived to burn the greater part of Macdonnell's shipping almost as soon as the Irish had got to the shore! This piece of successful cunning on the part of the *MacChailtean More* even that grim gentleman himself must have afterwards secretly deplored, for he had thus cut off from a desperate antagonist the only means of retreat. Macdonnell's next impulse, seeing that he could not return, was to dash at the two castles in succession (117), which was done with such effect

(117) *In succession.*—These were the castles of Mingarrie in Ardnamurchan, and Lochaline in Morven. The ruins of this latter fortress still exist at the head of the Loch. It is traditionally said to have belonged to the family of MacInnes. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 193.) Mingarry castle stands on a low rocky promontory south of Ardnamurchan Point. "The castle, fifty feet in length, and three stories in height, is surrounded by an irregular hexagonal wall nearly as high as itself, and rising immediately from the edge of the rock, to the angles of which those of the castle are adapted." Mingarrie was the ancient and celebrated residence of the MacIan Macdonnells of Ardnamurchan until their expulsion by the Campbells at the commencement of the seventeenth century. In 1612 a commission was granted by Archibald, seventh earl of Argyle, to Donald Campbell of Barbreck-Lochow, "to take and receive the castle of Mingaray, and to put keepers in it at the Earl's expense, with power to summon before him the tenants of Ardnamurchan, to fix and collect the Earl's rents, and punish refractory tenants." See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., pp. 196, 197.

that the garrisons gave way at once, and admitted the gallant Irish without much of a struggle. In each of these places Macdonnell left a garrison, which was small at first, but soon became strong by the arrival of a reinforcement from Waterford. From the contents of the two parliament ships, he was enabled to provision these garrisons so well that they resisted successfully, in each case, a siege of six months' duration. On making this very judicious arrangement, the young commander went forth to take a leading part in the achievement of those remarkable victories, which, throughout the course of the next two years, not only prevented the covenanters from sending any further supplies of men into Ireland or England, but obliged them to recall their forces across the Tweed, and in part from the Irish shore, to defend themselves from destruction (118). "It cannot be denied," says Clarendon, "that the levies the marquis of Antrim made, and sent over to Scotland under the command of Colkitto (119), were the foundation of all those wonderful acts which were performed afterwards by the marquiss of Montross. They were fifteen hundred men, very good, and with very good officers; all so hardy that neither the ill fare nor the ill lodging in the Highlands gave them any discouragement. They gave the first opportunity to the marquiss of Montross of being at the head of an army that defeated the enemy as often as they encountered them. After each victory, the Highlanders went always home with their booty, and the Irish only staid together with their general. From this beginning, the marquiss of Montross grew to that power, that after many battles won by him, with much slaughter of the enemy, he marched victoriously with his army till he made himself master of Edinburgh, and redeemed out of the prison there the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy, and many other noble persons, who had been taken and sent thither with a resolution that they should all loose their heads; and the marquiss of Montross did always acknowledge, that the rise and beginning of his good success was due and to be imputed to that body of the Irish which had in the beginning been sent by the marquiss of Antrim, to whom the king had acknowledged the service in several letters of his own hand-writing." (120) Clarendon's *Life Written by Himself*, vol. ii., p. 246.

(118) *Destruction.*—Four regiments of the ten that had been sent to Ulster from Scotland were brought back by the Scottish authorities to meet the emergency that now suddenly arose among the sons of the covenant. The officer in Sir John Clotworthy's force says:—"For of the ten regiments come out of Scotland (which, indeed, were but the scum of that country, excepting officers, who were generally accomplished gentlemen, and very musical and liberal), there went back to Scotland four regiments, to assist Argyle against Mount-Rose; that is to say, the Lord Sinclair's regiment, garrisoned in Newry, Colonel Hume's regiment, garrisoned in Belfast, Colonel Campbell's, *alias* Lawer's, regiment, in Templepatrick, and Colonel Campbell's, *alias* Aghinbrack's, quartered in the Roote."—*Warr of Ireland*, p. 50.

(119) *Colkitto.*—Perhaps no other historical Celt has been so often misnamed as Alaster or Alexander Macdonnell. He is almost invariably called Collkittagh, or Colkitto, which is exactly a combination of his *father's* Christian name and nickname! Dr. Reid, vol. i., p. 340, styles him "the noted Collkittagh," although he had previously explained, at p. 300, that Alaster Macdonnell was the son of Collkittagh! Spalding, who might have guarded himself against any inaccuracy on this point, actually writes the name *MacColl MacKittish*, whilst English writers have occasionally transformed Alaster into a *Colonel Kitto*. Burton, one of the latest and most pretentious of Scottish historians, actually speaks of this commander as *Macdonald of Colkitto*, thus mistaking the latter word for the name of a residence! See Burton, *History of Scotland*, vol. vii., p. 189.

(120) *Hand writing.*—These letters, and several others from the king, were preserved among the family papers at Glenarm castle, until the time of the late Mr. Macdonnell, second husband of the countess Anne Katherine. They are described, by a gentleman who had an opportunity of reading them, as containing many expressions of the royal gratitude to the marquis of Antrim for his exertions in sending out the Scottish expedition. When writing to Ormonde, Jan. 4, 1644, the king describes the victories of Montrose as having already produced "very powerful effects in the temper of the Scottish nation at London," and urges Ormonde to send supplies to Montrose, which he (the king) considered "as one of the most essential points of all his affairs." Digby, also, the chief secretary, who could sneer occassionally at Antrim's movements,

Scottish historians, if perhaps we except Guthrie and Wishart, are very much disposed to ignore Alaster MacColl and his handful of Irish. Burton, whilst admitting that Montrose's Highlanders invariably deserted him after a battle, running away to their several districts with whatever booty they had picked up, is careful to inform us, at the same time, that the general on such occasions, "*had few but the worthless Irish who could not leave him*" (*History of Scotland*, vol. vii., p. 187). Napier, the author of the well-known *Memoirs of Montrose*, although admitting that Alaster and his men were useful, evidently regards them as being so only in assisting to swell the triumphs of Montrose. In no part of his narrative does this unworthy sentiment appear more distinctly than when telling of Macdonnell's arrival at Ardnamurchan, and the difficulties with which he was then so thoroughly beset. "Foiled and hemmed in," says Napier, "Macdonald attacked Argyle's country with the desperate bravery for which he is celebrated, rather than for the higher qualities of a military leader. He did more, however, than take a few strongholds, and waste the districts of the enemy." It is hard to imagine what better any military leader, even of "the highest qualities," could have done under the circumstances. With rare judgment and decision Macdonnell had seized two fortresses, and placed garrisons therein, which continued to exercise a most important influence on the progress of the war. He next swept with his little band the whole of northern Argyleshire, and afterwards the country of the deserter, Seaforth,—punishing the powerful clan of the Mackenzies from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaver. "He did more," says Napier,—but what? When Alaster found himself in Badenoch, he naturally began to wonder what was next to be done, and forthwith he sent a fiery cross to the covenanting committee of Moray, commanding all subjects capable of bearing arms to arise and *follow Montrose*. This was what Napier thinks of more importance than taking "a few strongholds and wasting the districts of the enemy." But it so happened that Macdonnell's fiery cross did very considerable harm, for the covenanters caught it up, and in the name of the *estates*, they forthwith summoned, by this startling process, every man between sixteen and sixty dwelling north of the Grampians, to arise for the covenant! Macdonnell had also written to Montrose, and when this letter reached him, as he lurked in Methven wood, a covenanter was approaching with the fiery cross, on his way to St. Johnston. Montrose hastily stepped towards the man, and "enquired what the matter meant? The messenger told him, that Coll MacGillespick, for so was Alexander Macdonald called by the Highlanders, was entered in Athole, with a great army of the Irish, and threatened to burn the whole country if they did not rise with him (Macdonald) against the covenant; and he was sent to advertise St. Johnston, that all the country might be raised to resist him." (Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 418). "Macdonald and his band seemed in the very jaws of destruction," says Napier, "when fortune unexpectedly favoured the brave." In other words, Montrose heard that Alaster had penetrated to Badenoch, and the fact that Montrose then determined to go at least a part of the way to meet him, is represented as having been the salvation of the Irish.

But, with due deference, we are rather inclined to think that Montrose personally, and

then saw that the true policy would have been to "use all possible means to encourage and assist the Earl of Antrim and his forces in the service of Scotland; whereof the king's party finds such admirable effects in England." See Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 259, and *notes*.

Montrose's cause, were then exactly "in the jaws of destruction," and were rescued only by the very bold and successful movements of Macdonnell. Napier, under the hallucination that Montrose had all the merit of the extrication or salvation of Macdonnell, informs us that the plan he adopted for this purpose "was a stroke of genius." But how? Certainly, "the stroke of genius," if such there was, belonged to the son of Coll MacGillaspick. For Montrose, in reply to the letter, sent Alaster no help, did not even promise to join him where he then was, but "sent him orders to march without delay on Athole, where the king's lieutenant (Montrose himself) *would meet him ere long*." Now, that appears to have been a very cool order, under the circumstances, and much more easily given than obeyed. Macdonnell had fought his way from Ardnamurchan into Badenoch, and now he must fight his way, as best he could, to the Blair of Athol! But, no sooner said than done, on the part of the Irish, for without a moment's hesitation they moved on. It was no child's play, however, to reach the appointed place of rendezvous, as Argyle was dodging behind Macdonnell with more than treble his force; in front, the sons of the covenant were gathering in thousands; whilst between him and Athol lay the lakes of Inverness and the range of the Grampians. But he accomplished this daring march to meet the 'Lieutenant,' and had even stormed the castle of Blair Athol before the latter arrived. When Montrose did come, he was almost alone, but he was a host in himself, being well known and greatly admired among the Highlanders. His advent at Blair Athol was opportune, as the Stewarts and Robertsons of that district, although hating the government of Argyle, were mustering their forces with a view to attack Alaster Macdonnell as a foreign invader. Montrose has got immense laudation for coming so promptly from Inchbrackie to meet Macdonnell, although in reality his tardiness had almost brought him in time to be too late. The Athol-men, and even others disposed to take the side of the king, refused at first to join the devoted little Irish band, who had come so far to assist and inspire them. The Highland caterans would not so much as move further under Alaster MacColl, whom they looked upon then as nobody, with his insignificent following of only twelve hundred Irish, they having been led to expect the arrival of 10,000 men from the Antrim shore! Indeed, so much had this feeling of estrangement begun to prevail, that the two little armies of Athol-men and Irish, forgetful of their common cause, and even their common origin, had drawn themselves up on two opposing hills in battle-array, and were only prevented from slaughtering each other by the coming of Montrose at the eleventh hour! The difficulty was soon arranged, however, by the presence of the latter, who proceeded, amidst the enthusiastic cheering of the men of Badenoch, and Athol, and Antrim, to plant the royal standard in a conspicuous position near the castle of Blair, which overlooks the strath of Athol, and all the valley known as Glenfender, and the greater part of the romantic Glentilt.

Although this assemblage could not have appeared very formidable, it is evident that Napier is disposed to represent it as even more insignificant than it really was, by way, we suppose, of making its exploits appear the more remarkable. But these exploits, performed generally under such unfavourable circumstances, speak abundantly for themselves. The Irish appear to have been the only portion of the little royalist army which had then assumed regular military form. Napier states that the latter numbered at Blair Athol about 1200, divided into three regiments, and armed with "rusty battered matchlocks, to which the oldest brown-bess now on her death-bed

in Britain would be a beauty." Lord Antrim had sent off in the first instalment "hard on 1600 men," but probably the difference between this number and 1200 consisted of those who were left in the two garrisons on the coast. Among the arms furnished to the Irish were 1500 pikes, but Napier says nothing on this point in particular, informing us only in general terms respecting the whole force, that "a motley collection of pikes, clubs, bows and arrows, shewing like an antiquary's museum, in some measure supplied the deficiency. But one-third of his (Montrose's) little army was utterly destitute of other weapons than the stones they picked up on the field of battle." The leading features of this royalist host are fully described, when it is added, that the ammunition consisted of exactly a single round for all the muskets on hand, and that, as a cavalry force, they mustered only three luckless horses reduced to skin and bone! The valiant spirit of Montrose, however, enabled him, amid these rather doleful surroundings, to dictate the following dignified manifesto, which he forwarded to Argyle :—

"My Lord,—I wonder at your being in arms for defence of rebellion; yourself well knowing his Majesty's tenderness not only to the whole country, whose patron you would pretend to be, but to your own person in particular. I beseech you, therefore, to return to your allegiance, and submit yourself, and what belongs unto you, as to the grace and protection of your good king; who, as he hath hitherto condescended unto all things asked, (121) though to the exceeding great prejudice of his prerogative, so still you may find him like an indulgent father, ready to embrace his penitent children in his arms, although he hath been provoked with unspeakable injuries. But if you shall still continue obstinate, I call God to witness that, through your own stubbornness, I shall be compelled to endeavour to reduce you by force. So I rest your friend, if you please,

"Montrose."

Among the *Carte Manuscripts*, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is a paper bound up in vol. i., pp. 73—76, written by Col. James Macdonnell, already mentioned at pp. 76—79, *supra*, and containing a modest and truthful account of events, from the landing of the Irish at Ardnamurchan, on the 8th of July, until the first week in February ensuing. The following is a copy of this highly interesting document, which is entitled—"*Intelligence from his Majesty's army in Scotland, to be presented to the most honourable the lord lieutenant of Ireland; written at Inverlochy in Lochabar, the 7th of February*, 1644, *by an Irish officer of Alexander Macdonnell's forces:*"—

(121) *Things asked.*—Montrose here refers to the concessions the king had made in 1640, and which were then believed to be ample enough to satisfy, and even immeasurably delight the Scottish people. Charles was willing, in deference to their wishes, to abrogate the canons, the liturgy, the high commission, the articles of Perth, and even the order of bishops, though not episcopacy; so that the old preachers, who had witnessed what they called the perfection of Presbyterianism in the days of the Melvilles, rejoiced that their eyes had been permitted to see the changes conceded by the king in 1640. These old preachers were encouraged, at the meeting of their general assembly in that year, to proclaim their great joy on account of the concessions thus granted by the king. "Mr. John Weems being called on, who could scarce get a word spoken for tears trickling down along his grey hairs like drops of rain, or dew upon the tops of the tender grass, said—'I do remember when the kirk of Scotland had a beautiful face. I remember since there was a great power and life accompanying the ordinances of God, and a wonderful work of operation upon the hearts of people. These, my eyes, did see a fearful defection after, procured by our sins, and no more did I wish before my eyes were closed but to have seen such a beautiful day. Blessed, for evermore, be our Lord and King Jesus; and the blessing of God be upon his Majesty, and the Lord make us thankful!'" Other old preachers followed in the same strain, and almost in the same words. Peterkin's *Records*, p. 250, as quoted in Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii., pp. 70, 71.

"When the Irish forces arrived in Argyle's bounds in Scotland, our general-major, Alexander Macdonnell, sent such of his majesty's commissions and letters to those to whom they were directed, although for the present none were accepted of; (122) which caused our general-major and those forces to march into Badenoch, (123) where they raised the country with them; and from thence to Castle-Blaire in Athole, (124) where the lord marquess of Montrose came unto us, and joined them (the Irish) with some other small forces. From thence they marched to St. Johnston, (125)

(122) *Accepted of.*—At the head of these nnexpected repudiators of the royal cause, was the earl of Seaforth, (see p. 82, *supra*). The defection of this nobleman was a 'sore discouragement' to begin with, as, next to Argyle himself, he was then the most potent chieftain in the Western Highlands. The Mackenzies, of whom Seaforth was the head, had risen, like the Campbells, on the ruin of the Macdonnells, and they were naturally chary of now fraternising with "the broken men" whom they had such good reasons to fear, should any sudden change place the lord of Antrim in a position to remedy the wrongs of his Scottish kinsmen.

(123) *Badenoch.*—The territory of Badenoch was the well-known *locale* of the *Clanchattan*, or Mackintoshes. A Scottish topographer of the sixteenth century, referring to this and the adjoining regions, says:—"At this narrow poynt, lying betwixt these waters, (the Don and Dee) the countrie of Marr beginnes, growing alwayes wider and wider, till it be 60 myles in lengthe, and come to Badzenoch. The countrie of Badzenoch hath, as it were, a back running out thorow the midst of it, which spouts forth water into both the seas. . . . . These three countries, Habre, (Lochaber), Badzenoch, and Marr, comprehend the breadth of Scotl betwixt the two seas." *Certayne Matters concerning the Realme of Scotland composed together, as they were A.D.* 1597. These districts, especially those of Badenoch and Lochaber, had been swept with fire and sword by Argyle, in 1639, he having then obtained a commission from the covenanting parliament to *root out* therefrom all *intestine enemies*, in other words, all the Macdonnells dwelling therein, and all others who sympathised with them. In this congenial work Argyle spent the summer of 1640. Referring to that business, James Gordon, in his *History of Scots Affairs*, says:—"It was his (Argyle's) design to swallow up Badenoch and Lochaber, and some lands belonging to the Macdonnells, a numerous tribe, haters of, and equally hated by Argyle. He had got some hold upon Lochaber and Badenoch the last year, 1639, as a cautionary pledge for some of Huntly's debts, for which he was become engaged as cautioner to Huntly's creditors. By this means his title was legal, in case of breach of condition by Huntly; yet, at this time he could not pretend so much against Huntly; therefore, this expedition against those Highlanders was prosecuted for advancement of his private design."

(124) *In Athole.*—"Tay is the greatest river in Scotland, which, turning course at the hills of Grangebean, joynes with Athole, a fertile countrie situate in the very wildernesse of the same mountaines, at the foote whereof there is a parte of Atholl lying playne, named the Blair, which word signifies a grounde proper for *woode*. (See *Realme of Scotland*, 1597.) Montrose selected this particular district for the place of his first rendezvous with the Irish, because he admired the bravery and loyalty of the Athol-men no less than they had loved his family—the gallant Grahams. "The castle of Blair-Athol," says Napier, "so pleasantly associated in the minds of the present generation with the happy progresses of our own Queen precisely two centuries later, was the only stronghold in Scotland of which Montrose kept possession throughout his great campaign in support of the Throne. The heart of the loyal district whence he derived his best support, it became the focus of his fiery career, where he recruited his forces, and kept his prisoners. Lofty as the old pile is still, it then reared its head more than one story higher, the star of Athole; but shorn of its beams, in the reduction of its ancient stature during the civil war of the 18th century. Montrose was never known—we say it pointedly and emphatically—to treat a captive with inhumanity, or to put a prisoner of war to death. He had many opportunities, and extreme provocation so to retaliate, but never did." (*Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., pp. 462, 463.) The great covenanting authorities, so long as Montrose *remained a covenanter*, were loud in their objections to his *leniency* as a commander, and never then insinuated any charges of cruelty against him. Thus, principal Baillie, who is accepted as their most approved representative in all historical matters connected with the conflict, says of Montrose in 1639, when referring to the magnanimous conduct of the latter at Aberdeen:—"The discretion of that generous and noble youth, was but too great. A great sum was named as a fine to that unnatural city, but all was forgiven." Baillie styles Aberdeen "unnatural" because the inhabitants refused to accept the covenant. The same chronicler further states:—"Our forces likewise disbanded, it was thought, on some malcontentment either at Montrose's too great lenitie *in sparing the enemies' houses*, or somewhat else." (See Baillie's *Letters*, vol i., pp. 197, 205.) But when Montrose became a royalist, the covenanters endeavoured to blacken his character as a cruel soldier.

(125) *St. Johnston.*—This was a common name for Perth. The little army wanted many very important matters such as food, clothing, cannon, baggage, and so forth, which could not be had by going back again to the Highlands, so the leaders boldly pointed southward to the good city of Perth as a place where they could be comfortably lodged, provided they were able to reach it. Argyle was behind with his claymores; Sutherland, Forbes, Seaforth, the Grants, and Frasers had all risen north of the Grampians, whilst a large force was known to be congregated at or near Perth. When Montrose reached a plain about two miles and a half west from that place, on Sunday morning, the 1st of September, he was startled to find a large well-appointed army waiting his approach. This plain was Tippermuir, and this host was one of the armies of the covenant. In front were

where the enemy had gathered together 8000 foot and 800 horse, with nine pieces of cannon, his majesty's army not having so much as one horse; for that day the marquess of Montrose went on foot himself, with his target and pike; the lord Kilpunt (126) commanding the bowmen, and our general-major of the Irish forces commanding his three regiments. The armies being drawn up on both sides, they both advanced together; and although the battle continued for some space, we lost not one man on our side, yet still advanced, the enemy being three or four to one; howsoever, God gave us the day; the enemy retreating, with their backs towards us, that men might have walked upon the dead corps to the town, being two long miles from the place where the battle was pitched. The chace continued from 8 o'clock in the morning till nine at night; all their cannon, arms, ammunition, colours, drums, tents, baggage, in a word, none of themselves or baggage escaped our hands, but their horse, and such of their foot as were taken within the city. This battle, to God's glory, and our prince's good, was fought the first day of September. (127)

"From thence we marched straight to Aberdeen, only surprising such as withstood us, with little or no skirmishing, till the 13th of the same month at Aberdeen the covenanters of the north (128) had gathered themselves together, to the number of 3000 foot and 500 horse, with three pieces

nine pieces of artillery, and at each extremity of the long line was placed a division of cavalry. Lord Elcho (1st earl of Wemyss) commanded the right wing in person, and sir James Scott the left; James Murray (fourth earl of Tullibardine) and lord Drummond (third earl of Perth) took charge of the centre, or main battle. Here was a formidable array such as the Antrim men in Montrose's little force had never before witnessed, but at the sight of which they appear to have felt no dismay. The opposing host, as if to want for nothing, had received a special benediction, and in its early devotions, several preachers of the covenant had actually baptized it "the army of God." One preacher declared further, that "if ever God spoke truth out of his mouth, he promised them, in the name of God, a certain victory that day." (See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 429.) The covenanting battle-cry at Tippermuir is said to have been —"*Jesus, and no quarter!*" This is stated on the authority of a pamphlet on the *Occurrences of the war, including the battle of Tippermuir, printed in* 1644, *immediately after the event.* See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 582; see also Currie's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 259.

(126) *Lord Kilpunt.*—Lord Kilpont was son of William Graham, seventh earl of Menteith, who was also served heir to the earldom of Strathearn, and created earl of Airth in compensation for the king's reduction of the latter title.

(127) *September.*—Such was the battle of Tippermuir, so disastrous to the army of the covenant. In making his preparations for the conflict, Montrose placed the three Irish regiments in the centre under the command of Alaster M'Coll. Lord Kilpont, at the head of his bowmen, occupied the left flank, and Montrose with the Athol men the right. Napier states that the Irish musketeers, having only one round of ammunition, "rushed close up to the main battle of the covenant, delivered their volley, *sub ore*, and then, clubbing the musket dealt death around them, without the loss, it is said, of a single royalist." 'Clubbing the musket' was not a practice known at that period among the Irish of Ulster. After using this weapon at the commencement of a battle it was laid aside, and the Irish skein, or short sword, generally ended the struggle. This was Alaster Macdonnell's method of winning the important battle of the Laney, near Ballymoney (see p. 69, *supra*), and he no doubt adopted the same at Tippermuir. The Irish pikes appear to have been used by the Athol men under Montrose. Two thousand covenanters perished on the field and during the pursuit. The Rev. John Robertson of Perth spoke with contempt of their conduct. "Our enemies," says he, "that before the fight were naked, weaponless, ammunitionless, and cannonless men, and so unable to have laid siege to the town, by the flight of our friends, were clothed, got abundance of arms, and great plenty of ammunition, with six pieces of cannon." Of the unhappy burghers whom he had blessed at sunrise, this disappointed preacher adds, "they were all *forefainted* and *bursted* with running; insomuch that nine or ten died that night in town *without any wound.*" Among the more 'godly' of the covenanters it was agreed that their great disaster at Tippermuir was a result of "the sins of the Assembly, the sins of the Parliament, the sins of the Army, and the sins of the People." (See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., pp. 432, 433.) For certain very amusing particulars connected with the surrender of Perth, see an original letter from the ministers, printed in the *Scots Magazine* for November, 1817.

(128) *Covenanters of the north* —The principal opponent of the royalists at Aberdeen was the well-known lord Burleigh, who was in command of two thousand five hundred foot and 500 horse, Montrose having only 1,500 foot. This Robert Arnot of Ferney married the heiress of Burleigh, and had the title of lord Burleigh in virtue of a letter from the king. His great-grandson, the last lord Balfour of Burleigh, while yet a young man, was condemned to be beheaded for the murder of a schoolmaster who had married a waiting maid with whom Balfour was

of cannon. We had then about 80 horse; the battle being fairly pitched, it continued for a long space, and the enemy behaved themselves far better than they did at St. Johnston. Yet we lost not that day above 4, but the enemy were altogether cut off, unless some few that hid themselves in the city. The riches of that town, and the riches they got before, hath made all our soldiers cavaliers. This battle being ended, only our manner of gowing down to battle, and how each commanded, I omit till it be drawn, and set down in a more ample manner; now tending only brevity of our proceedings, for if I should write the whole truth, all that hath been done by our army, would be accounted most miraculous, which I protest I will but show in the least manner I can, leaving the rest to the report of the enemy themselves. (129)

"After this battle we marched towards the highlands again, so far as to Castle Blaire, where I was sent to Ardamuragh (Ardnamurchan) with a party to relieve the castle of Migary (Mingarrie) and the castle of Laughaline; Migary having a leaguer about it, which was raised two or three days before I could come to them, (130) at which time the captain of Clanronald, with all his men joined

in love. But he made his escape from prison disguised in his sister's clothes, and joined the insurgents of 1715. He was among the attainted, and his property, worth about £700 per annum, with his title, were forfeited to the crown. See Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, pp. 85, 86, *note*.

(129) *Themselves.*—After the victory of Tippermuir and plunder of Perth, Montrose crossed the Dee at a place called Crathes, fifteen miles above Aberdeen, and marched his little army down the north bank of that river, on the 12th of September. The battle near the latter city took place between "the Crab-stane and the Justice-milns," in its immediate vicinity. The Irish here, as at Tippermuir, appear to have had some of the hottest work on their hands. To make up for deficiency in cavalry, the stoutest of the Irish, under the command of captain Mortimer, were intermingled with the horsemen—a curious stratagem, and one which certainly implied a very decided reliance on the part of Montrose in the steadiness and gallantry of these Antrim soldiers. On the commencement of the battle, the covenanters were able to seize a cluster of cottages and garden-walls, "and from this post they were speedily dislodged by a body of Irish musqueteers, who drove a troop of lancers before them like a flock of sheep." From a very strong position that had been seized by the stout commander, Burley, he was driven headlong with his five hundred men, mainly by the dashing gallantry of captain Mortimer and his Irish regiment, who, by this time we suspect, had laid their muskets aside and taken to their skeins. Sir William Forbes of Craigievar dashed his troop against Alaster MacColl, but the latter ordered his men to fall back on either side until Craigievar's cavalry thundered between, when the troop was literally annihilated, "as if it had charged down the crater of a volcano." (See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 456.) Colonel James Macdonnell reserved the details of this battle and the plans thereof for the book he intended to write, and which he did afterwards write at Rome. (See p. 76, *supra.*) Captain John Mortimer, who distinguished himself at this battle near Aberdeen, and indeed throughout the whole course of the war, was one of the officers who led the Irish from the western side of the Bann into Antrim, across the ford at Portnaw, on the morning of the 2nd of January, 1641. (See p. 63, *supra.*) He appears to have attached himself closely to Montrose, accompanying him into exile after the battle of Philiphaugh. On returning with Montrose again to Scotland, Mortimer was taken prisoner in a skirmish near the castle of Dunbeath, in 1650, and soon afterwards executed. (See Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, pp. 376, 491.) Mortimer had probably come from Connaught, there being then several families of Macdonnells in that province who continued to hold a friendly intercourse with their kinsmen in Antrim, and by this means, perhaps, Mortimer had been drawn hither. The poet Spenser supposed that the Macnamaras of the West had been originally Anglo-Norman Mortimers (see O'Daly, *Tribes of Ireland*, p. 78, *note*); but, more probably, the Mortimers of the seventeenth century had been originally Macnamaras.

(130) *Come to them.*—This siege of Mingarry castle, in which Alaster M'Coll had left a strong garrison, was undertaken by Argyle ostensibly to release the three Presbyterian ministers already named, but really to get possession again of this and the adjoining stronghold of Lochaline, both of which were essential to Argyle's defence of his own territories. He could not be induced to relinquish his hold of the three prisoners, Alaster's father and two brothers, even to save the preachers, but when remonstrated with by the church authorities, Argyle replied that he would liberate them with the high hand, and invited commissioners from the General Assembly to go with him to the siege of Mingarry, that they might witness his efforts in this matter. Accordingly three commissioners "ar sent with the marqueis," as it is written in the *Kirkton MSS.*, "who willinglie took upone thame the iorney, hopeing weel to bring the faithful man of God James Hamilton (the other two, Weir and Watson having died), home with thame. But their hope was disappointed." (See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., pp. 443, 534). When the Campbells heard of the advance of colonel James Macdonnell to the west coast, they abandoned the sieges of both Mingarry and Lochaline, and had got themselves out of his way two days before he could reach Ardnamurchan. Napier, (vol. ii., p. 462) errs in stating that Alaster MacColl headed

with Glencoe men, and others who had an inclination to his majesty's service. (131) In the mean time when I was interested on the services, the marquess of Montrose marched back to the lowlands, almost the same way he marched before, till they came to a place called Fivy, in the shire of Aberdeen, where Argyle was most shamefully beaten out of the field; and had it not been for his horse, they had suffered as deeply as the rest; so that there was not on our side any hurt done; but on their side they lost many of their best horse, and most of all their commanders hurt, and the earl Mareschal's brother killed. After the armies separated, the lord marquess marched again to Castle-Blaire, in Athol, where I met again with him and such of the highlands as had joined with me; the day of Fivy was on October 28th. (132)

"From Castle-Blaire we marched to Glanurghyes, called M'Callan, (133) M'Conaghy, (134) all which lands we burned, and preyed from thence to Lares, alias Laufers; (135) and burned and preyed all this country from thence to Achenbracke's, (136) whose land and country we burned and preyed; and so throughout all Argyle we left neither house nor hold unburned, nor corn nor cattle that belonged to the whole name of Campbell. (137) Such of his Majesty's friends as lived

this movement west against the besiegers of Mingarry. Colonel James Macdonnell states distinctly that he himself was sent on this mission. Alaster went northward at the same time for the purpose of looking after reinforcements.

(131) *Majesty's service.*—The accession of the Clanranald and Glenco men to the ranks of Montrose was naturally considered a very important matter for the royalists. The Clanranald of Lochaber included all the Macdonnells of Garragach and Keppoch, one of the most warlike and powerful of Highland clans. The Glenco men, another warlike sept of the Macdonnells, were known as the *Clan Ian Abrach*, from the fact that one of their chieftains had been fostered in Lochaber. (See p. 29, *supra*). These and other powerful champions of the royal cause were brought forward principally by the influence of Alaster MacColl, who visited them after the battle of Aberdeen, and was there received with open arms among his kinsmen.

(132) *October 28th.*—Fivy castle, in the immediate vicinity of which this action was fought, is about two miles westward from Montrose. Argyle had followed the royalist forces from Athol, across the Spey, through Badenoch and Strathbogie, but keeping at a very respectful distance, and employing himself in devastating the districts of Lude, Speirglass, Fascally, Don-a-Vourd, and Ballyheukane, burning the country onward to Angus, and as far northward as Dunottar. He was accompanied on this occasion by a thousand of his best claymores, fifteen hundred militia, and seven troops of horse commanded by the earl of Lothian. All at once, however, he found himself in the presence of the royalist force, which had encamped at Fyvie. Montrose, seeing such a powerful array of the Campbells, addressed himself to Colonel Manus O'Cahan, Alaster and James Macdonnell being both absent. O'Cahan was worthy of the occasion; and, with his handful of Irish, he began by driving a body of Argyle's best marksmen from an excellent position they had seized about midway up the rough sides of the eminence occupied by the royalists. These marksmen were driven headlong down the hill, the Irish thus finding quantities of powder in bags which the covenanters had no time to remove.

(133) *M'Callan.*—'Glanurghyes' was Glenurchy (see p. 12, *supra*), the inhabitants of which were Campbells, known as *Mac Chaillean*, descendants of Collin, a distinguished chieftain, lord of Lochawe, who lived in the 13th century. His descendants, in the 17th century, had spread themselve over Glenurchy and other districts adjoining.

(134) *M'Conaghy.*—The Campbells of Inveraw were known as the Clanconaghy, or Clandonaghy—from Donagh, pronounced in Gaelic like Conaght—the christian name of one of their most distinguished chieftains.

(135) *Laufers.*—Now always written Lawers. The Campbells of Lawers, in Breadalbane, were a branch of the Glenurchy stock, and held extensive lands in Breadalbane and Strathearn. Sir John Campbell of Lawers, by marriage with his cousin, became lord of Louden.

(136) *Achenbracke.*- Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchenbrack in Cantire. See p. 74, *supra*.

(137) *Name of Campbell.*—This was an awful foray, but the marquis of Argyle and his clan could have hardly hoped to preserve their own hearths from desolation in turn. Not only did their own burning and rapine from Athol to the braes of Angus now rise up in judgment, but still more, the fearful scenes of 1640, when Argyle got a commission of fire and sword from the Estates to go against several Highland chiefs, especially the Macdonnells, taking care afterwards to obtain from the same source a *deed of exoneration* from the guilt which he had incurred under that commission. (See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, i., 253.) After the affair of Fivy, Montrose returned again to Blair-Athol, where he was delighted to meet Alaster Macdonnell, who had come from his recruiting tour, bringing with him John of Moydart, captain of the Clanranald, with five hundred of his following; Keppoch, with his men from the braes of Lochaber; the Stewarts of Appin; the warriors of Knoidart, Glengarry, Glennenis, and Glenco; Camerons from the Lochy, and Farquharsons from

near them joined with us. We then marched to Lochaber, where M'Alane (138) came and joined us, but had but few of his men with him. From thence we marched to Glengarry, where the lord of Glengarry joined with us. At this place we got intelligence that Argyle, Achenbracke, and the whole name of Campbell, with all their forces, and a great number of lowlandmen with them, were come to Inverloughy (139) in Loughaber, following us. This caused us to make a countermarch, the nearest way over the mountains, till we came within musket-shot of the castle of Inverloughy, it then being night, so that the enemy stood to their arms all night, the sentries skirmishing together. By this place of Inverloughy, the sea comes close, and that night Argyle embarked himself in his barge, (140) and there lay till the next morning, sending his orders of discipline to Achenbracke,

Braemar. These all had been sufferers more deeply from Argyle's recent commission; and whilst Montrose's opinion was in favour of invading the Lowlands forthwith, it was the almost unanimous desire of the other leaders to sweep the territories of Argyle with fire and sword, the scourge which he had himself so unsparingly applied to them. The great foray was, therefore, commenced, the royalist army marching in three divisions, one of which was led by Montrose, the second by Alaster Macdonnell, and the third by the captain of Clanranald. The Western Highlands were thus traversed and laid waste, even as Argyle had despoiled his neighbours; "in that," says Dr. Wishart, "retaliating Argyle with the same measure he had meted unto others; who was the first in all the kingdom that prosecuted his countrymen with fire and sword. . . . These things lasted from the 13th of December, 1644, to the 28th or 29th of January following." The Campbells had been in the habit, when returning to their comparatively inaccessible haunts in Argyleshire, of quoting the first portion of their own old proverb—*It is a far cry to Lochawe*—thus defiantly challenging those whom their raids had left desolate to follow them into the Highlands, if they dare. But Montrose and Alaster Macdonnell now followed them with a vengeance. Before setting out, however, the practicability of the expedition was duly discussed, and when the question arose, "shall we be able to find food in the wilds of Argyleshire?" a warrior from Glenco, named Angus Mac Ailen Dubh, quickly replied "I know every farm belonging to Mac Cailinmhor; and if tight houses, fat cattle, and clear water will suffice, you need never want." The "tight houses" were soon all burned, and the fat cattle driven away. Argyle had said often that he would rather forfeit 100,000 crowns than that the enemy should know the passes by which an armed force could penetrate into his country. The marquis was at Inverary, and when he heard that Montrose was really coming, he fled, taking refuge in a fishing-boat in Loch-Fyne, thus abandoning his people in their hour of trial. The inhabitants of Argyleshire being thus basely deserted, made no attempt to resist the troops of Montrose, who, for the space of six weeks traversed the whole country, without molestation, burning, wasting, and destroying every village and homestead with all food of every description. The Irish and Athol men swept Breadalbane, none of the name of Campbell who could bear arms escaping, and those throughout Glenurchy being also specially punished. See Brown's *History of the Highlands*, vol. i., pp. 358, 359.

(138) *M'Alane.*—This was the common Highland way of naming Maclean. Among the septs of this great clan who joined the royal standard several "lived near them" (the Campbells), and were therefore compelled to hold back from Alaster MacColl on his first landing at Ardnamurchan, but they now took courage and determined to espouse the cause of the king. Sir Lachlan Maclean of Dowart castle in Mull, the chief of the clan, leaving instructions with his brother Donnell to assemble the Macleans, immediately set out to join Montrose, accompanied by about thirty kinsmen, among whom were the representatives of the powerful families of Coll, Treshnish, Kinlochaline, Ardgour, and Kingerloch. See *Account of the Clan Maclean*, p. 124.

(139) *Inverloughy.*—When tidings reached Montrose that Argyle had got to Inverlochy he was at the head of Lochness, and the Campbells did not imagine that there could be a collision for some time. But Montrose, without delay, marched through the glen of Albin, along the rugged bed of the Tarf, over the Lochaber mountains, and saw from the skirts of Ben Nevis the frowning towers of Inverlochy reposing in the moonlight. Argyle had taken the precaution to recal Auchinbreck from Ireland, for sir Duncan Campbell was considered a brave captain, and even more than Argyle's right hand in war. "The Clan Campbell in full gathering, like an exasperated bee hive, numbering with the government troops about three thousand, confronted Keppoch, Clanrandal, Glengarry, Lochiel, Macpherson, Macgregor, and Strowan, with at least contingents of their septs." At this battle of Inverlochy, which was fought on Sunday, the 2nd of February, 1645, "the military power and prestige of Argyle perished for ever." Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, the well-known author of *Britain's Distempers*, states that "the laird of Auchenbreck was killed, with *forty barons* of the name of Campbell; two and twenty men of quality taken prisoners; and seventeen hundred killed of the army. In the castle of Inverlochy there were fifty of the Stirling regiment with their commanders, that got their lives; but of two hundred Highlanders none escaped the Clandonald fury." The slain are said to have equalled in number the whole of Montrose's army." See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 485.

(140) *His barge.*—This luckless barge has been associated with the name of Argyle ever since the day of Inverlochy. No sooner had the van of the royalist force entered Strathlochy, at five o'clock on Saturday evening, than Argyle entered his barge, or galley, and put himself in a secure position beyond Loch-Linn. The Guthrie

and the rest of the officers there commanding the battle, which on all sides being pitched, and their cannon planted, the fight began; the enemy giving fire on us on both sides, both with cannon and muskets to their little avail. For only two regiments of our army playing with musket-shot, advanced till they recovered Argyle's standard and the standard-bearer, at which their whole army broke; (141) which were so hotly pursued both with foot and horse, that little or none of the whole army escaped us, the officers being the first that were cut off. There Achenbracke was killed, with 16 or 17 of the chief lords of Campbell; their other lowland commanders (only two lieutenant-colonels) all cut off. (142) Four others of the name of Campbell were taken prisoners, as Bearbrick, (143) the young laird Carrindel, (144) Inverleen captain, son of Enistefinth, and divers others that got quarter, being men of quality. We lost but two or three that day; this battle was fought on the 2nd of February."

The exploits of the little army under Montrose and Macdonnell were celebrated by several Gaelic bards, and chief among them was John Lom Macdonnell. This really distinguished poet was born in the reign of James I. of England, and died at a very advanced age, in the reign of queen Anne. He appears to have accompanied Montrose during all the campaigning of 1644 and 1645, and contributed not a little by his pen, probably as much as the other did by his sword, to the support of the royal cause. He had the honour of receiving the appointment of poet laureate to the king—a flattering tribute, certainly, to the genius of a bard who had previously been unknown and unheard of beyond the district of Lochaber. Whilst Montrose rested at Kilcummin after the raid into Argleshire, the bard brought intelligence that Argyle was desolating all the Brae country of Lochaber, and was even burning through Glenroy in pursuit of the

Memoirs state that among Argyle's associates in the barge was "Mr. Mungo Law, minister of Edinburgh, whom he (Argyle) had invited to go along with him, to bear witness to the wonders he proposed to perform in that expedition."

(141) *Army broke*.—It is evident that the Irish regiments had thus specially distinguished themselves, having had the honour of seizing Argyle's standard and carrying it off in triumph. No Scottish chroniclers say a word of this. The Maclean *Account* states, p. 125, that Montrose led the Athol men, and that the battle commenced about sunrise. "The Campbells," it is added, "did all that brave men could do to check the furious assault of the royalists, but being disheartened by the impetuosity of the attack and the desertion of their leader, they threw away their arms and attempted to gain their boats. . . Campbell of Skipness, one of the bravest of the rebel leaders, on being brought before Montrose, declares had he entertained the least suspicion of the cowardly character of Argyle, he would have that morning placed himself in the ranks of the royal army" (pp. 126, 127). Montrose, when giving an account of the battle in a letter to the king, says:—"Our men did wonders, and came immediately to push of pike and dint of sword, after the first firing. The rebels could not stand it, but, after some resistance at first, began to run; whom we pursued for nine miles together, making a great slaughter, which I would have hindred, if possible, that I might save your Majesty's misled subjects,"

(142) *All cut off*.—Campbell of Auchinbreck had come from Dunluce to fall by the hand of Alaster MacColl. Grant, in his *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, at p. 222, states that "the gallant Sir Donald (Duncan) Campbell of Auchinbreck was slain by Major-General Alaster MacColl, who, by one blow of a two-handed claymore, swept off his head and helmet together." In the despatch of Montrose to the king he refers to the lowland 'commanders' as follows:—"Some gentlemen of the Lowlands that had behaved themselves bravely in the battle, when they saw all lost fled into the old castle, and, upon their surrender, I have treated them honourably and taken their parole never to bear arms against your Majesty." (See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 485.)

(143) *Bearbrick*.—This is the name of a property near Lochawe which was owned by Mr. Donald Campbell, who became an effective help to Argyle in the suppression and extirpation of the MacIans of Ardnamurchan, and who was made a baronet by the title of sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan. (See p. 35, *supra*.) This sir Donald was an illegitimate son of sir John Campbell of Calder, who has assassinated by some of his kinsmen in 1592. Donald was originally bred to the church, and became dean of Lismore, but he preferred more active duties than those of an ecclesiastic. See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, p. 407.

(144) *Carrindale*.—More frequently written Carradale.

royalist army. This intelligence was enough for Montrose. John Lom Madonald was always of opinion that the royalist victory at Inverlochy was mainly achieved by Alaster Mac Coll. The stanzas subjoined were composed by him on the tower of the old castle, overlooking the battle-field. Montrose jocularly reproached the bard for not being in the battle, but he excused himself on the plea that had he taken part, there would have been no one to celebrate his (Montrose's) heroism. He subsequently lamented in pathetic verses the deaths of Charles I. and Montrose, but he did not attack Cromwell, because the latter had so thoroughly crushed the covenanters. "He sung the murder of the children of Keppoch, and having obtained a commission to apprehend the murderers dead or alive, he ceased not to pursue his object until he carried their heads to the lords of council. He was an eccentric character, warm and ardent in his friendship, bitter and unrelenting in his hatred, the greatest share of which fell to the Campbells. It is related that, dining one day with the duke of Argyle, his host asked him why he kept always gnawing at his (the duke's) clan, and the bard, presuming on his bardic privilege, promptly replied that it was *because he could not swallow them.*" (See Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 248.) The following admirable translation from the Gaelic, of Macdonnell's poem on the battle of Inverlochy, is printed in Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 483 :—

"Heard ye not! Heard ye not! How that whirlwind, the Gael,—
To Lochaber swept down from Loch Ness to Loch Eil,—
And the Campbells, to meet them in battle-array,
Like the billow came on,—and were broke like its spray!
Long, long, shall our war-song exult in that day.

"'Twas the Sabbath that rose, 'twas the Feast of St. Bride,
When the rush of the clans shook Ben Nevis's side;
I, the bard of their battles, ascended the height,
Where dark Inverlochy o'ershadowed the fight,
And I saw the Clan-Donald resistless in might.

"Through the land of my fathers the Campbells have come,
The flames of their foray enveloped my home;
Broad Keppoch in ruin is left to deplore,
And my country is waste from the hill to the shore,—
Be it so! By St. Mary, there's comfort in store!

"Though the braes of Lochaber a desert be made,
And Glenroy may be lost to the plough and the spade,
Though the bones of my kinsmen, unhonoured, unurned,
Mark the desolate path where the Campbells have burned,—
Be it so! From that foray they *never returned!*

"Fallen race of Diarmid! Disloyal,—untrue—
No harp in the Highlands will sorrow for you;
But the birds of Loch Eil are wheeling on high,
And the Badenoch wolves hear the Camerons' cry,—
'Come feast ye, come feast where the false-hearted lie!'"

Montrose enjoyed his laurels at Inverlochy for a time, and then, towards the end of March, he repassed the Grampians, chasing the covenanting general Hurry across the Esk to Dundee. This town had, on a former occasion, rejected a summons to surrender sent by Montrose, and he now determined to take it by assault. Dundee was forthwith attacked, therefore, and stormed, by Alaster Mac Coll and lord George Gordon, (145) Montrose superintending the operations from a place called the Law, in the vicinity of the town. A formal surrender was just about to be arranged, when certain scouts, who had previously misled Montrose as to the position of the enemy, brought the startling news that the two covenanting generals, Baillie and Hurry, had formed a union of their forces, and were then only a mile from Dundee, at the head of 3,000 foot and 800 horse. Montrose hurriedly retreated to Arbroath, whilst his pursuers rested for the night at Forfar, thinking that they had James Graham at last, and could give a good account of him and his small force of 700 men, early the next morning. But the latter, by a daring manœuvre, turning from Arbroath to the north-west, passed close to his pursuers in the night time, and so found his way by Kerriemuir to the South Esk, which he crossed at Carriston castle, just as the dawn began to appear. Here he found that the portion of his forces at Brechin had already made their way to the hills. He, therefore, hastened his march in the same direction, and gained the fastnesses of the Grampians, through Glenesk, after a march of three days and two sleeplesss nights. "I have often," says Dr. Wishart, "heard those who were esteemed the most experienced officers, not in Britain only, but in France and Germany, prefer this march to his most celebrated victories." (146)

This disaster was only to be regarded as such, because it afforded an opportunity for many to desert; nor is it surprising that such deserters had become wearied of uninterrupted marching and fighting. To recruit the ranks, Alaster Mac Coll, now a general, taking with him a regiment of his trusty Antrim men, went off even further than before into the Highlands, to obtain fresh levies. It is most likely Colonel James Macdonnell went with him as before, see p. 89, *supra*, but, unfortunately, we have not been able to obtain a copy of his *Memoir of the Scottish Expedition*, in which, no doubt, this recruiting excursion to the far north has been duly noticed. Alaster was regularly in

(145) *Lord Gordon.*—This was lord George Gordon, a younger son of the marquis of Huntly, who, with his brother Ludovic, joined Montrose at Kilcummin, after the battle of Inverlochy. Their eldest brother, lord Aboyne, and their youngest brother, lord Lewis Gordon, adhered to the cause of the covenant, being influenced to do so only by the fear of Argyle, their uncle. Spalding has the following passage in reference to this youngest son, who became third marquis of Huntly :—"About this time (February, 1641) Lewis Gordon being with his father, the Lord Marquis of Huntly, at London, upon some alleged miscontentment, left his father's company without his knowledge, and to his great grief, for he unwisely conveyed away with him his father's haill jewells in a cabinet, being of great worth, and to Holland goes he, leaving his father sorrowful for his bad miscarriage, although he had no great store of wealth lying beside him at that time, for maintenance of his noble rank." This younger brother, being the tool of Argyle, was eventually, through the latter's influence, made head of the house of Huntly. For a notice of the founder of this family see p. 31, *supra*.

(146) *Victories.*—See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 497. During this retreat, which, although so celebrated, must have been a very distasteful process to Alaster MacColl, that highly distinguished officer was deprived of his body-servant by the enemy. The following curious reference to this loss is copied by Napier from the original in the Montrose Charter Room, and printed in vol. ii., p. 497, of his *Memoirs of Montrose* :—"Edinburgh, 17th April, 1645.—Donald Magregor, born in the clachan beside the head of Lochow, depones—He was footboy to Captain Hugh M'Dougall, and was taken by the rebels when his master was slain at Inverlochy; and has ever been with them since, being kept by Major-General Macdonald (Alaster MacColl) as his footman; depones—he was taken after the burning of Dundee, about six miles therefrom, being carrying his master's hat, cloak, and a

the habit of visiting Argyleshire when sent forth on these important missions, for he appears to have had unwonted pleasure in humiliating the Campbells, from whom his family, in their generations, had suffered so many outrages and oppressions. Among those who returned with him on the present occasion was sir Lachlan Maclean, who came from Mull at the head of eleven hundred men. In their progress to the camp of Montrose, one of their principal recreations was to clear the country of Argyle of all the Campbells who could be found in arms there. After their arrival, the next great conflict with the covenanters occurred on the 9th of May, 1645, at the village of Auldearn, near the town of Nairn. The royalist army on this occasion was very much weaker than the opposing host, which latter was commanded by sir John Hurry, (147) assisted by the earls of Seaforth, (148) Sutherland, (149) and Findlater (150) In making his arrangements for the battle, Montrose entrusted the royal standard to the keeping of Alaster Macdonnell, a rare honour and a perilous one, for the sight of the standard was always certain to draw the full rush of the enemy upon that particular position. Montrose was only able to spare Macdonnell four hundred foot, with the injunction that he was, on no account, to permit himself to be drawn from the trenches in which he was placed. Soon after the battle began, however, he could not resist a dash at the strongest position of the enemy, which proved a serious mistake, for his little company was all but surrounded in an instant, and could have only been even partially saved by a rapid return to its trenches. "Upon this occasion it was that the son of Coll Keitache chiefly distinguished himself by his undaunted bearing, and great personal prowess. As he had been first in advance, so he was among the very last to seek the garden into which they were now returning; and frequently checked with his single hand, the advancing enemy, whose pikes and arrows most severely galled the retreating infantry. The pikemen were so close upon him as to fix their spears in his target, which he cut off with his broadsword in groups, at a stroke. Thus fighting like a lion in the rear of his troops, he gained the approach to the garden accompanied by a few friends, who wished him to enter before them. At this critical moment his sword broke. Davidson of Ardnacross, his brother-in-law, handed him his own, and whilst in the act of doing so, fell mortally wounded. Macdonald having entered along with some of the enemy attacked them furiously in order to clear the way for those who were still struggling without. . . . Seventeen of Alaster's officers and veterans lay wounded within the enclosure, and many of the Gordons were slain. But the royal standard was safe; and with this and the remnant of his troops, the herculean Islesman again rushed out and attacked the regiment of Lawers (151) on the opposite flank. 'Many were the warlike deeds performed that

pair of gloves, and that he knows not the gentleman who took him; and depones he was brought alone to Dundee and none with him."

(147) *Sir John Hurry.*—This general was originally a royalist, and was supposed to have been killed fighting on the side of the king at Marston Moor. He lived to fight on other fields, however, under the banner of the covenant, but with no better success. Eventually, he deserted the covenanters and joined Montrose, at whose side he had the honour of being hanged at last in 1650. When being taken to the scaffold, he is described by the Rev. James Fraser as "a robust, tall, stately fellow, with a long cut on his cheek." Sir James Turner mentions that when Hamilton's army of the 'Engagement' was routed, "among others, Colonel Urry got a dangerous shot on the left side of his head, whereof, though he was afterwards taken prisoner, he recovered." Sir John and other associates of Montrose, were favoured with decapitation by the Scotch guillotine, called the *Maiden*.

(148) *Seaforth.*—George Mackenzie, the second earl. For notice of his family see p. 82, *supra*.

(149) *Sutherland.*—John, the thirteenth earl.

(150) *Findlater.*—James Olgilvy was first earl of Findlater.

(151) *Lawers.*—See p. 90, *supra*.

day by the Macdonalds and Gordons. Many were the wounds given and received by them, insomuch that Montrose said after the battle that he himself witnessed the greatest feats of arms, and the greatest slaughter he ever knew performed by a couple of men, namely Nathaniel Gordon, (152) and Ronald Og Macdonald, son of Alaster, son of Angus Uaibrach.'" (153) *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., pp. 503, 505.

It was estimated that three thousand covenanters fell on the field at Auldearn and during the pursuit, which continued several hours. This great victory, which cost the royalists also the lives of many brave men, completely subdued their opponents throughout the north and west of Scotland. On leaving the vicinity of Auldearn, Montrose marched into Aberdeenshire with almost incredible rapidity, resolved to scatter a mustering in strong force under general Baillie (154) and the earl of Balcarres. (155) This covenanting army he overtook on the morning of the 2nd July, 1645, at a place called Alford, on the southern bank of the river Don, where he gained another great victory, which was also achieved by the royalists at a comparatively trifling loss. Of their enemies, twelve hundred were left dead on the field. Among those who fell in the army of Montrose was lord Gordon of Aboyne, eldest son of the marquis of Huntley, whose death the royalist soldiers of every rank bewailed as that of a brother. (156) Alaster Macdonnell was not present at this battle, being once more engaged in recruiting, but the fact that the covenanting generals hastened to attack Montrose in his absence, is evidence of the name he had gained for gallantry and skill as a soldier. Among the distinguished officers of the royalist army who were killed at Alford, was an Irish captain named Dickson.

Yet another victory was to crown the arms of Montrose and Macdonnell, in the cause for which

(152) *Gordon.*—This officer, whom Napier (vol. ii., p. 450) terms "the very *beau ideal* of a cavalier," was afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Philiphaugh, and beheaded at St. Andrews with several other distinguished loyalists.

(153) *Uaibrach.*—This reference to the exploits of one of the Antrim officers is quoted by Napier from Macvurich's *MS.*, sometimes called the *Red Book* of Clanranald. This Randal Oge was great-grandson of Angus *Uaibreach*, or the 'Contentious,' brother of Sorley Boy. Macdonnell is named in Macvurich's *MS.*—*Alastair Mac-Cholla-Ciotach, Mhic Ghiollesbuig, Mhic Alastair, Mhic Eoin Cathanich.* This title omits Colla of Kinbann, the father of Gillaspick. .

(154) *General Baillie.*—Baillie of Letham was a natural son of sir William Baillie of Lamington, by a Mrs. Home, and born in the lifetime of sir William's wife, Margaret Maxwell, countess of Angus. He married Mrs. Home after the death of lady Angus, in order to legitimise his son, but in this he did not succeed. The son went as a soldier-adventurer to Sweden, where he served for a time in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, and was invited to return to Scotland, in 1638, by the covenanters, who appointed him to a command in their army, which was then being mustered against the king. After the disgrace of Argyle at Fyvie and Dunkeld, he was constrained to accept the command-in-chief of the covenanting forces in Scotland, but was soon afterwards defeated by Montrose at the two battles of Alford and Kilsyth. His two sons married daughters of George, first lord Forrester of Corstorphine, whose patent of nobility extended to the husbands and children of these ladies successively. James Baillie, the younger brother, and second lord Forrester, was slain by his wife's niece with his own sword,—for which deed the young lady was executed. See Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 118.

(155) *Balcarres.*—Alexander Lindsay, second viscount and first earl of Balcarres, commanded the cavalry at the battle of Alford. According to the Macvurich *MS.*, Balcarres hurried Baillie into this engagement sooner than the latter would have judged expedient, by calling out—"The enemy are in the habit of making the first onset; do not allow them to have that advantage to-day, but engage them instantly." But no sooner did Baillie begin to move than lord Gordon of Aboyne launched his right wing against the three squadrons of Balcarres's horse, which, after stoutly sustaining the first assault, fled in confusion, and were pursued with great slaughter.

(156) *A brother.*—"Nothing could have supported the army under this immense deprivation but the presence of Montrose, whose safety brought gladness, and revived their drooping spirits. Yet Montrose himself could not restrain his grief, but mourned bitterly as if for his dearest and only friend. Grievously he complained that one who was the ornament of the Scottish nobility, and the boldest asserter of the royal authority in the north, his best and bosom friend, should be thus cut off in the flower of his age." See Wishart's *Memoirs*, pp. 151, 152.

they so valiantly contended. General Baillie, the principal covenanting leader in the north, after his defeat at Alford, retreated hastily to Perth. Thither he was soon pursued by Montrose, who cleared out several straggling parties of the enemy in his march through Strathearn. Baillie believed that his pursuer was on the way eastward leading to Edinburgh, and went out therefore from Perth in company with Argyle to watch the movements of Montrose. The latter, crossing the Forth four miles above Stirling, marched through Kippen, and passing the Kilsyth Hills by Fintry, encamped at the village of Kilsyth. Here he was soon followed by Baillie, Argyle, and other covenanting leaders, who had got together another army of 7000 foot and 1000 horse, and took a position that they believed to be impregnable, and that enabled them to guard all the passes by which the small royalist force could escape, for the covenanters then certainly expected that victory would crown their efforts. But, once more, they were doomed to a defeat more disastrous than any that had yet befallen them. Alaster Macdonnell is described as keeping his brave Irish well in hand before the battle commenced, "whilst the clans were too impatient for action, and most difficult to restrain, owing to the emulation and dispute for precedence arising between seven hundred of the Macleans, under their chief, sir Lachlan Maclean of Dowart, and five hundred of the Clanranald, under their captain, John of Moidart, and his impetuous son, Donald. These had all been absent from the last victory, and were now burning to distinguish themselves as Glengarry had done at Alford." This rivalry had nearly proved fatal to the royalist army, which was saved partly by the skill of Montrose, but perhaps still more by the judicious gallantry of Macdonnell and the Irish. When the covenanters broke and fled, the pursuit was kept up for the distance of fourteen miles from the battle-field, and on that 15th of August, it is estimated that not less than six thousand of them were slain. Most of the covenanting commanders saved themselves by a timely flight, taking refuge in Stirling castle, whilst Argyle himself took care to ensure his own safety by never drawing bridle till he reached the Forth at Queensferry, where he sought the protection of a vessel lying at anchor in the road of Leith. He was by this means put on shore as far away as Newcastle Thus, the covenanting forces in Scotland were literally scattered as chaff before the wind, whilst the leaders of those forces disappeared from every position which, it might be supposed, they would have made some efforts to hold. As Seaforth could not be found in the north, after the battle of Inverlochy, so neither was Lanerick to be seen in the south after the disaster of Kilsyth. Argyle, Loudon, and Lindsay, took refuge in Berwick and Newcastle, whilst Cassilis (157) and Glencairn (158) fled to Ireland, sojourning for a time among the Scots of Ulster.

(157) *Cassilis.*—John Kennedy, sixth earl of Cassilis, was a staunch covenanter, or rather a facile instrument in the hands of Argyle, and a virulent declaimer against Montrose. When he fled to Ireland there were several of his kinsmen in Antrim and Down, among whom he may have taken refuge. This sixth earl of Cassilis attended the assembly of divines at Westminster in 1643; and whilst thus employed his countess took the opportunity of eloping with sir John Faa of Dunbar, her former lover, who came to Cassilis, or Castle Kennedy, in the diguise of a gipsy. To this event the well-known ballad of "*Johnie Faa*" refers, and all the alleged facts connected with the elopement are circumstantially detailed in various respectable publications, such as Chambers's *Picture of Scotland*, and the *New Statistical Account* of that kingdom Adjoining Castle Kennedy is a loch with an island in the centre. "Within this little island," says an old chronicler, "which is also planted with trees, is a little house built, into which the Earl of Cassilis used to retire himself betwixt sermons, having a boat for that purpose, in which also he could be transported from Castle Kennedy to the church, and so back again, the way from the kirk to the castle by land being about a mile on either side of the loch."

(158) *Glencairn.*—This William Cunningham, ninth earl of Glencairn, wavered in his allegiance between the

After resting his army two days at Kilsyth, Montrose quietly went down into the valley of the Clyde, and was hailed with acclamations of joy by the people of Glasgow. At Bothwell, complimentary addresses poured in upon him from all parts of Scotland, being presented by special commissioners. "The shires and towns of Renfrew and Ayr sent deputations to deprecate offended sovereignty, imputing to the agitation of the covenanting clergy all their sins of rebellion. Montrose accepted their submission, took their oaths of allegiance, and dismissed them as friends. But, understanding that the fugitive earls had been raising forces in the western shires, he despatched his major-general, Alaster Mac Coll, accompanied by young Drummond of Balloch (159), with a strong force to suppress these levies. Strange to say, this party found their mission resolving into a pleasant progress through what then was known as the most covenanted district of Scotland. And nowhere, says Guthrie, did Montrose's delegates receive so hearty a welcome as at Loudon Castle. (160) The chancellor of course was not at home. But the baroness in her own right, actually took the son of old Coll Keitach in her arms, honoured the party with a sumptuous entertainment, and sent her major-domo, John Halden, back with them to Montrose, to present her humble service to the king's lieutenant." (161) Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 555.

This mission into Renfrew and Ayrshire, the very hotbed of the covenant, places Alaster Macdonnell in a somewhat new light, and affords us in some respects a clearer view of his character than what could be obtained merely on a series of battlefields. Curiously enough, a letter has been discovered some years ago, among the papers of the Eglinton family, at Auchans, which reveals several interesting particulars, hitherto entirely unknown, in connexion with the visit of Macdonnell to Ayrshire, and even goes far to persuade numerous Lowlanders of the present day that he was not the bloody freebooter he is represented to have been by some holy chroniclers among themselves. This letter was written by a gentleman named Montgomery, a kinsman of the then covenanting earl of Eglinton, (162) to whom it was addressed, and who must have been very well pleased

king and the covenant. His kinsman, Cunningham of Glengarnock, had settled in Donegal, and in his family, it is probable, the runaway earl took refuge.

(159) *Balloch.*—This gallant royalist was nephew of Archibald, first lord Napier. Associated with Graham of Inchbrackie, Drummond defeated the remnant of Argyle's Highland army quartered on lord Napier's lands in Menteith. "This last gleam of good fortune shed upon the arms of Montrose, was a brilliant affair, but led to no results." Drummond escaped with Montrose to Norway.

(160) *Loudon castle.*—Loudon castle was, even in 1645, a magnificent residence, occupying a gentle slope on the north bank of the river Irvine. The castle, which is embosomed in woods, is said to combine all that is pleasing and imposing in an old baronial residence. There is an old yew-tree of unknown antiquity still standing close to the eastern wall. It is said that one of the family charters was signed under it in the time of William the Lion. See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 317.

(161) *Lieutenant.*—This lady was Margaret Campbell, baroness of Loudon in her own right, having succeeded her grandfather, sir Hugh, in the year 1622. She married, in 1620, sir John Campbell of Lawers, of the Breadalbane family. In 1633, he was created earl of Loudon, and in 1641, when Charles I. visited Edinburgh, Loudon was appointed lord chancellor of Scotland. His lady, by whom he obtained the magnificent estate of Loudon, was the daughter of George, master of Loudon. Both her father and mother died in March, 1612, her grandfather, sir Hugh, surviving eight years afterwards. Chancellor Loudon, her husband, died in 1652, and was buried in the family vault under Loudon kirk, "where, some years ago, his face might be seen beneath the coffin-lid in perfect preservation." Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 321.

(162) *Eglintoune.*—This sixth earl of Eglinton was known as *Greysteel*, an epithet which he acquired from his well-known readiness to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword in the settlement of all weighty disputes, whether public or private. He was the greatest, certainly, and most historical of all the earls of his family, with perhaps the exception of the first. Of this sixth earl there is the following notice in the well-known *Broomland's MS.*—"This earl was among the number of those peers who engaged themselves against the king (Charles I.) in the year 1638, upon the first com-

indeed that the writer's tact and discretion had been the means of saving his (the earl's) estates from being plundered :—

"My Lord,—I Thoughte good to acquainte youre Lordship with the occurrences heire since youre Lordship's departoure ; Alexander Mac Donald came to Kilmarnocke the nixt day therafter with thre hundedth horse, spoylling and plundering the countrie untill twesday, at what tyme plundering was discharged. The gentilmen of this shyre, for the most pairt that was in the countrie, came and tooke protectioune on thursday. Colonell Hay sent for me, professing friendship to your Lordship's house, and desyred me that I would deall with Alexander M'Donald, General-major, for saving your Lordship's houses and lands, by giving ane sowme of money. I told him I had no warrande from your Lordship, nor yett from your sone, to dealle in a matter of such consequence, but being earnestlie desyred by some of your Lordship's tennantes to enquyre his pryce, and to drawe him to the lowest, quhilk they promised to relieve me of, and not to trouble your Lordship with the paymente thereof ; which accordinge to their desyre, I did, and desyred of the major-generall that he would give me four dayes to convene your lordship's tennantes and wassales ; and I promised before Sunday at nighte to returne him ane answer by coming myselfe, which I did, and all of your Lordship's tennentes and vassales was contente to drawe up ane band for my releife, before Saturday at nighte. But the generall-major goinge to Lowdoune where the house was randered upon agreemente of Aught thowsand and five hundreth merkes for savinge of the ploundering of the houses and paroches of Lowdoune, Galstonne, and Mauchline. But some envyous persoune told the generall-major whill as he was at Lowdoune that I intended no trew dealling with him, but had sent away some gentilmen to my Lord Marqueis of Montrose for ane protectioune to your Lordship's landes, and so to prejudge him ; which in trewth was altogether ane false reporte, for I never intended to prejudge the agreement. Howsoever, Hew Montgomery in Bowhouse, (163) wente to my Lord Montrose, at the desyre of some other freinds, without my knowledge, and as I believe my Lord Seatoune (164) his meanes obteaned ane protectioune whereof this is the coppie, which indeed the meanest gentilman here would not accept of. Wherfore, the generall-major came from

mencing of our bloody civil war. He had the command of a regiment of the army which was sent to Ireland in the year 1642, towards the suppressing of the rebellion there. He was likewise personally engaged in the battle of Long-Marston-Moor, which was in the year 1645, in the service of the parliament of England against the king, where he behaved with abundance of courage ; yet his lordship still retained a respect and affection for his majesty's person, and no man more abominated the murder of the king than he. He heartily concurred in, and was extremely satisfied with, the restoration of Charles II., by whom he was constituted captain of his guards of horse in the year 1650, and next year, while he was raising forces in the western parts for the king's service, he was surprised at Dumbarton by a party of English horse, and sent prisoner to the town of Hull, and afterwards removed to Berwick-on-Tweed, suffering likewise the sequestration of his estate until the year 1660. He died in 1661, and by his first wife, the lady Anne Livingstone, who died in 1632, he had five sons. By his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Walter lord Buccleugh, who died in 1651, he left no children. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 7, *note* 21.

(163) *Bowhouse.*—This gentleman was son of Hugh Montgomery, of Stane, Auchinhood, and Bowhouse, in the parish of Irvine, and Elizabeth, daughter of Blair, of Adamtoune. Hugh Momtgomery, the younger, married Margaret, daughter of the laird Calderwood, of Peacockbank, and died in 1658. The founder of this branch of the Montgomerys was William Montgomery of Greenfield, third son of the first earl of Eglinton. Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 100, 101.

(164) *Lord Seatoune.*—Lord Seton was a younger brother of Alexander sixth earl of Eglinton—the nobleman to whom the above letter was addressed. This earl, who had been previously known as sir Alexander Seton of Foulstruther, succeeded to the Eglinton estates on the death of his cousin, Hugh Montgomery, in 1613.

Lowdoune that same nighte to Eglintoune, (165) and caused send for me; and after my coming did accuse me of my intentioune of wronging of him, as is aforesaide; and after I had cleared myselfe, I did agree with him, at the desyre of your Lordship's tennantes and vassales, for the sowme of four thowsand merkes, six hundreth thereof to be paid presentlie, and thre thowsand four hundreth merkes to be payed the last of this month. I wente to Irwin presentlie and delyvered my Band to him, and received ane band of your Lordship's tennantes; and thereafter the receipt of my Band, the General-major did remove his sowldiers from your Lordship's landes, having done no harm to the house and no great harm to your Lordship's landes, being compared with others in the countrie. (166) He lykewise commanded that all the musquetes, powder, Ball, and match, pikes and launces that was in the house of Eglintoune should be carried up to the Leaguer on the Monday therafter. Wherfore I went to the Leaguer the first of September, hopeing to find favour by Colonell Hay his meanes for not delyuering of the Ammunitione; which accordingly as I expect I fand; for in trewth Colonell Hay did all the good he could in anything that concerned your Lordship; I payed the sex hundreth merkes; and thereafter being informed by William Home that your Lordship's tennentes of Eastwood were plundered, and thre of them slaine, I wrotte to the generall-major with my sone complaining of the wrong received. He returned me this answer—that it was done before the agreemente, and in tyme comin there should be no Harme done to your Lordship's landes. I hear that there is no great skaith done to the parke, only some sheepe and some young staiges caryed away, which indeed the Generall major offered to cause delyver, if my sone would affirme that those staiges was your Lordship's which he saw, namely, ane roaned staige, which by reason he had not seen him before, could not trewly affirme to be your Lordship's. As for the paroch of Egilsome, they had thre of Montrose sowldiers, which they maintained, to whom they gave ane sowme of money, wha did keep them from any great harm. I have likeways written to my Lady Montgomery, wha is now in Carrickfergus, acquainting her of all those proceidings, and of the quyetnes of the countrie heir, desyring her returne home, which I fear she be not able to doe befor hir delyvery. (167) Sua hoping to see your Lordship shortlie, I remaine, &c.,

"Langshaw, the 13 of Sept., 1645." "NEILL MONTGOMERY, off Laingschaw." (168)

(165) *Eglintoune.*—The old castle at Eglintoune, which was visited by Alaster Macdonnell, was taken down about the close of the last century, and the present mansion built on its site. It occupies a gentle eminence above the Lugton, which flows past the castle on its northern and eastern sides. See Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 244.

(166) *The countrie.*—Parties who refused to enter into any agreement with Macdonnell respecting contributions, were plundered according to a regularly arranged scale. Very many in Ayrshire, however, either from sympathy with the royalists, or from fear of Macdonnell, sought his protection. Such persons at once became special delinquents in the eyes of the covenanting preachers, and lists of "disaffected persons" were very soon forwarded by the presbytery of Ayr to the general assembly. Several of such delinquents were at once summoned before the presbytery, and all, even those in high social positions, were afraid to refuse. One acknowledged that he had supped accidentally with Alaster Macdonnell, the public enemy; another, that he was at Kilmarnock with Alaster; and a third, that he "convened with the rebels at Kilmarnock, and at their leagues at Bothwell." Such of the clergy as took Alaster's side were severely handled by the presbytery, some of them being expelled or suspended from their office. See Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. i., pp. 117—120.

(167) *Delyvery.*—This lady Montgomery was the second wife of the sixth earl of Eglinton. Her name was Margaret Scott, daughter of Walter lord Buccleugh. She was not so courageous as her neighbour, lady Loudon, who remained in her castle and received the invaders politely. Lady Montgomery fled to Carrickfergus, where her step-son, colonel James Montgomery, then commanded a regiment under Monro. When the earl of Eglinton was imprisoned in Hull by Cromwell in 1650, his lady went to reside there, and died, without leaving any children, on the 5th of October, 1651. Her body was embalmed, and brought by sea to Dalkeith, her birthplace.

(168) *Laingschaw.*—The founder of the Montgomerys of Lainshaw, in the parish of Stewarton, was Nigel or

"As for the laird of Rowallane, (169) whome I hear is with your Lordship, his tennentes did agree for ane thowsand merkes for his landes, Crawfurdlandes (170) and Lochridges, for the quhilk by reasone they wanted money, I gave my Band to the Generall-major, to be payed at Luks-mass, having received their band for my reliefe. As for the Laird of Cuninghamheid, (171) his friends did agree for twelfe hundreth merkes quhilk the tennentes hes reallie payed. Both of Cuninghamheid and Rowallans lands are greatlie plundered, to the worth of ten thowsand poundes, as I am creditable informed. As for the towne of Kilmarnocke, I think it undone." (172) See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of the County of Ayr*, vol. i., pp. 116, 117.

These operations were carried forward by Macdonnell in Ayrshire during the interval between the battle of Kilsyth, on the 15th of August, and the end of the month. Montrose was now beset with great folks, some of whom had come around him from fear of consequences, should they continue their opposition to the royal cause; but most of them being free from fear of the covenanters, came to offer him sincere congratulations on the success of his arms. He only then received a commission from the king, which had been dated at Hereford, the 25th of June, appointing him lieutenant-governor and captain-general of Scotland. The ceremony of presenting this commission to Montrose by sir Robert Spottiswoode, secretary of state for Scotland, took place at Bothwell, on the third of September. At that meeting, Montrose addressed his soldiers, praising in simple but expressive terms their loyalty and courage. Then, in presence of the whole army, he addressed words of the most flattering approval to Alaster Mac Coll, and by virtue of the power granted in the commission from the king, Montrose concluded the proceedings by conferring the honour of knighthood upon his brave major-general. This was but an empty compliment under the circumstances, yet it was probably a cause of jealousy among the numerous and distinguished Highland chiefs who then stood around Montrose. Sir Alexander or Alaster Macdonnell appears to have concluded

Neil Montgomery, second son of the first earl of Eglinton. This Nigel married the lady Helen Campbell, a daughter of Colin, first earl of Argyle. Neil Montgomery, the writer of the above letter, was sixth in descent from Nigel, and succeeded to the family estate on the death of his father in 1635. He married Margaretta Lockhart, daughter of the laird of Barr, and by her left two sons and four daughters. This gentleman evidently sympathised with the cause of the king. See Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 454.

(169) *Rowallane.*—This laird of Rowallane, in the parish of Kilmarnock, was sir William Mure, seventeenth in descent from David de Moore, mentioned in a charter of Alexander II. early in the 13th century. Sir William Mure, above referred to, was a gentleman of some literary distinction. Whilst he remained in command of a regiment with the Scottish army in England he wrote often to his eldest son. In a letter dated at Newcastle, August, 1644, he says:—"I have written to Adame Mure, to whom you shall also speak, and requeist that he must take the whole care and chairge of my harvest, and stay constantly at my house for that effect, and I will sufficientlie recompense his paynes." Sir William died in 1657. See Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 192, 193.

(170) *Crawfurdlandes.*—From this statement it would appear that sir William Mure also held a portion of the estates known as Craufurdland, in the parish of Kilmarnock. The mansion-house on his portion of the property stands on the summit of a steep bank. The estate and castle are now the property of the very ancient family of Craufurd. See Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 169.

(171) *Cuninghamheid.*—This was sir William Cuninghame, laird of Cuninghamheid, in the parish of Dreghorn, and ninth in descent from William Cuninghame, the founder of the family, who died in 1418. Sir William succeeded to the estate on the death of his father in 1641; and Balfour states that "the wairde and marriage of the laird of Cuninghamheid, whose father died in the country's service, was ordained to be given gratis to his heir by the Parliament, August, 1641." Sir William married Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas, lord Ruthven, of Freeland. He died in 1670. See Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. i., p. 451.

(172) *Undone.*—Alaster Macdonnell made his headquarters in the town of Kilmarnock, which accounts for the injury done to the place, and which perhaps Montgomery had witnessed. It is stated, however, in the *History of Kilmarnock*, that "there is no tradition or record of any material loss sustained by the inhabitants at this particular crisis." See Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 162.

that Montrose could do without him, at least for a time; and that now he might look after some friends—and perhaps foes, too—whom he had lost sight of in Argyleshire. A desperate infatuation appears to have taken possession of the royalists from the highest to the lowest, for whilst they made haste to disband themselves, a great covenanting army, well-equipped, and highly fed on English beef, was marching across the Tweed to demolish them. This army was led by David Leslie, a nephew of Alexander Leslie, and described as being stealthy and ferocious as a wild-cat. The Gordons had left Montrose, and so had the Highlanders, for these heroic fellows invariably indulged themselves in visiting their homes after each battle; but sir Alexander Mac Coll had left behind him, with Montrose, 700 Irish infantry, and these, in fact, constituted the only force on which he could depend. This small party was suddenly surprised during a dense fog, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, on the 13th of September. The Irish fought with their accustomed gallantry, so long as fighting could serve any purpose, but they were soon surrounded by masses of cavalry. They had got possession, however, of some trifling entrenchments, and were selling their lives as dearly as possible, when an unexpected offer of quarter was given on condition that they would surrender. They did so, throwing down their arms, and standing defenceless prisoners in the presence of their enemies. These gallant Irish were then instantly butchered, after having received the promise of protection! They met their sad fate bravely as men could do, but it is grievous to know that they, with many of their hapless wives and children were thus murdered in cold blood. (173) In many a fair field these Antrim soldiers had defeated the hardiest and staunchest adherents Argyle could muster against them. "They had proved themselves able to out-manœuvre the covenanters, out-walk them, and out-fight them." The fields of Tippermuir, Aberdeen, Fyvie, Inverlochy, Dundee, Auldearn, Alford, and Kilsyth, have borne witness, and will ever bear witness to their valour. The Rev. principal Baillie, to whom we have already referred, speaks of their atrocious murder at Philiphaugh in the following style:—"The Lord made these men so mad as to stay for our army's coming to them in a plain field: Above a thousand were buried in the place: whereof scarcely fifteen was ours." Although Baillie gloats over the magnitude of the hecatomb here offered to appease covenanting wrath, it was not just so great as he represents. Wishart reckons the number of Irish then butchered at five hundred, and Guthrie at seven hundred, but besides the actual men at arms, there was unfortunately a numerous camp following that shared the same fate. The appalling murder of these camp-followers is thus recorded by Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, in his manuscript history, which he entitles *Britain's Distemper*:—"With the whole baggage and stuff, which was exceeding rich, there remained none but boys, cooks, and a rabble of rascals, and women with their children in their arms. All those, without commiseration, were cut in pieces; whereof, there were three hundred women, that, being natives of Ireland, were the married wives of the Irish. There were many big with child, yet none of them were spared, all

(173) *In cold blood.*—The *royal standard* of the small force under Montrose was preserved from the enemy at Philiphaugh by a brave Antrim soldier, who, with surprising presence of mind, coolly stripped it from the staff and wrapped it round his body. Although the covenanters by this time were masters of the field, this Antrim hero forced his way sword in hand to Montrose, who, in honour of his bravery, appointed him one of his own lifeguards. See Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 202.

were cut in pieces, with such savage and inhuman cruelty, as neither Turk nor Scythian was ever heard to have done the like: For they ript up the bellies of the women with their swords; till the fruit of their wombs, some in embryo, some perfectly formed, some crawling for life, and some ready for birth, fell down upon the ground, weltering in the gory blood of their mangled mothers. Oh! impiety; oh horrible cruelty, which Heaven, doubtless, will revenge before this bloody, unjust, and unlawful war be brought to an end."

The horror of such a scene was surely rendered still more horrible by the fact, as recorded by Guthrie, that covenant preachers were the principal *instigators*. "Montrose's foot," says Guthrie, "so soon as the horse were gone, drew to a little fold, which they maintained until Stewart the adjutant procured quarter for them, from David Leslie: Whereupon they delivered up their arms, and came forth to a plain field as they were directed: But then did the church-men quarrel (complain) that quarter should be given to such wretches as they; and declared it to be an act of most sinful impiety to spare them: wherein divers of the noblemen complied with the clergy: and they found out a *distinction* whereby to bring David Leslie off; and this it was, that quarter was only meant to Stewart the adjutant himself, but not to his company: After which, having delivered the adjutant to Middleton, to be his prisoner, the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces." This brutal ferocity on the part of the preachers was not a mere characteristic of one, or two, or three, of the fraternity, but it was a settled principle of action among them all, their great mission at this time being the hounding on the Estates to the execution of all prisoners of war. In the interval between the battle of Philiphaugh and the 1st of December, many of the Scottish nobility and gentry who had fought in the ranks of the royalist army were taken prisoners. On the 5th of December, a commission from the General Assembly of the church presented a 'Remonstrance' to the Estates or Scottish Parliament, complaining that the delays in the execution of the prisoners of war were displeasing to the Supreme Judge of all the earth, dangerous unto themselves (the members of Parliament), and grievous unto the hearts of the Lord's people! Previously, on the 24th of October, the petition of the Synod of *Merse* and *Teviotdale* had been presented, in which the members honestly remind their legislators, that the desires of justice against delinquents were not the scattered and inconsiderate wishes of one or two, blinded with prejudice or transported with passion, but the common and deliberate motions of the assemblies of the Lord's servants, after they had supplicated Himself for direction! In the same month, a petition from the Synod of *Fife* earnestly prays that, as its compilers had heard of the Parliament's zealous purpose of executing justice upon those bloody men whom God had put into their hands, so just and laudable a resolution might speedily be put in execution. Those holy petitioners trusted, that in thus delivering themselves, their conduct would "not be thought unbecoming of their place and calling!" The petition of the Synod of *Galloway* craves most earnestly "that which your late oath of Covenant and Parliament, your place and the bleeding condition of your native country require, that the sword of justice may be impartially drawn against those persons now in bonds, who have lifted up their hands against the Lord, the sworn Covenant, and this afflicted Kirk!" The clergy composing the Synod of *Dumfries* say in their petition—"We need not lay before your Honours what the *Lord calls for* at your hands, in the point of justice; nor what you owe unto

the many thousands of his people, whose blood is as water spilt on the ground." They urge the infliction of death on the prisoners of war as "the common and deliberate motions of the Assemblies of the *Lord's servants*, after they have supplicated Himself for direction, and searched for truth in *His own word*, which presseth the administration of justice with much *vehemence* and *perspicuity*: we are therefore confident that your hearts will not faint, nor your hands fail, until you have cut off the horns of the wicked, and made enemies bear the just reward of their violence and cruelty." See the *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 175; Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., pp. 593—595.

Such ghastly counsels produced the bloodiest results—results so shocking that at last the scaffold came to be called the "Covenant Shambles." Such of the hapless Irish as were not slaughtered at Philiphaugh, were done to death in due course subsequently. Two of their most distinguished officers, colonel Manus O'Cahan and major Lachlan, had greatly endeared themselves to Montrose by their gallantry and fidelity. (See p. 90, *supra*.) They commanded at Philiphaugh, where, instead of being massacred with their soldiers, they were studiously reserved for a more lingering and ignominious fate. The covenanters wished to have an exhibition of triumph in the capital, so these officers were sent forward to Edinburgh, and hanged on the Castle-Hill, without even the semblance of a trial (174). Several Irish, including women and children, made their escape before the general massacre at Philiphaugh, and were soon afterwards captured along the line of Leslie's march. This brutal fellow was accompanied by a committee of estates appointed to assist him in deciding all doubtful points that might arise; he also benefitted by the presence of several preachers, who never failed, when Irish captives were brought in, to urge their immediate execution. At one point in the line of march, these preachers must have felt that their exhortations were not given in vain. Wishart records that Irish stragglers, "being gathered together, were thrown headlong from off a high bridge; and the men, together with their wives and children, drowned in the river beneath; and if any chanced to swim towards the side, they were beaten off with pikes and staves, and thrust down again into the water." The covenanting soldiers, guilty of these barbarities, were braced up to their bloody work by the preachers, who kept repeating the following, among other passages of Scripture, supposed to countenance their atrocious conduct:—"What meaneth, then, this bleating of sheep in my ears, and the lowing of the oxen? Thine eye shall not pity, and thou shalt not spare." But the covenant-soldiers did not require to be stirred up in the matter, for they had, as they felt, many defeats now to avenge on these hated Irish; indeed during Montrose's campaigns the soldiers of the covenant, by defeats as invariable as they were ignominious, had become absolutely frantic. In addition to the Irish caught on the line of Leslie's march, there were many who had escaped in other directions, but who were also eventually captured on the 26th of December, 1646; immediately after the petitions received from the Synods of Merse and Teviotdale, Fife, Dumfries, and Galloway, "The House ordains the Irish prisoners taken at and after Philiphaugh, in all the prisons of the kingdom, especially in the prisons of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Perth, *to be*

(174) *Of a trial.*—It was at this time that the Rev. David Dick, referring to the number and quality of the persons executed, piously ejaculated—"The work goes bonniely on!" See Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 182, as quoted by Wishart, p. 224, *note*.

executed without any assize or process, conform to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms passed in act." "These," says Napier, "were only the gleanings of that glorious harvest day of the Covenant. There was no treaty between the kingdoms (England and Scotland) that touched the case. That was a miserable subtertuge, a flimsy phraseology, by which conscious cruelty sought to cloak a cowardly crime." See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose,* vol. ii., pp. 581—584; see also Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland,* pp. 67, 68.

Whatever may have been the real cause of Macdonnell's departure or defection from Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth, the royalist movement in Scotland thus and then suddenly collapsed. Alaster had been more than his right hand to Montrose as the leader of the small but most efficient Irish force, and as the only individual who could rouse, to the extent he had done, the enthusiasm of the Highland clans. Napier is compelled to admit, that the name of Alaster MacCholla-chiotach is even more famous in Highland tradition and song than that of Montrose himself, that in fact he was a knight of such valiant bearing as to have taken largely to himself the chief military glory arising from those brief but astounding campaigns. (See *Memoirs of Montrose,* vol. ii., pp. 504, 569.) Napier censures sir Alaster in unmeasured terms for leaving Montrose; but the latter, who must have known all the circumstances connected with his friend's withdrawal, has spoken, so far as we are aware, no words of blame, but simply of disappointment. Whilst Napier has an apology for "the home-sick chiefs" who left Montrose to his fate, he waxes wrathful about Macdonnell's "shameful desertion" and "miserable end." As to his desertion, this critic evidently knows little of its cause; and even less of Macdonnell's "end," when he states, as in vol. ii., p. 603, that "he fell in some unrecorded provincial quarrel." By way of representing his departure as inexcusable, Napier states, vol. ii., p. 569, that "Sir Alaster was now captain of the clans under the viceroy of Scotland," but this title, if ever really applied to him, must have been given in some figurative sense which he certainly did not appreciate, or perhaps understand. He returned to the western Highlands in company with sir Lachlan Maclean of Mull, who led homeward his whole force under the impression that peace had permanently come, and that the services of his valiant clan would no longer be required. As he and sir Alaster marched quietly homeward, they encountered a party of seven hundred Campbells, who still lurked at a place called Lagganmor in Lorne, and who were instantly dispersed by an advanced guard sent forward by Macdonnell and Maclean, consisting of only two hundred men. In reference to the departure of sir Alaster and others at that juncture, Grant has the following account:—"Now at this important crisis, when at the zenith of its fame and good fortune, the Highland army fell completely to pieces. The clans of Athol and the Macleans, 3000 in number, hearing that their dwellings had been destroyed, and their children left homeless to the snows of the coming winter, departed to rebuild what the troops of Baillie in the north and the Campbells in the west had burned and overthrown. Others were urged by the stern necessity of securing their little harvest, lest if they did not, their families would starve. Sir Alaster MacCollkeitach, having unfortunately learned about this time that his friends, relations, and clansmen, who had fled from the vengeance of the Campbells to the isles of Rachlin and Jura, were pursued thither

by the laird of Ardkinglass, (175) the captain of Skipness, (176) and others acting under the orders of Argyle, became animated by a true Highland longing for reprisals; for the covenanters treated his people with frightful severity, slaying women and children, even nurslings at the breast. All the influence of the captain-general, whom he loved so well, failed to restrain him; every entreaty and argument were used by Montrose, and by Airly, (177) to induce him to stay, for they knew his value, and also that they never could deem themselves completely successful while the whole armed force of Scotland occupied the north of England, and could be recalled in a week. MacColl replied that he 'would be no true Highlander, if he preferred even the king's cause to that of his own blood and kindred,' and with 500 Highlanders and 120 chosen Irish musketeers, on the 3rd September, he marched for the west country on his errand of vengeance, bidding adieu to Montrose, never to meet with him more." See Grant's *Memoirs of Montrose*, pp. 290, 291.

Whilst sir Alexander remained in the Western Highlands, the Argyle faction got the king into their hands, and when they could not induce him to become out and out a covenanted-king, they forthwith handed him over to his enemies, receiving at the same time a consideration of £400,000. Having thus settled effectually and for ever with their sovereign, they immediately turned their attention to his friends, now scattered throughout Scotland. David Leslie, accompanied by Argyle, at the head of a large army, went about cutting off those friends in detail, as a most congenial sort of occupation. Sir Alexander, hearing that they had actually resumed their bloody mission, was soon in arms, and made arrangements with several clans to join him, but Leslie and Argyle were very wily in their movements, and attacked him before any junction with his friends could be accomplished. They marched rapidly through Dumbarton into Argyleshire, and took Macdonnell by surprise in Cantire. The latter, unable to make head against such a large force as followed Leslie, was compelled to retreat into Isla. "Here," says the *Account of the Clan Maclean*, p. 145, "the brave Macdonald made his last stand against the enemies of his king, but finding his position in too precarious a state

(175) *Ardkinglass.*—The lairds of Ardkinglass represented a very old and influential family of the Campbells. Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, was comptroller of the household to James VI. of Scotland, and one of the guardians appointed by the sixth earl of Argyle to superintend the education of his son. Another of these guardians was sir John Campbell of Cawdor. When sir James died, his son, sir John of Ardkinglass, became jealous of his kinsman Cawdor, as having more influence with the youthful earl than he. Young Ardkinglass having endeavoured in vain to gain the earl's affection by means of witchcraft, took a more certain Highland method of removing the obstacle from his path. He employed two poor natives to kill Cawdor, and the latter was shot at his house in Lorne, the "hag-but" being supplied by Ardkinglass. The assassin laird had great difficulty in extricating himself from the threatened consequences of his crime, but he succeeded, mainly from his influential position and his solemn appeals to the Almighty of his innocence. His son, to whom reference is made in the text, was an efficient assistant of Argyle in the extermination of the Macdonnells in Isla and Cantire. See Cosmo Innes's *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 414, 532.

(176) *Skipness.*—Archibald Campbell, the laird of Skipness, had now forgotten his wrath at the cowardice of Argyle in the battle of Inverlochy. (See p. 92, *supra.*) Skipness was slain soon afterwards at Dunavertie, where he fell on the first day of the siege, in 1647. His mother, a lady of the Macfarlanes, saw him, as she supposed, approaching, but the person who arrived was a messenger with tidings of his death. The shock brought on a fainting-fit from which she never awoke. On his tombstone in the old Gaelic church of Campbelton there is an inscription, of which one line is:—"His cause of fight was still Christ's right!" Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. i., p. 35.

(177) *Airly.*—This nobleman was James Ogilvy, eighth viscount and first earl of Airly. His castle, "the bonnie house o' Airlie," was fortified against the covenanters in 1640, and maliciously destroyed by Argyle. Airly remained faithful to the royal cause, suffering many grievous losses, and even defying the excommunication of the kirk.

to hope for success by opposition, or for mercy by submission, he immediately passed over into Ireland." The little force left behind in Cantire, consisting principally of Macdougalls and soldiers from Antrim, shut themselves up in the fortress of Dunavertie, "and were soon reduced," says Napier (*Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii, p. 603), "to that species of capitulation which best suited the tactics of Argyle, and against which the Synods of the Covenant enacted no laws,—the capitulation that was only made to be broken." Guthrie's account of the result is this—"Having surrendered their arms, the marquis of Argyle and a bloody preacher, Mr. John Nevoy, prevailed with him (Leslie) to break his word; and so the army was let loose upon them, and killed them all without mercy; whereat David Leslie seemed to have some inward check: For, while the marquis and he, with Mr. Nevoy, were walking over the ankles in blood, he turned about and said,—'Now, Mass John, have you not, *for once*, gotten your fill of blood?' This was reported by many that heard it." See *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 603.

Sir James Turner, who was then adjutant in Leslie's army, refers to this massacre. "We besieged Dunaverty," says he, "which kept out well enough till we stormed a trench they had at the foot of the hill, whereby they commanded two stripes of water. This we took, and in the assault forty of them were put to the edge of the sword." After this event, so disastrous to the garrison in the loss of men, and its supply of water, every contrivance was prepared for catching rain, but no rain fell, not even a friendly cloud assisted in mitigating the burning rays of a July sun. When the garrison could hold out no longer, a parley was asked for, and granted, sir James Turner being appointed to negotiate terms of surrender with Archibald Oge Macdonnell, who had been left by sir Alaster in command of the garrison. (178) After lengthened discussions, the garrison had no alternative but to surrender at discretion, or to the mercy of the kingdom. The men delivered up their arms, were manacled, marched out on the summit of the rock, and confined in various places connected with the fortifications. After five days of cruel sufferings on the part of the prisoners, and of mock deliberations and prayers on the part of their inhuman butchers, "every mother's son," says Turner, "was put to the sword, except one young man, Mac Coul, whose life I begged, to be sent to France, with one hundred country fellows, whom we had smoked out of a cave, as they do foxes, and were given to Captain Campbell, the Chancellor's brother." (179) The traditions, still lingering about Dunaverty, affirm that the covenanters were exceedingly brutal even in their manner of putting their hapless victims to death, hurling many of them from the precipice whilst they were in the act of imploring water, and telling them as they

(178) *The garrison.*—This Archibald Oge Macdonnell was the young chieftain of the house of Sanda, an island situated at a little distance south-east from the Mull of Cantire. (See p. 32, *supra.*) In 1639 he was one of three hundred Macdonnells who were forced to seek refuge against Argyle's violence with the second earl of Antrim at Dunluce. He was the direct representative of Angus Macdonnell, son of John Cahanagh, traiterously put to death by James IV. (See pp. 35, 38, *supra*). This Archibald Oge and his father were both among those massacred at Dunaverty by Leslie and Argyle. They were buried side by side in a field called "Machribeg," at a little distance from the castle. Their graves are undisturbed to this day, although the field has been regularly cultivated ever since the time of their interment.

(179) *Chancellor's brother.*—Campbell of Lawers was chancellor Loudon's brother, and these young captives were handed over to him that they might be made soldiers of the covenant. Young "Mac Coul," whom Turner preserved, was a Macdougall, almost the last of his clan. Tradition tells of a child, named Randal Macdonnell, who was saved at the same time by the tact and courage of his nurse, Flora M'Cambridge. This Randal became the husband of Anne Stewart, sister to the first

did so, to go and quench their thirst in the sea! In the year 1822, an unusually violent sea broke up a large sand-bank at the foot of the cliffs, and thus revealed a very charnel house of bones, the sight of which appalled beholders, as but too significantly establishing the truth of the ghastly local traditions that still live on the Mull. See Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. i., p. 122.

The murder of these men, upwards of two hundred in number, was one of the many dreadful accusations against Argyle on his trial. The abovenamed sir James Turner was summoned as a witness against the wretched Mac Chaillean More, who had got hopelessly into the hands of the Philistines in 1661, and paid the penalty of his inhuman career. Turner, in his *Memoirs*, pp. 46, 47, afterwards refers to his evidence on the trial, as follows :—" Here it will be fit to make a stop till this cruel action be canvassed. First, the Lieutenant-general (Leslie) was two days irresolute what to do. The marquis of Argyle was accused, at his arraignment, of this murder, and I was examined as a witness. I deposed that which was true, that I never *heard him* advise the Lieutenant-general to it. *What he did in private I know not.* Secondly, Argyle was but a colonel there, and so had no power to do it of himself. Thirdly, though he had advised him to it, it was no capital crime; for *counsel* is no *command*. Fourthly, I had several times spoke to the Lieutenant-general to save these men's lives, and *he* always assented to it; and I know of himself he was unwilling to shed blood. Fifthly, Mr. John Nave (or Nevoy) who was appointed by the commissioners of the kirk, to wait on him as his chaplain, *never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed*; yea, and threatened him with the curses that befel Saul for sparing the Amalekites, for with them, his theology taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verily believe that this prevailed most with David Leslie, who looked upon Nave as the representative of the kirk of Scotland." (180)

Old Coll Kittagh and his two sons, Angus and Gillaspick or Archibald, who had been imprisoned by Argyle from 1639 to 1644, were set free in the latter year, so soon as Alaster Macdonnell made his presence felt throughout the Western Highlands. Coll Kittagh came forth as a veteran warrior once more, and his bravery and experience induced the Scottish royalists to place him again in charge of the important castle of Dunyveg in Isla. He held this position gallantly from 1644 until 1647, the year of his death, when he was entrapped into a surrender by Leslie, (181) who promised him honourable protection. When Argyle and Leslie had com-

earl of Bute. (See Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. i., p. 121.) The Christian name, Flora, was prevalent among the MacCambridges on the Antrim coast until about forty years ago.

(180) *Of Scotland.*—This preacher's name was generally written Nevey, sometimes Nevoy. He was minister of Loudon parish. Wodrow describes him as "*an excellent man*, and very much valued by the Earl of Loudon." (See *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 603, *note.*) The clergyman who wrote the *New Statistical Account* of Loudon parish has the following reference to this worthy :—" The Rev. John Nevey, then minister of Loudon, and chaplain to David Leslie's army, was the chief instigator of the bloody massacre of Dunavertie, in Cantyre, where the whole garrison of 300 were put to death in cold blood, whose bones may even now be seen among the sand-banks on the beach, near the fort." (See Paterson's *Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 315.) Nevey was a member of the presbytery of Irvine, and, on his return, he attended a meeting of this body, 15th of September, 1647, when it was arranged that a thanksgiving day should be solemnly observed, because that "the Lord has been pleased to grant so glorious a victory to our army employed against the rebels in the highlands." The minutes of that meeting contain the following entry: —"Mr. John Nevoy is returned from the army, and gave the brethren hearty thanks for their care in supplying his kirk in the time of his absence." The chance of getting 300 Irish and Highland papists murdered in cold blood, and without risk, was to these sons of the Covenant a really genuine cause of thanksgiving! See *Scottish Journal of Antiquities, &c*, vol. i., p. 300.

(181) *Leslie.*—This was David Leslie, a nephew of Alexander Leslie, earl of Leven. (See p. 60, *supra.*) David obtained the rank of a colonel in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. On his return to

pleted their bloody work at Dunavertie, they proceeded without loss of time against a small number of royalists who had taken refuge in the fortress of Dunyveg. "From Kintire," says sir James Turner, "we went by sea to Yla, and immediately invested Duneveg. I must remember, by the way, that we carried bot about fourscore horses with us after we left Kintire, the rest of the troopes being left in Lorne, under the command of Colonell Robert Montgomery, (182) since Generall Major, who blocked up the house of (183) belonging to Mackoull in Lorne, whose clan was, as I said, extirpated verie neere at Dunavertie. (See note 179, *supra*) Dunneveg, after a stout resistance, for want of water came to a parley. I am appointed to treate with one Captaine O'Neale (184) and Donald Gorm, (185) who came out of the house on the Lieutenant Generall's word. Life was promised to them: all the officers to goe where they pleased: the sojours to be transported to France, and given to Henry Sinclaire, my old Lieutenant Colonell. (186) The articles I saw couchd in writeing and signed by both Argyle and Lesley. This capitulation was faithfullie observed. A little skurvie ile in the end of Yla was keepd by a bastard sonne of Coll Kittoch, which we left to its fortune. (187) But before we were masters of Dunneveg, the old man

Scotland, he offered his services to the covenanters, which were readily accepted. In 1644 he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and commanded at the battle of Marston-Moor. In 1647 he was recalled from England to fight the royalists, whom he defeated at Philiphaugh, under circumstances that gave him an easy victory, and enabled him to gratify his naturally cruel disposition. In 1650 his military reputation was increased by the skill with which, for a time, he baffled Cromwell near Dunbar. Leslie was captured at the battle of Worcester, and sent to the Tower, where he was imprisoned until 1660. He was then set free at the Restoration, created viscount Newaik, and received a pension of £500 a year.

(182) *Montgomery.*—This officer was fifth son of the sixth earl of Eglinton. He was wounded at Marston-Moor, where he commanded in his father's regiment. When Charles II. absconded from the covenanters at Perth, Montgomery was sent to bring him back, and succeeded in persuading the fugitive to return. He escaped with the king after the battle of Worcester, and went abroad with him; returning in 1660, and receiving the appointment of a gentleman of the bed-chamber. He married a daughter of James Livingstone, first earl of Kilsythe, and resided after the wars in the vicinity of the town of Irvine. William Montgomery, of Rosemount, referring to the family of the sixth earl of Eglinton, says: —"I knew also Major-General Robert Montgomery, in Scotland, before Dunbarr fight, and in London also. Anno. 1665."—*Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 8.

(183) *House of.*—The house here referred to, but not named, by Turner was either Dunolly, or one in the little island of Kerrara, off Oban, the ancient and well-known castles of the Macdougalls. Their clan was known as the *Macalans*, and *Macoulls*, so designated from some early and distinguished chiefs of the family.

(184) *Captain O'Neale.*—This was a Donnell O'Neill, who served in sir Henry Tichbourne's regiment, and acted as secretary to the latter at Drogheda, before and during the siege by the Irish of that place, in 1641. The officer in sir John Clotworthy's regiment, who wrote an account of the war, has the following reference to this captain Donnell O'Neill:—"After he left Drogheda he went with Colonel Alexander MacDonall, Captain, into Scotland, where he was with the [Irish contingent] till they were defeated at Philliphaugh in 1646. Then he came to Ireland, and was major to Colonel M'Donall at Dublin siege, in 1649 (now Lord of Antrim). The poor gentleman, as stout a man as a gentleman could desire to charge an enemy, died lately—his Heart being broke by the unhappiness of his two sons turning Tories (robbers), the one of which being drowned in Black Water, and the other called Con brought out of Scotland and hanged at Dungannon, which he well deserved, for murdering his comrade Tory, one Hagan." This stout captain Donnell O'Neill, who rose to the rank of major, was present at the battle of Lisnastrain, near Lisburn, in 1649, where the royalist force in which he served was entirely defeated by the Cromwellians. (See *History of the Warr*, 1641—1652, pp. 16, 17, 102.) O'Neill was one of the very few Irish officers who survived the campaigning with Montrose.

(185) *Donald Gorm.*—This officer was a Macdonnell, and probably also from Antrim. His name was a common one among the Macdonnells, both of Antrim and Argyleshire. He had got into the hands of the Philistines in Isla, where he, no doubt, found a grave.

(186) *Lieutenant Colonell.*—Henry Sinclaire was brother of lord Sinclair, and held the rank here mentioned in the regiment of the latter. Sir James Turner states, in an earlier portion of his *Memoirs*, that "a little before the report of the (Irish) rebellion came to Scotland, my Lord Sinclar's major dyed, whose place my Lord was pleased to bestow on me: a favour (in regard he had then choyce of a hundreth more sufficient) I can never either remember or mention but with much thankfulness."—p. 18.

(187) *Its fortune.*—This place was known as the Isle of Finlaggan. It is referred in the following passage in an old *Description of the Isles of Scotland*, written about 1597:—"Neere unto this Island (Isla) is the Round Island, taking the name from Counsell; for therein was the justice-seat, and fourteene of the Countrey did minister

Coll, comeing foolishlie out of the house where he was governour, on some parole or other, to speak with his old friend, the captaine of Dunstaffage castle, (188) was surprised and made prisoner, not without some staine to the Lieutenant Generall's honor. He was afterwards hanged by a jury of Argyle's Sheriff depute, one George Campbell, (189) from whose sentence few are said to have escaped that kind of death." *Memoirs*, pp. 47, 48.

In this case the treachery and atrocity of the Campbells had a fearful illustration. Those of them immediately concerned in the seizure and execution of Coll Kittagh acted under the personal superintendence of Gillaspick Grumach himself (190). According to the *Account of the Clan Maclean*, pp. 145, 146, Coll was committed to "Dunstaffnage Castle in Lorn, and placed in the keeping of a Campbell there, until a jury of Campbells could be got together to enjoy the gratification of tormenting a fallen foe—of lecturing him with cowardly abuse—of passing sentence of death upon him—and of finally glutting their eyes by the last struggles of their victim on a gallows. This Campbell ceremony was literally gone through in the case of Colla Kittoch MacGillaspick, and the final and more melancholy part of it performed in the cleft of a rock in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunstaffnage Castle: Across this cleft the murderers placed the mast of Macdonald's own galley, and leading him forth with the halter round his neck, he was suspended to the mast, and perished amid their fiendish yells." See also *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, p. 414. In a *Historie of the Churche and Kingdom of Scotland*, known as the *Kirkton Manuscripts*, there is a different account of Coll Macdonnell's execution. This latter account was printed by Dr. Reid in his *History of the Presbyterian Church*, and is contained in the following passage, which refers also to the imprisonment and death of two of the preachers already mentioned:—"Therefore, doe they lay it home to the Marqueis of Argyle's door that his Lordship might have gotten these holie men of God liberated ife his lordship, for the thrie ministers, would have sett at libertie old Coll Kittach and his two sonnes Archbald and Anguse. (191)

Justice unto all the rest, continuallie, and intreated of the waightie affaires of the Realme, in counsell, whose great equity and discretion kept peace both at home and abroade, and with peace was the companion of peace, aboundance of all things."—(*Realme of Scotland*, &c.) In this island was a *round table of stone*, at which the Council of the Isles sat in deliberation, and which table Argyle, on this occasion, took care to carry off and destroy.

(188) *Dunstaffage castle.*—This "old friend," the captain of Dunstaffnage, was a Campbell, and probably used his influence to bring Coll into the hands of his remorseless enemies. Dunstaffnage was held by the Campbells from the time that the whole district of Lorne came into the family by the marriage of Colin Campbell, first earl of Argyle, with Isabella Stewart, daughter of the last Stewart, lord of Lorne. In 1541 the castle was appointed by James V. as the principal messuage of the lordship of Lorne. See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 117.

(189) *George Campbell.*—This worthy was nephew of of sir Donald Campbell, of Ardnamurchan, and was known as George Campbell of Airds. Both uncle and nephew were infamous for the cruelty and rapacity with which they rooted out and destroyed an old family and clan of the Macdonnells, known as the MacIans of Ardnamurchan.

(190) *Grumach himself.*—The sobriquet of *Grumach*, or "Grim," was originally given to Argyle because of his squint, and sinister expression of countenance; and eventually, in connection with the word Gillaspick (the Gaelic form of his christian name), it became his almost exclusive designation among the Highlanders. The portrait of this nobleman, as still preserved, we believe, at Inverary Castle, confirms fully the description implied in the term *Grumach*. A singular mistake in reference to this matter occurred in Lodge's portraits—Gillaspick Grumach being therein represented by a handsome face, whilst an engraving from his own grim likeness was published as the portrait of his son, a really good-looking man. The mistake, however, was easily discovered. In disposition Gillaspick Grumach was not more truculent than cunning, and it was truly observed that he "was the only man in the kingdom of Scotland who daily rose in wealth and power amidst the distractions of civil war." Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. i., p. 157.

(191) *Anguse.*—These two sons were taken prisoners and executed by Argyle—the one at Skipness Castle in

But the truth is he had not old Coll now to deliver, for haveand him his prisoner and a wicked man (I dowt not) that deserved death, while Montrose and Allaster M'Donald was waisteing and burneing his bounds, he (Argyle) sends his prisoner old Coll to Captain Gillaspie in Kirkcaldie (who had a commissione from the estates to make up a warre ship) with ordour to keip him sicker under the deck till he, and no other but he, suld send written orders for his redeliverie, which order was sent soone by one of Argyle's captarons, who upon the sight of the order received him and hanged him ower the schipp side, betwix Innerkething and Kirkcaldie. So was he both hanged and drowned. My authour sayes that he was in Gillespies shipp when he saw old Kittagh delivered to the captain, and when he came to shore at Kirkcaldie he hard that he was hanged. . . . Now Argyle (though too late) acknowledges God's justice against him in the loss of his best friends and waisting of his lands for his too small respect to these faithful men of God, whome he might have gotten restored to him at first on reasonable conditions, but his deep hatred against old Coll hinderet all." (See Reid's *History of Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., pp. 533, 534, 536.) Thus Argyle's enemies would have acted reasonably and humanely, but that truculent son of the Covenant who could pretend to "acknowledge God's justice," permitted two of the three "holie men" to perish of sickness in a dungeon, rather than forego the gratification of taking the life of an old man of nearly four score years, who was no longer able to wield his sword as, it must be acknowledged, he had often so effectively done against the Campbells, in the days of his youth. The remains of Coll Macdonnell were laid down reverently by the hands of his clansmen, in the old churchyard of Oban, on the coast of Lorne. He was born at Loughlinch about the year 1570, and was seventy-six at the time of his death in 1647.

But Argyle's bloody mission had not yet ended. Several royalists were known to have taken refuge with the Macleans of Mull, and among them a number of Irish officers, who, for obvious reasons, had become special objects of covenanting vengeance. The following is sir James Turner's account of Argyle's doings in that island, assisted, of course, by his worthy kinsmen, the Campbells, and cheered forward by his chaplains:—"From Yla we boated over to Jura, a horrid ile, and a habitation fit for deere and wild beasts (192); and so from ile to ile till we came to Mull (193), which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Heere Maclaine saved his lands with the loss of his reputation, if ever he was capable to have any. He gave up his strong castles to Lesley, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelitie, and, which was unchristian baseness of the lowest degree, he delivered fourteene very prettie Irishmen, who had been all along faithfull to him, to the Lieutenant Generall, who immediatelie causd hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from

Cantire, and the other at Dunyveg in Isla. Their deaths are mentioned in a *Declaration* published by the covenanting army, "of two victories in Argile, and stating that the country was cleared of rebells." In this production there are references also to the sieges of the castles of Eilah and Skipinoth—Isla and Skipness.

(192) *Wild beasts.*—In a *Description of the Isles* of Scotland; written about the year 1597, Jura is said to be "foure and twentie myles in length." "The shore side of Jura is well manured (cultivated), and the inner part of the countrey is cled with wode, fulle of Deere of sundrie kindes. Some think that this Isle was named of olde Dera, which word, in the Gothick tongue, signifieth a deere."—*Realme of Scotland.*

(193) *Mull.*—According to the *Description of the Isles* already quoted, Mull "is 24 myles of length and as much in breadth, unpleasant indeed, but not unfruitfull of cornes. There are many woodes in it, many heardes of Deere, and a good haven for shippes. There are in it two waters, entering into the sea, over against Dowe Island. And there are two waters well-spred of salmond-fish, and some stryppes not altogether emptie thereof. There are two Loches in it, and in every one of the Loches an Island, and in every Island a Tower. The sea running into this

Macklaine, bot inexcusablie ill done of him to betray them. Heere I cannot forget one Sir Donald Campbell, (194) a very old man, fleshed in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence pressd that all the whole clan of Macklaine sould be put to the edge of the sword; nor would he be commanded to forbeare his bloody sute by the Lieutenant Generall and the tuo Generall Majors, and with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chiefe, the Marques of Argile." *Memoirs*, pp. 48, 49.

Although the hapless Irish officers met the fate here mentioned, it was "conform," as the Scotch expressed it, to the hideous law already referred to, (see p. 80, *supra*) which refused all quarter to such Irish as were taken prisoners in battle, and even in its practical operation, to their wives and infants. The *Account of the Clan Maclean*, already quoted, gives a different version of this awful story, and places the conduct of Maclean in a more favourable light than sir James Turner was disposed to view it. The latter certainly witnessed what had thoroughly disgusted him with the Macleans, as he did not feel disposed to withstand even the atrocious proposal of the hoary wretch, sir Donald Campbell, for the cold-blooded murder of *all* the inhabitants of Mull. "For my part," says Turner, "I said nothing, for indeed I did not care thogh he had prevailed in his sute, the deliverie of the Irish had so much iritated me against the whole name" [of Maclean]. (*Memoirs*, p. 49.) But Argyle had brought five thousand covenanters with him into Mull, and the Macleans probably resisted the surrender of the Irish officers as long as they could. The covenanting host, as may be supposed, was rampant on the occasion, sweeping the whole island from shore to shore, and "committing the most disgraceful outrages of which even the mean, vindictive spirit of Argyle and his sanguinary associates were capable. These wanton cruelties were the more inhuman, as no resistance on the part of the inhabitants had, on this occasion, been offered to the rebels." On the arrival of Leslie and Argyle before the walls of Dowart castle, Maclean was first of all summoned to give up the Irish officers, which the *Account of the Clan Maclean* states he positively refused at first to do; and thereupon commenced the scenes of rapine and murder throughout the lovely retreats of Mull, already mentioned. "In addition to this, the castle itself, in its defenceless state, was besieged by a force of nearly three thousand men, the rebel leaders threatening to put every human being within to the sword, if obliged to take possession of it by force. Argyle, moreover, had possession of the heir of Douart, whom he had kidnapped at Dumbarton, and whose life was threatened in case of any resistance on the part of his father. Sir Lachlan was too well aware of the unscrupulous character of the cowardly kidnapper, to insist, under such circumstances, upon very strict terms; he at once agreed to place the castle at the disposal of the rebel general on condition that they recalled the detachments which were sent out under Turner and old Campbell of Ardnamurchan, and that the lives of the inmates of the castle should be spared. In this condition the chief of Maclean distinctly mentioned 'eight Irish gentlemen, his friends, who were enjoying the hospitality of the lady of Douart.' The castle was surrendered, but the conditions were regarded

Island at four sundrie partes, makes foure salt-water Loches therein, all foure aboundinge in Herring."

(194) *Sir Donald Campbell.*—This cruel, crafty, and prosperous old knight was originally a preacher, and known as Mr. Donald Campbell, of Barbreck-Lochow. For an account of his career see Gregory's *History of the Highlands*, pp. 371, 382, 384, 400, 407, 408, 409, 411.

by Leslie and Argyle with their usual adherence to the principles of honour; the unhappy Irish guests were immediately seized and carried to a short distance from the castle where seven of them were shot."(195) See *Account of the Clan Maclean*, pp. 147, 148—150.

On sir Alaster MacColl's return to Ireland he did not long remain unemployed, having obtained a distinguished command from the supreme council of the confederates as lieut.-general of Munster, under lord Taafe. The latter was opposed by Inchiquin, the parliament commander, and after a series of manœuvering on both sides, these leaders met at a place called Cnocnanos, between Mallow and Kanturk, in the county of Cork, on the 13th of November, 1647. Taafe's army, consisting of 7000 foot and 1000 horse, was in two divisions. The left wing under Taafe numbered 4000 foot and two regiments of cavalry, whilst the right, under sir Alexander, contained 3000 foot, supported also by two regiments of horse. The battle began by Macdonnell ordering a charge of cavalry which shook Inchiquin's left wing terribly, and was instantly succeeded by a dash of Macdonnell's Antrim foot regiments, which broke the enemy and chased the greater part of Inchiquin's army to the gates of Mallow. In the mean time Inchiquin's right wing was successful in breaking up Taafe's left, and then suddenly attacked Macdonnell's with similar results. Carte, in his account of the battle, states that sir Alexander Macdonnell rode up to an eminence to reconnoitre, and that whilst thus engaged, he was suddenly surrounded by fourteen of Inchiquin's troopers and slain. (See *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., p. 9.) He is said by others, as Belling and Cox, to have been murdered by an officer in cold blood after he had received quarter. The officer in sir John Clotworthy's regiment who wrote an account of the war, has the following reference to sir Alaster's death:—"And MacDonall himself, going off two or three miles, got quarters, and all those men who stuck to him, from a coronet of Horse called [O'Grady], at which Time comes up one Major Purdon, afterwards Baronetted, and demanded the Coronet who it was he gave quarters to. On which he told him; on which Purdon was in a fury, and Shot MacDonall in the Head, being the other's Prisoner, and so MacDonall was lost. In revenge of which the Coronet for seven years fought Purdon every year, but most commonly got the worse, which was the more Pity. . . . The most of Taafe's Foot were lost, but of his Horse not two hundred. The loss of this Field was much attributed to the want of ready conduct, and those on the right hand did not fight so vigor-

(195) *Were shot.*—According to the Maclean account the number of Irish officers thus massacred in Mull was only seven, whilst Turner states there were fourteen. The Maclean account would naturally wish to represent the number as small as possible, but Turner, who saw with his own eyes the "fourteene verie pretty Irishmen," could hardly be mistaken as to the number. The Maclean account states there were really eight Irish officers in Dowart castle, and that one of them escaped by means of a simple but romantic little stratagem. "The circumstances under which the only survivor escaped the fate of his companions," says the account, "is both curious and interesting. Just as the victims were brought out to prepare for death, Marrion of Douart, youngest daughter of the chief, accompanied by a kinsman on horseback, was taking her departure from the Castle of Moy, the seat of Maclean of Lochbuy, and happening to pass the very spot where the late guests of her father's halls were at that instant preparing to meet their doom, overcome by the distressing sight, she fainted away, and fell to the ground. Her kinsman immediately jumped off his horse and flew to her aid. At the same moment her fall caught the attention of one of the gentlemen in the melancholy group, who exclaiming, 'Ye heartless murderers, will none of you save the lady!' rushed forward and vaulted with the quickness of thought into the deserted saddle of the young lady's kinsman, galloped off, and was soon out of the reach of pursuit among the mountains. Whether the fit and fall of the maiden of Douart were a premeditated design or the result of accident, must be left to the reader to determine; it is, however, the fact, that by the instrumentality of the same lady the gallant fugitive had a boat provided for him on the south side of Mull, by which he finally escaped." *Account of the Clan Maclean*, pp. 149, 150.

ously as MacDonall did on the left hand. But it was his Destiny to be so lost after these many fights and dangers he was in in the warrs of Scotland,—being as stout and strong a man as ever carried a Broad Sword and Targett of late days, and so vigorous in Fight that had his conduct been equivalent to his valour, he had been one of the best Generals in Europe." *History of the Warr*, 1640—1652, pp. 73, 74. It is believed that sir Alaster's remains were buried in the neighbourhood of Kanturk, "and that his sword, which had a steel apple running on a groove along the back, is preserved in Loughan castle, county of Tipperary." (196) See the *Dublin Magazine and Citizen* for April, 1843, pp. 25, 26.

Sir Alaster Macdonnell was married to a lady of the very ancient and once powerful family of Macallaster of Loupe. The lands of Loupe, anciently known as Le Lowpe in early charters, belonged to the Macallasters since the year 1490. Col. Somerville Macallaster, the heir male of the old line, sold the family property about the beginning of the present century. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 31 ; Gregory's *History of the Highlands and Isles*, pp. 68, 418.) By this lady, our valiant knight left at least two sons named respectively Colla, and Gillaspick or Archibald, after his father and eldest brother. (197) These children were brought by their father to the Antrim Glens, when he escaped from Leslie and Argyle, in the summer of 1647. It is traditionally told that Hector Macallaster, the gentleman in whose household the children had been placed, was among the first victims of Argyle's ferocity in the district of the Loupe. Macallaster (who was probably the father of sir Alexander Macdonnell's lady), had married a kinswoman of Argyle, and was rich not only in lands, but money, "the sinews of war," and Argyle, presuming on his family connexion, urged Hector Macallaster to espouse the cause of the covenant. The latter utterly refused, and had set out with his two sons to join the garrison at Dunavertie. Argyle being told of this, had the three gentlemen seized in the neighbourhood of Campbelton. Macallaster's wife, hearing of their capture, and knowing into whose hands they had fallen, hurried forward in dismay to Argyle's camp, but she was too late, except to see the lifeless bodies of her husband and sons dangling from a

(196) *Tipperary.*—A Macdonnell manuscript represents that his death-wound was received in the back after he had ridden off the field, and was in the act of bending forward on the saddle so as to permit his horse to drink. He was buried in the tomb of a Mrs O'Callaghan in Clonmeena churchyard, parish of Kanturk. His sword, which is now said to be in the possession of the Egmont family, has a ball of ten pounds weight, with a wheel through it, on an open rod at the back of the sword, running from the hilt to the point, so that when he raised his hand the ball glided to the hilt, and when he gave a blow it rushed towards the point, causing the weapon to strike with an impetus that neither man nor horse could withstand. See *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xxxi., 221.

(197) *Eldest brother.*—He had probably another son, named John, who died before his brothers. A lease which was granted to Coll, may probably throw some light on the matter. This indenture was made the 17th of December, 1684, between Alexander, third earl of Antrim, and Coll M'Donnell of Kilmore, in the county of Antrim, gentleman. Lord Antrim agreed to lease to Coll M'Donnell, for the use of the children of John M'Donnell, late of Tanaughconny, gentleman, deceased, the ten acres, county measure, of Tanaughdressagh and Tanaughconny, the twenty acres of Knocknacarry, and the mountain land which the tenants of Knocknacarry now enjoy with it, and a parcell of mountain called Nowne, now in the possession of the said Coll M'Donnell, as administrator to the said John M'Donnell. The landlord reserved all royalties, mines, and minerals, all hawks and other game, with the right to fowl, fish, and hawk on the premises. The lease to run for a term of 19 years, at the yearly rent of £14. The tenant was bound to plant 14 trees yearly, oak, ash, sycamore, or elm, and to make 28 perches of ditch yearly, until the arable land would be enclosed ; the ditches to consist of double rows of stones, or one row with quicksetts. A memorandum on the back of the lease states that its true meaning and interest was that Margaret M'Donnell, widow of John M'Donnell, should enjoy yearly one equal third part of the profits, after the rent be paid. The lease is witnessed by Pat. M'Henry, Hugh M'Collum, and Francis Andrews. The counterpart is preserved in the Antrim office at Glenarm.

gallows which had been hastily erected at a place now known as the Whinny Hill. Argyle told the executioners to do their work quickly, first hanging the "whelps," and afterwards the "old fox," the names by which he designated the father and his sons! When his kinswoman witnessed the fate of her husband and sons, she fell on her knees invoking the most fearful curses on Gillaspick Grumach; and the people of the district, who to this day tell the story, never fail to add that this heart-broken woman's curses clung to Argyle until he himself was dragged to the scaffold. See Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. i., pp. 124, 125.

The following statement relating to the family of sir Alaster Macdonnell is interesting, and in some respects curious:—"Mrs. M'Donnell of Ballypatrick (198) had many manuscript papers relating to the M'Donnells in Ireland and the Highlands. She had the greatest regard for these documents, and would not willingly permit them to remain long out of her possession. She was supposed to have had the best information respecting the Clan Donnell. I have lately read the statement contained in the *Dublin University Magazine*, of February, 1848, respecting the sons of Sir Allaster M'Coll Kittagh, which information was derived from Mrs. M'Donnell of Ballypatrick, through Aeneas M'Donnell with whom I was also acquainted. I cannot doubt the correctness of this statement, which agrees with all I have heard of the family, with the exception of some unimportant inaccuracies in the names of persons and places. (199) The M'Donnells of Ballypatrick were of the Clan Ranald family; (200) and Aeneas was a very respectable and intelligent man, and claimed to be descended from Saurly Buy, the father of the first Earl of Antrim, which claim, I understand, was intimately acknowledged by members of the Antrim family. Mrs. M'Donnell of Ballypatrick had an aunt named Catherine, who was daughter to Captain Archibald M'Donnell of Glassmullin, and was married to a M'Donnell who had property in the Route, and lived there. They had one son, who was at school in Dublin, and they were on their way to visit him, when they heard of his death. And about the same time, some ill-disposed person lodged information against the Route family for being Papists, in consequence of which they lost all their landed property. (201) The mother of the young man took their losses so much to heart that she gave herself up entirely to religion, and having given all to the church

(198) *Ballypatrick*,—This was an old residence of the Macdonnells in the parish of Culfeightrin, barony of Carey.

(199) *And places.*—The statement here referred to in the *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xxxi., pp. 218—222, professes to be "a genealogy of the Macdonnell family, drawn up and reduced to writing, from information supplied by Mrs. Macdonnell of Ballypatrick." This account refers to events scattered over three centuries, and to persons whose lives reach backward from the time of the fifth earl of Antrim to that of Alexander Macdonnell of Isla and Cantire, who came to the Glens in 1493. Whilst there is, as may be expected, much confusion of names and dates in this 'genealogy,' the outline is in some respects interesting, and certainly contains some curious information, which probably would have been overlooked by any less loving, though perhaps more learned, genealogist than Aeneas Macdonnell.

(200) *Clan Ranald family.*—(See p. 90, *supra.*) Mrs. M'Donnell of Ballypatrick was wife of Randal Macdonnell, who died there in 1775, and who was lineally descended from a Scottish chieftain of the same name in Benbecula.

(201) *Landed property.*—We have here a melancholy illustration of one of the many wicked penal laws inflicted on Roman catholics, after the infamous violation of the Treaty of Limerick. It had been long previously the law of the land that catholics could not hold property in Ireland, but, as catholics were at least five to one over protestants, intermarriages took place, and other circumstances occurred in which protestants found it their interest to hold property for catholics, so as to preserve it to the owners. In the year 1695, however, it was made penal for any protestant to do so. But this was not all. From the date now mentioned, any protestant, seeing a catholic

that remained to her after the confiscation of their lands, she afterwards lived the life of a recluse, and at her death, requested that her coffin might be kept for the next poor person, and that she might merely be carried to the grave in it, and then buried in the clay. (202) Respecting the old carved oak furniture in possession of the Kilmore M'Donnells, which is of a very old date, it is said to have belonged to the M'Donnells of Colinsay or Kintyre, (203) and is supposed to have been brought over to the Glens by some of that family, probably by sir Allister M'Coll's sons, Coll or Archibald. (204) When I first came to Kilmore, the old cabinet had a very handsomely carved top to it, with a very old date on it, which I cannot now recollect, and which, I am sorry to say, has been lost or destroyed many years ago.

"June 3, 1869."

Of sir Alaster's sons, the older, Coll, was surnamed *A-Voulin*, 'Of the Mill,' to distinguish him from others in the district who bore the same Christian name. The fact of his being so designated is evidence that water-mills were then (1680) but few and far between. Only people of standing were able to possess these accommodations, the humbler classes in Ireland using the old querns, and in Scotland an implement known as the *braidh* (205). Coll *A-Voulin* had lands at Nappan, Carrickfaddon, Tor-Point, and Cushendall, in the Glens, with a portion of Glassaneerin in the Route. (206) He resided at Kilmore, sometimes also known as Ballinlig, in the beautiful Glenariff, the most picturesque of all the Antrim glens. His wife, Anne Magee, was the daughter of a gentleman who then represented the principal family of this surname on the Antrim

tenant at will on a farm, which, in his opinion, yielded one-third more than the yearly rent, might, by simply swearing to the fact, enter on such farm and keep possession! It was no doubt under this last-mentioned clause that Catherine Macdonnell and her husband lost their lands in the Route. This district then swarmed with settlers from Scotland, who were not over-scrupulous in their treatment of Roman catholics, and who were only too happy in many instances to obtain the possession of farms on such easy terms. To avoid the pressure of these iniquitous laws, it became a necessity for individual members of catholic families to *profess protestantism*, in order to save the property for the others who remained catholics—in a word, to preserve the household from ruin!

(202) *In the clay.*—These worthy people could not bring themselves, it would appear, to play at protestantism; and, rather than do as many others did, they preferred to accept the spoiling of their goods. The mode of burial requested by Catherine Macdonnell was similar to that also prescribed for herself by the recluse known as the Nun of Bunnamairge. The latter, according to local tradition, added another condition as an evidence of her humility—namely, that she might be buried at the entrance to the chapel, so that all entering might tread on her grave!

(203) *Or Kintyre.*—Probably none of the furniture in the family mansion of Colinsay escaped the rapacity of the Campbells in 1639. (See p. 58, *supra.*) The old cabinet, and other articles referred to above, more likely belonged to the Macalasters, and formed part of the tocher or dowry received by sir Alaster with his lady.

(204) *Coll or Archibald.*—One Macdonnell manuscript affirms that sir Alaster left three sons, the name of the third being John. (See the lease granted to Coll for John's children, *note* 197, *supra.*) There is a tradition that sir Alaster's children were sent to the care of the marquis of Antrim, and that they were placed with a tenant named Macaulay, who neglected them, and even compelled them to work as menials so soon as they were able to do so. As the marquis of Antrim had not then possession of his own estate, nor was permitted to live in that district at all, it is very possible he may have entrusted the children to some person who acted selfishly, and without any sense of honour.

(205) *The braidh.*—The quern is of very great antiquity, and strange to say it is partially in use throughout some districts of Ireland even to the present time. The late Dr. O'Donovan, referring to this subject, says:—"We often ground wheat with it (the quern) ourselves. We first used to dry the wheat on the bottom of a pot, grind in a hurry, and then eat the meal mixed with new milk." (See O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, p. 83, *note.*) In some districts of Scotland the use of the *braidh* for grinding has not yet been altogether abandoned. The braidh is a round flat stone, with a hole in the centre for a handle. The grain is placed on another flat stone, and crushed by the application of the implement now mentioned. The process, however, is very slow, and more clumsy in every respect than the action of the quern. See Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. ii., p. 105.

(206) *The Route.*—Of the lands thus held by Coll, Torr-Point, and Carrickfadden are situate in the parish of Culfeightrin, barony of Carey; Cushendall and

coast. The Magees came originally from the Rinns of Isla, settled first in Island-Magee, and at the time of Coll Macdonnell's marriage, their principal family was in possession of the lands of Ballyuchan, adjoining Murloch Bay. (207) Coll was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander, by whom, soon after his father's death, the following memorial was addressed to his kinsman, the fifth earl of Antrim :—

"Your memorialist has the honour to be lineally descended from, and grandson to Lieutenant-Generall Alexander M'Donnell, who served your predecessor, the Lord Marquis of Antrim, in Scotland, under the glorious Marquis of Montross, and defended the king's cause. I had the misfortune to lose the Mill Quarter land of Cushendall by the Hollowblades. (208) Your Honourable ffather also suffered, and the Quarterland of Nappan, which I held, being sett to Mr. Henry Higginson. I hold under your Lordship the Quarterland of Kilmore in the Barrony of Glenarme, the Quarter of Drimadune in the Barrony of Carey, the Quarter of Clochcorr, and the half Quarter of Glassineerin in the Barrony of Dunluce, the unexpired time of which remnant being all I have for the supporte of my numerous small family. I humbly beg your Lordship will be pleased to allow your memorialist the preference of said little Holdings upon what terms as to tenure and rents your Lordship thinks proper. "ALEX. M'DONNELL.

"August 18, 1738."

This gentleman married, as his first wife, Miss M'Donnell of Nappan, by whom he had several children. His second son, Michael, surnamed *Roe*, was father of the late Dr. James M'Donnell of Belfast, so highly distinguished as a physician, and so universally esteemed as a man. Dr. M'Donnell left two sons, the elder of whom, the right honourable sir Alexander M'Donnell of Dublin, has recently retired from the position of chief commissioner of Irish Education, the responsible duties of which he had so long and honourably discharged. His younger brother, Dr. John M'Donnell, is Medical Poor Law commissioner for Ireland, and also a commissioner of the Local Government Board. Alexander M'Donnell of Kilmore, first named, married 1727 as his second wife Miss M'Veagh, of Drimadoone, (209) and by her had a son, John, who succeeded to the Kilmore property, and married Rose,

Nappan in the parish of Ardclinis, barony of lower Glenarm ; and Glassinieran and Loughlinch in the parish of Billy, barony of lower Dunluce.

(207) *Murlough Bay.*—On the 3rd of July, 1620, the first earl of Antrim granted to Alexander Magee of Ballygicon (Ballyuchan) the lands of Ballygicon, containing 80 acres; half of Turnaroan, 60 acres; Ballycregagh, 120 acres, and the quarter of Dowcorry, 20 acres. This grant was in fee-farm. The name of Alexander Magee's wife was Janet Stewart, probably a daughter of John Stewart of Redbay and his wife Catherine, daughter of Ninian Stewart of Ballintoy. Alexander Magee was succeeded by his son, Daniel. *Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*

(208) *Hollowblades.*—In other words, the company "for making hollow sword blades in England." The swords manufactured by this company had hollow backs, quicksilver being put into the tube thus formed, for the purpose of adding impetus to the blow of the sword in its descent. In the year 1703 this company purchased extensively from the government of the lands forfeited in Ireland after the revolutionary struggle of 1690. Among its purchases was the estate of Daniel M'Donnell, supposed to be demised to him by the third earl of Antrim in the year 1687, for a term of 500 years, at the annual rent of £5. The Mill quarterland was claimed by the Hollowblade company as part of their purchase, and was thus, it was said, unjustly snatched from the earl and his tenants. It was believed that the company established its claim through the false swearing of a person residing in the district. The earl induced the tenants on this division to surrender their holdings peaceably, except one, Archibald M'Donnell of Glassmullan, who resisted the company's agents, and thus actually preserved his holdings to the Antrim estate. See *Family MS.* as printed in the *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xxxi., pp. 221, 222.

(209) *Drimadoone.*—On the 9th of December, 1709, Randal, fourth earl of Antrim, granted a lease of the townland of Drimadoone, in the barony of Dunluce, to John M'Veigh, gentleman, On the back of this lease is the following entry :—"I doe hereby, for me and my

daughter of George Savage, Esq. Their (eldest) son, the late Randal M'Donnell, married Mary, daughter of Archibald MacElheran, Esq., (210) of Cloney, by whom he left two sons, Alexander and John. The former, who was known as of Kilmore and Dublin, married, in 1851, Margaret, daughter of Alexander M'Mullin, Esq., of Cabra House, county of Down, and by her left one daughter, Rachael Mary Josephine, who, at her father's death in 1862, succeeded to the family property in county of Down—the Antrim lands being the inheritance of her uncle, lieutenant-colonel John M'Donnell, J.P. In the year 1870, this gentleman married the honourable Madeline O'Hagan, daughter of Thomas lord O'Hagan, lord chancellor of Ireland. (211)

Sir Alaster MacColl's second son, Archibald, surnamed *Mor*, entered the army when a mere youth, and became a distinguished officer. Several years before his death, which occurred in the year 1720, he settled at Glassmullin, in the parish of Layd, where he also held the lands of Dooney, Ligdrenagh, Mullaghbuy, and the two Knockans. In the year preceding his death, he rented from Randal, the fourth earl of Antrim, the lands of Glassmullin, Gallvolly, Tully, Carnelagh, Knockans, and Carnaine, the landlord reserving all timber and timber-trees; mines, and minerals; quarries of stone, slate, and coal; hawks and all other birds of game; with the right of fowling, fishing, and hawking over the premises. The tenant was bound by a bond of £500 to fulfil all the terms of the lease, which was witnessed by James Horan, Maurice M'Hendry, and Edmund Keating.

This captain Archibald M'Donnell's wife was Anne Stewart, daughter of captain Stewart of

heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, transfer and make over my whole right, title, and interest, of the written Lease, and the lands therein mentioned, and all the issues and profits arising thereout, to Mr. Alex. M'Donnell of Knapan, his heirs, executors, adminstrators, and assigns, in consideration of part of his marriage portion with my daughter Anne M'Veagh; as witness my hand and seal this 20th day of May, 1727.

"ELEASE M'VEAGH.

"Witness prst,
"ARCHD. M'DONNELL,
"HECTOR HAMILTON."

(210) *MacElheran.*—This surname is a contraction of *Mac Gilla-Ciaran*, or *Kieran*, 'the descendant of the disciple or servant of St. Ciaran.' This Irish saint passed into Scotland in the seventh century, and dwelt in a cave near the present *Campbelton*. The old local name for Campbelton is *Ceann-loch-cill-Ciaran*, so called from this saint's church, which was built at the head of the Bay.

(211) *Ireland.*—The old churchyard of Layd, near Cushindall, has been the burial-place of this branch of the Macdonnell family for many generations. On a large square tablet are the following inscriptions:—

"To the memory of Coll M'Donnell late of Kilmore, and Family, who is here buried, aged 74 years, died the 25th day of March, 1719.

"Here lieth the remains of John M'Donnell late of Kilmore, who departed the 25th of December, 1808, aged 75 years.

"Also, Rose Savage, his wife, who departed this life the 24th of July, 1814, aged 78 years.

"Also, his son Alexander M'Donnell of Rathlin, aged 60 years, who departed this life the 13th of February, 1820.

"Also, to the memory of the said John's eldest son, Coll, lost at sea, 24th June, 1820, aged 63 years.

"Also, said John's fourth son Archibald, late an officer in the Royal Navy, died 21st February, aged 77 years.

"Also, said John's sixth son, John, died February, 1841, aged 69 years.

"Also, said John's fifth son, Randal of Kilmore, Glenariff, died 14th August, 1854, aged 82 years.

"Also, Margaret Anne, daughter of Alex. M'Mullin, Esq., of Cabra house, county of Down, and wife of Alexander M'Donnell, Esq., of Dublin and Kilmore."

On a handsome monument is the following inscription:—

"ERECTED IN MEMORY

"Of James M'Donnell of Belfast and of Murlough, in this county—a Physician whose great abilities and greater benevolence made him venerated in the Glens of Antrim, where he was born; and in Belfast where he died A.D. 1845, in his 82nd year.

"Also, in memory of Eliza, daughter of John Clarke, Esq., of Belfast, and wife of the said James M'Donnell; she died A.D. 1798. Also of Penelope, daughter of James Montgomery, Esq., of Larne, and second wife of the said James M'Donnell. She died A.D. 1854.

"Also, in memory of Michael, father of said James; and of Alexander, father of Michael; and of Coll, father of Alexander, and son of Major-General, Sir Alexander M'Coll Macdonnell, knight of the field, whose other son, Captain Archibald likewise rests in this churchyard."

Redbay. (212) By her he had one daughter, Catherine, already mentioned (see pp. 115, 116, *supra*), and one son, Coll, who married Anne M'Donnell of Nappan. This couple left one son, Alexander, who resided at Cushindall, and whose daughter married Archibald M'Elheran, Esq., of the same place. (213)

(212) *Redbay.*—In the year 1637, Alexander Stewart of Redbay, and his son John Stewart, obtained a lease from Randal, second earl of Antrim, of the constableship and keeping of the castle and house of Redbay, with the town custom, market custom, and lands thereof; also, the 20 acres of Garvah, the 35 acres of Maynthe, the five acres of Cloney, the 15 acres of Ballyvistoe, the ten acres of Gurterlie, the 90 acres of Aghoshie, the 20 acres of Knockmayne, and the 20 acres of Cloghglass, the landlord reserving all mines and minerals; hawks, and other game; all salmon, fishings; mills, and millseats; with quarries of freestone, slate, and marble. The lease to run for the term of Alex. Stewart's natural life, and after his death, the lands to be held by his son and his wife in fee-farm, in as large and ample a manner as the said Alexander and his father, John MacRobert Stewart, held and enjoyed the same. The yearly rent was £24, with £2 12s of crown rent. On the death of each occupier or owner of these lands, the landlord claimed as heriot the best beast on the premises. The tenant was bound to enclose portions of the premises and plant trees in such enclosures. This lease was witnessed by Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy and Daniel M'Naghten of Ballymagarry. The counterpart lies in the Antrim office at Glenarm,

(213) *Same place.*—On a tablet, in the churchyard of Layd, are the following inscriptions :—

"Here lyeth the body of Captn. Archd. M'Donnell of Glassmullin, son to Alexander M'Donnell, Major-General and Knight of the Field, who departed this Life Septr. 28th, 1720, aged 73 years.

"Also, Anne Stewart, spouse to the said Captain, who departed this Life April 6th, 1714, aged 68.

"Likewise, their son, Coll M Donnell of Glassmullin, who departed this Life June 6th, 1737, aged 49.

"And also, his son, Alexander M'Donnell, who died July 26th, 1782, aged 48 years.

"Also, Alexander M'Donnell, son of the abovenamed Alexander, who died the 11th day of October, 1791, aged 16 years.

"Also, his sister, Rachael, who departed the 19th of March, 1805, aged 23 years.

"Also, said Alexander's daughter, Anne, wife of Archibald M'Elheran, Esq., Glassmullin and Cushindall, died 18th December, 1825, aged 61 years.

"Also, Anne Black, wife of said Alexander, died 30th April, 1835, aged 98 years.

"Also, Rose Anne, grand-daughter of said Anne M'Elheran, and 2nd daughter of Randal M'Donnell, Esq., of Kilmore, Glenariff, died 18th May, 1850, aged 31 years.

"Also, said Randal's third daughter, Rachael, died December 30, 1854, aged 33 years."

CHAPTER IV.

SORLEY BOY MACDONNELL.

N now returning to Sorley Boy, the sixth and youngest son of Alexander of Isla and Cantire, we approach the central figure among all the Macdonnells of modern times. Somhairle Buidhe, more familiarly known as Sorley Boy, (1) although the last born of the brothers, was pre-eminently the first in distinction. Since the days of Somerled, the great thane of Argyle, from whom he is the eleventh in descent, no chieftain of the family can rank with Sorley Boy, either in military genius or political sagacity. It is curious, that these two great chiefs, who bore the same christian name, bore also a marked resemblance to each other in character and destiny. Both were alike sagacious and brave, and the stormy career of both was eventually crowned with a similar success. Somerled of Argyle expelled the Norwegians from his family inheritance, and so consolidated the several territories he had wrested from the invaders as thus to form a noble principality for his successors,—a new kingdom of the Isles, in which Isla and not Man, was to be the seat of government. (See p. 8, *supra).* Somhairle or Sorley of Antrim, in a struggle which continued, with but slight interruptions, through a period of more than forty years, defended his family inheritance of the Glynnes against numerous and powerful assailants, annexed the more fertile territory of the Route, and left to his house the possession of estates much more extensive and important than the ancient principality of Dalriada. Somerled of Argyle had only to contend at first against one foe—the Norwegians—although he was subsequently involved with others ; but Sorley of Antrim was compelled to fight in turn, the O'Cahans, the Macquillins, the O'Neills, and he had literally to dispute every acre of his territories against the best generals queen Elizabeth could select and send to Ulster. He taxed to an enormous extent the energies of such lord deputies as Sussex, Sydney, Fitzwilliam, and Perrot,—and of such military commanders as Essex, Norris, Malbie, and Bagenall. From the Antrim coast, as his base of operations, he met and defeated the forces of the Pale (2) so far south as Newry ; he carried the Clandonnell banner over

(1) *Sorley Boy.*—For the meaning of the name Somerled or Somhairle see p, 7, *supra.* The abridged form, Sorley, has been anglicised *Charles*, and in Scotland, still more ridiculously, *Samuel.* The epithet *Buidhe* pronounced Buie, 'yellow,' was applied to denote the colour of this chieftain's hair, and thus to distinguish him from other kinsmen of the same name. These sobriquets were very commonly used among the Macdonnells, and they were applied to almost all their chieftains. The words, *Mor*, 'large-bodied ;' *Ballach*, 'freckled;' *Dubh*, 'black-haired;' *Ruadh* or *Roe*, 'red-haired;' *Gorme*, 'blue-eyed;' *Grumach*, 'grim,' and several others denoting places of fosterage, and places where they lived or died, are found in connexion with every leading branch of the race. (See also *Irish Topographical Poems*, edited by O'Donovan, Introduction, p. [17].) Sorley Boy is supposed to have been about the thirty-sixth in descent from Colla Uais.

(2) *The Pale.*—This celebrated division of Ireland, so called from the word to empale, or enclose as with pales, is first mentioned about the commencement of the thirteenth century, as the region wherein English law and authority then prevailed. The Pale was originally known as the 'English Lande,' and comprehended the counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin, and Kildare. "An old distinction," says Campion, "there is of Irelande into Irishe and Englishe Pales, for when the Irish had raised continual tumults against the English planted here by the

Clannaboy north and south ; and the slogan (3) of his warlike Scots was heard alike on the hills of Derry and in the straths of Tyrone. In the prosecution of his aims, he encountered severe reverses, but his indomitable courage rose above disasters which would have overwhelmed most other men.

This great Scoto-Irish leader was born about the year 1505, and during that interval in which his father was prohibited, by a very stringent enactment of the Scottish parliament, from returning to his native country (see p. 36, *supra*). Sorley is generally represented by English writers as a Scottish freebooter, who had no other claim to any part of the Irish coast than what he was able to establish by violence and rapine ; but such writers knew nothing of his family, or of the events which shaped his remarkable career. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, there is reason to conclude that he was an Ulsterman by birth. His well-known and permanent residence—probably the castle in which he was born, and certainly that in which he died—was Dunanynie, in the vicinity of the present town of Ballycastle. Shane O'Neill, as we shall see, dated a letter from "the town of Somhairle which is *Baile Caishlean;*" and Shane's secretary, a gentleman named Fleming, mentions Ballycastle at the same date (1565) as "Sanhirly Boy his towne." When driven occasionally by reverses from every other foothold on the coast, he clung with unyielding tenacity to the lands of the two territories now represented by the parishes of Ramoan and Culfeightrin, which meet at Ballycastle. The adjoining bay afforded him greater facilities than any other inlet on the Antrim coast. His residence of Dunanynie overlooked its waters ; his galleys, bringing soldier-settlers from Cantire and the Isles, floated into its little harbour ; and the low or northern Glens, first sought and occupied by the Scots who came at former periods (see p. 37, *supra*), had, in Sorley's time, many friendly hearths to welcome his fresh companies as they arrived. No one of alien birth would, or perhaps could, have so thoroughly identified him-

conquest, at last they coursed them into a narrow circuit of certain shires in Leinster, which the English did choose as the fattest soil, most defensible, their proper right, and most open to receive helpe from Englande; hereupon it was termed the *Pale*, as whereout they durst not peepe ; but now within this Pale uncivil Irish and some rebells do dwell, and without it contries and cities English are well governed." The English, on their coming to Ireland, had extended their possessions much beyond the four counties already named; "but, having fallen at odds among themselves," says Dr. Boate, "and making several great wars the one upon the other, the Irish thereby got the opportunity to recover, now this, and then that part of the land ; whereby, and through the degenerating of a great many from time to time, who joining themselves with the Irish, took upon them their wild fashions and their language, the English at length came to be so weakened that at last nothing remained to them of the whole kingdom worth speaking of but the great cities and the fore-named four counties, to which the name of *Pale* was given, because the English colonies and plantations which before were spread over the whole land, were now impaled to so small a compass, as it were impaled within the same." (See Preface to Morrin's *Patent Rolls of Elizabeth*, p. xvii., *et seq.)* Numerous early documents record the great corruption of morals within the Pale, after the English had been driven to live together in such limited quarters. About the middle of the fifteenth century in particular, their dissensions raged most violently, and mutual recriminations of treason, murder, sorcery, and almost every other crime, disgraced their contending factions. See *Tracts relating to Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 97—99.

(3) *The slogan.*—The Scots, like their progenitors, the Irish, always attacked the enemy with loud shoutings, preserving silence, however, until the very moment of the onset. Slogan *(sluagh-ghairm)* is the Scottish word generally used for the *gaoir-catha*, or clan war-cry of the Gael. (See Logan's *Scottish Gäel*, vol. i., pp. 154, 155; see also a learned paper on *Irish War-Cries* in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., pp. 203—212.) Among the Highland clans their war-cries were often the *names* of *places*, which seem to have operated like charms on the soldiers. In Scotland, it was customary for the Macdonnells to rush forward in a charge with the cry *Fraoch Eilan*, 'Heathy Island' (see p. 57, *supra);* but whether this was used as their war-cry in Ulster we are unable to say. The war-cry of the Campbells was *Bencruachan ;* of the MacFarlands *Loch-Sliodh;* of the MacGregors *Ard-choille;* of the MacKenzies *Tullach-Ard*, &c., &c. The Highland clans had also their badges or *suidcheantas.* That of the Macdonnells and Macalasters was the

self with Irish aims and objects as this chieftain invariably did. His whole history was connected with Ulster, even to his marriage with an Irish wife, and his burial in an Irish grave. (4)

Through the medium of State Papers recently calendared, we are enabled to know more of his life and times than did our fathers of any preceding generation since his own period. (5) We are thus better able to form an accurate idea of the motives which actuated his conduct, or rather of the events which generally shaped his daring and successful policy. He was early trained to his work as a soldier under the eye of his warlike father, and he no doubt witnessed, when a boy, many of the bloody conflicts of the Clandonnell with their numerous opponents. His education was entirely of a military character; for, although he could wield his sword, or battle-axe, efficiently, he knew nothing about the use of the pen, further than to make a mark as directed by his private secretary, or, more frequently, only "touching the pen" whilst the latter was in the act of signing his name. (6) In the State Papers already calendared he is only first mentioned in the year 1551, but this is easily accounted for by the fact that, until the death of his brother Colla, in 1558, Sorley had occupied a comparatively subordinate position. The mention of him, however, at the former date is very significant, for we are then told that circumstances had compelled the English to release him after an imprisonment in Dublin castle of twelve months—a fact which tells plainly enough that he had become a terror to his enemies, and a distinguished Clandonnell leader. In 1552, Sorley was ordered by his eldest brother and chief, James Macdonnell, to drive the English from Carrickfergus; and, not only had he done so, but at the same time had surprised and carried off the constable of the castle. On the head of this official, whose name was Walter Floddy, (7) he laid a heavy ransom, but on its payment, and before his departure from Sorley's castle, the proud northern chieftain gave forth, perhaps unguardedly, for it was after supper, the very key-note of his policy, saying "playnly that Inglische men had no ryght to Yrland"—a bold announcement this, and one which appears to have aroused against him the bitterest jealousies of the Pale.

Fraoch Gorm, or common heath. See Logan's *Scottish Gäel*, vol. i., pp. 294--296.

(4) *Irish grave.*—Sorley Boy's wife was Mary, a daughter of Con O'Neill, and sister of the celebrated Shane, surnamed *an-diomas*, or 'the haughty.' Con was inaugurated as the *O'Neill* in the year 1519, and created first earl of Tyrone in 1542. He died in the year 1559. He was twice married, his first wife being Elianor, a daughter of Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare; and his second, Mary, a daughter of Alexander Macrandalboy Macdonnell, whom Sussex knighted, and to whom he granted extensive lands around Glenarm.

(5) *Own period.*—The State Papers to which we more especially refer are those relating to Ireland, which have been so carefully calendared by Hans C. Hamilton, Esq., of the State Papers Office, London. On these documents our sketch of the career of this illustrious Macdonnell is mainly founded. When other State Papers are quoted, the references to those are always given in connexion with the extracts from them.

(6) *His name.*—A few of Sorley's letters are found among the State Papers, and, judging from Hamilton's *Calendar*, these documents may be described as brief and pithy. The first in order of time is dated "from the Glynnes," in December, 1567, and is signed *Somhairle buy M'Conaile*. For the use or adoption of the *C* instead of *D* in spelling his surname see p. 44, *supra*. This letter was probably sent from Dunanynie castle, as he had just landed there when it was written, and had only then possession of that immediate district. A week after writing the above, or on the 23rd of December, 1567, he wrote a second letter (both being addressed to Piers and Malbie), signing his name *Soirle MakConell*, which is a form so different from the preceding as to suggest the idea that it was written by a different secretary. Although his sobriquet *Buidhe* was always used when speaking of him, he rarely had it written as a part of his signature.

(7) *Floddy.*—In December, 1554, the lord-deputy St. Leger, writing to sir William Petrie, informs him that "Walter Flouddy now repairs over with the young lord of the Out-Isles of Scotland," adding that "Flouddy was, two years past, removed from the custody of the Castle of Knockfergus for his demerits." Among the officers serving against Hugh O'Neill in 1599 was "Capt. Water Fludd," probably a son of the dismissed constable. See Dymmok's *Treatice of Ireland*, p. 43.

The year of grace 1558 was a memorable one in the history of this chieftain, and, indeed, of the entire Scottish settlement in Antrim. On the subjugation of the Macquillins, which had been virtually accomplished about the year 1555, James Macdonnell, as chief of the clan, appointed his brother Colla to the lordship of the conquered territory of the Route. At the death of the latter, James offered the vacant place in succession to his brothers, Angus and Alexander, and on their both declining to accept it, the position was offered to their youngest brother, Sorley Boy, who appears to have readily undertaken the responsibility. His appointment, however, must have been exceedingly distasteful to the Macquillins, and may probably have been the moving cause of their efforts so soon afterwards to re-introduce themselves as owners of the Route. During the few years that had elapsed from the time of their virtual submission, the old chieftain, Edward Macquillin, and his sons, (8) appear to have remained quiescent, partly because of their inability to renew the contest, and partly perhaps because Colla Macdonnell's wife was their kinswoman. This marriage alliance, no doubt, had something to do with their submission, at least so long as Colla lived, and was permitted by his brothers to have exclusively the lordship of the Route. (9) But when he died, and

(8) *His sons.*—The christian names of these sons, according to a Macquillin manuscript, were Edward, Charles, and Rorie, or Roderick. Their fates were soon decided during the fatal struggle with Sorley Boy. In the first battle, which occurred near the walls of Bunnamairge abbey, the youngest of the three, Rorie, was slain. The Macquillins were there repulsed with severe loss, and retreated southward, up Glensbesk, selecting what they deemed a strong position on the eastern bank of the river Shesk. Here they were soon assailed furiously by the enemy. In this conflict, however, the Macdonnells were repulsed, after great slaughter on both sides. Among the dead Macquillins was found the body of Charles, the second brother. At Slieve-an-Aura, the locality of another of the numerous skirmishes which followed throughout the same district, the Macquillins were entirely defeated, Edward, the eldest brother, escaping from the field, and taking refuge on an island in Loughlynch (see p. 55, *supra*), where he was soon afterwards slain by one of Sorley Boy's officers, named Owen Gar Magee. The Macquillin manuscript states that the Macquillins were assisted in this campaign by O'Neills of lower Clannaboy under the leadership of an officer named Shane O'Dennis O'Neill, and also by another party of O'Neills from Tyrone, commanded by Hugh MacFelim O'Neill. It is further stated, that the Macquillins were betrayed by a piper named O'Cahan, and deserted by the Macaulays, a then powerful sept who dwelt in the Middle Glens. On the night before the decisive battle of Aura, Sorley Boy ordered rushes to be strewn on a dangerous swamp which lay between the hostile camps, and over which the Macquillins believed he intended to charge them at the earliest dawn. They were treacherously led to suppose that Sorley's road across the swamp had been made sufficiently secure to permit a charge of cavalry, and resolving to move before waiting his attack, they rushed at the swamp, their horses soon sinking to the saddles among the thinly-strewed rushes, and rendered unable to move, whilst their riders fell an easy prey to the arrows and Lochaber axes of the Clandonnell. The Macquillin manuscript contains a minute account of this stratagem and its results. It became afterwards a saying in the distric that "a rush-bush was never known to deceive any one but a Macquillin." The manuscript speaks of the decisive battle as having been fought at Galgorm, near Ballymena, but the traditions of the district all unite in pointing to the western bank of the little stream called the Aura as the closing scene of the struggle, which stream forms part of the boundary between the parishes of Armoy and Loughguile. The tenant-farmers of Culfeightrin still tell of a Macdonnell in their own class who visited Glenarm Castle to obtain a renewal of his lease, from the fourth earl of Antrim. The latter happened to be absent on the farmer's arrival, but the countess (Rachael Skeffington) received him with the exclamation —"Another Macdonnell! Why you must all be Macdonnells in the Low Glens!" "Aye," quietly replied the clansman, "too many Macdonnells to-day, but not one too many on the *day of Aura!*" For an account of the quantity of bones dug from the battle-fields of Glenshesk see p. 40, *supra*. See an account of the Macquillin manuscript in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii., pp. 256, 257.

(9) *The Route.*—See the brief but significant notice of Colla Macdonnell's death by the lord-deputy Sussex, at p. 52, *supra*. The following is a full copy of that portion of Sussex's letter to which a reference was given above:—"Sens the closing up of my letter to the Lords of the Councell, I have received certen knowlege that Jeames M'Conell is returned ynto Scotland, with his ordynance; He brought with him VI^{c} (600) men, thynking to have left the moste parte behynd him, but they herying of preparacyon by sea (and ferynge more then was) refused, and so returned with him. His brother Colle, the best man of them, and he that ever contynued yn Ireland, dyed xx dayes paste, sens whych tyme Jeames offered the Rowte to Alysander, who refused it, then he offered it to Eneas, who also refused it, and lastlye he offered it to Sorleboye, who only of all the brothers remayneth yn in this realme, and hathe sens that tyme written letters to me the coppye therof ye shall recyve enclosed. His meanynge is but to wyn tyme this somer. The xth of this presente I sett

was replaced by his ambitious brother, Sorley, they must have lost all hope of restoration from any agency other than their own armed resistance. Colla Macdonnell died in May, 1558, and the war was renewed between Sorley and the Macquillins in the summer of 1559. It is probable that the English took no active part in this business, which must have assumed pretty much the appearance of a family quarrel; we have, therefore, unfortunately, no references to the subject in such State Papers, at least, as have been already calendared. The traditions of the district, which linger so distinctly along the hill-sides and in the retired glens, represent the struggle as furious in its progress, and perfectly decisive in its results, pointing, moreover, to certain battle-fields which were most gallantly disputed, and on which piles of dead Macquillins and Macdonnells were hurriedly placed side by side in the same graves.

Sorley Boy had occupied the spring months in collecting fresh troops on the Scottish coast, and with these he landed in the first week of July at Margietown or Marketon (as the English wrote the word), at the head of Ballycastle Bay. (10) His absence from the Route, even for so short a period, was diligently improved by the Macquillins for their own purposes, so that on the arrival of the Scots, the former were not only awaiting them, but had taken up an advantageous position at the foot of Glenshesk. A Macquillin manuscript states, that the first battle was fought on the level grounds adjoining the abbey of Bunnamairge, whilst a Macdonnell manuscript affirms, with greater probability, that it occurred at a place called *Beal-a-faula*, in the townland of Drimavoley, at a little distance south-west from the abbey, and in a rugged district where strong defences could be easily thrown up. But, whilst family manuscripts and local traditions point alike to several battle-fields, there is confusion as to the date of that memorable campaign. The Macquillin manuscript fixes 1569 as the year; and we have seen several other statements, in print, referring to the same point, but all differing as to the time, and all, we believe, assuming a later date than that abovenamed. The old chieftain of the Macquillins is represented, alike in family manuscripts and in local traditions, as having had three sons slain during the progress of the war. His sons, however, must have been dead several years prior to 1569, and consequently could not then have engaged in mortal conflict with the Macdonnells. The only members of this leading family of the Macquillins alive in 1569 were the old chief, Edward Macquillin, and his grandson, the well-known Rorie Oge. Instead, however, of being then opposed to the Macdonnells, they were allied with them against the English. (See Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1st series, pp. 359, 363, 369, 375, 377, 381, 383.) Whilst the State Papers, therefore, speak frequently of the old chief and his grandson in 1569, there is no trace whatever of the three brothers; so that the battles in which they perished must have occurred previously to that date. (11)

forwarde to Lymeryke, and after a good order taken there, I wylbe bolder with such as have this wynter paste taken their plesures. And so I take my leave. From Kylmaynham the thyrd of June, 1558. "T. SUSSEX.

"The Lord Deputy to Mr. Secretary Boxoll in cipher." —*State Papers*, Ireland, in Public Record Office, London, vol. ii., n. 49.

(10) *Ballycastle Bay.*—See pp. 37, 48, *supra.*

(11) *To that date.*—The battles in Glenshesk in which the three brothers perished could not thus have taken place in 1569, nor later. In 1569, the son of one of these brothers had married Turlough Luinech's daughter, and had made peace with the Macdonnells. So said sir Nicholas Malbie, when writing to the lords-justices from Dundalk. Sir Henry Bagenall wrote about the same time (January, 1568), stating that Sorley Boy had gone to Scotland, and had left his troops in charge of Brian Carragh O'Neill and this Rorie Oge Macquillin—an act implying assured friendship between them at the time in which the popularly received accounts represent them as

This campaign appears to have been a good test, if any such were needed, of Sorley's energy and genius as a military leader. (12) It is curious to mark, at this time, the respectful tone assumed towards the Macdonnells by English authorities and officials, even from the queen on her throne down to the constable of Carrickfergus castle. The deputy, Sussex, had made two raids into Ulster against the Scots—one in 1556, and another in 1557, and, most probably, this latter one had encouraged the Macquillins in the rising to which we have referred. When these raids, however, so very expensive, were found to produce no adequate results, and when it was further apparent that the Scots were then fully able to keep all the minor clans around them in check, the government changed its front, and began to look complaisantly, if not in real friendship, towards the north. The queen wrote to James Macdonnell in June, 1559, strongly expressing her sense of his fidelity, and also of his diligent service, as reported to her by the deputy Sussex, who, by the way, had burned down all that chieftain's houses, and destroyed his property in Cantire, only a few months previously! The deputy was only romancing when he talked of Macdonnell's fidelity; but by getting the queen to write such a letter, he had hopes of thus disarming the hostility of the Macdonnells, now that a brush with Shane O'Neill was daily expected. When the government afterwards issued their celebrated indictment against Shane as a traitor, they refer in that document to the year 1559, and to the friendly attitude of the Macdonnells, in the following style:—"During this tyme, James M'Connell and his brethren, acceptyng themselves no longer to be forren enemies after peace proclaymed between England and Scotland, sought to reconcyle themselves also to the Queen's Ma^ties grace and favour touchinge the causes they dealte within this Realme, and offered their service

at deadly feud with each other! "The Macquillans of the Route, in the county of Antrim, are said to have been originally Welsh, quasi Mac or Ap Llewellan; but the names of Fitz-Howlyn, MacUgelin, more probably came from *Hugolin*. The ancient book called *Salus Populi*, said to have been written as early as Henry the Sixth's time, mentions Fitz-Owlin of Tuskard. A document about the date of 1515, which is nearly a transcript of *Salus Populi*, and printed in the first volume of the Irish State Papers, enumerates among the great Irish rebels of Ulster, Fitzhowlin of Tuscard. (See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 72.) The Dublin Council-Book of Henry VIII's. time has this entry under the year 1541:—'The submission of Maquillen, who desireth to be reputed an Englishman, as his ancestors weare.' This submission is printed in the State Papers. The Lord Deputy observes in the letter forwarding it, 'Maquylan is an Inglishman.' It is signed by 'Roderic MacCuyllen, sui nationis principalis et capitaneus de Rowte.' The name of one of the hostages for its performance is 'Jenico MacGerald MacCuyllen,' both of which Christian names were those in use by the English race. The following notice occurs in the earl of Sussex's journey through Ireland in 1556:—'In the monastery of Coolrahan is buried the ancestor of MacGuillin on the left hand of the altar, and on the tomb lyeth a picture of a knight armed.' To these notices might be added a letter of Shane O'Neill to Queen Elizabeth, in which he mentions Maquillen as a 'mere Englishman.'" (See *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, introduction, p. 23, *note.*) In 1542, the lord-deputy St. Leger, writing to the king, has the following reference to the difficulties of Macquillin's position amidst so many hostile neighbours:—"His countrie lyeth far from ayde of your Inglisshe pale, which hath bene a great cause of his long rebellion, beyand forced to adhere to some Irisshman for his defence against some other of them; and, as he confesseth, none of his name, sithe the firste conqueste of their lande, beyand capteyn, have dyed in their beddes, but all slayne by Irisshmen." (*State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 281.) Referring to the same difficulty in the position of the Macquillins and other northern chieftains, sir Thomas Cusake, writing to the duke of Northumberland, says:—"When the Scottes doe come, the most parte of Clanneboy, M'Quoyllen, and O'Cahan, must be at their comaundmente in finding them in their countries; and hard it is to stay the comeing of them, for ther be so many landing places between the highe lande of the Rathlyns and Knockfergus, and above the Rathlyns standeth so far from defence, as it is very hard to have men to be there continually being so far from helpe. The water of the Bann cometh to Loughnaye, which severeth Clanneboye and Tyrone and M'Quoyllen and O'Cahan's countrey." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, 1st series, p. 243.

(12) *Military leader.*—It is traditionally told in the Antrim Glens that during the battles, which succeeded each other from day to day, for upwards of a week, the Scots were occasionally in extreme want of food supplies, and that Sorley Boy was obliged to subsist on oatmeal, which he mixed with water in the heel of his boot! This was, indeed, simple enough fare, but he is said to have pronounced it admirable under the circumstances.

to hir Ma^tie *in all causes wherein they shuld deale;* whereunto her Ma^tie gave favorable eare; upon knowledge whereof Shane, that falsely and traytorously had always combined with them whiles they were forren enemies, dyde, so soone as he perceyved them to be drawne to hyr Ma^ties devocion, enter warre presentlye against them, and so being alwayes a traitor and frynde to them (the Macdonnells) when they were foren enymies, became also a traytor and enymie to them when they grewe trewe and frendlie to this estate." (See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., pp. 263, 264.) The sole object of the Macdonnells in making this semblance of friendship "in all causes wherin they shulde deale," was simply to obtain even a short respite from war, that they might have time to recruit their strength after such heavy losses as Sussex had wantonly, and without any advantage to the government, inflicted upon them. At the very time, however, in which the government was thus endeavouring to win over the Macdonnells, their wisest agents were engaged in drawing out what they called a "device for the government of Ireland," in which it was "noted by *what means the Scots may be exiled.*" Some of these politicians were evidently more candid on this point than others. The text of this 'Device' contains the following sentence:—"Ther be certen Skotts that dwellith in the Northe contre by the see side, that have had certeyn terrytories of certain gentlemen by marriage, and have contynued and kept their possession theis 300 yeares, and ar now naturall Iryshemen and subjects." To this statement, sir John Alen (13) has set in the margin the ungentlemanly monosyllabic contradiction—"a lye." The original writer next admits "the greate favour and love that of oulde time hath bene betwene the Quenes Highenes (Mary queen of Scots) auncestors and the auncestors of James M'Coynell, who is of the blode roiall of Skotlande." These, the writer considered, were established facts which required to be cautiously dealt with, but sir John Alen, and the party he represented, aimed at a high-handed policy, which contemplated nothing less than the utter and immediate expulsion of the Scots.

The war between the English and Shane O'Neill then about to commence, and indeed all the struggles between them during the preceding ten years, originally arose from the intermeddling of the government. In creating Con an earl, and his illegitimate son a baron, thus ignoring Shane his lawful heir, the government laid a sure foundation for contention and quarrel in the family. This illegitimate son's mother was an inhabitant of Dundalk, and was generally believed to have had this youth by a blacksmith named Kelly. But Con O'Neill had made it a rule never to refuse paternity to any one presented as his child, and the boy from Dundalk so pleased him in every respect, that he determined to make him his heir, overlooking his legitimate son, Shane, who was then young, and not a youth of much promise. By the care of the Donnilaughs, however, with whom he was put to foster, he grew up robust, intelligent, handsome, and of magnificent dimensions—every inch an O'Neill. Shane soon showed a talent for the turbulent public life of Ulster, and one of his first movements was to nullify the old gentleman's arrangements by slaying the luckless intruder from Dundalk. Then there was war, of course, between the father and son, each striving to work the greater desolation in the country. The English now again interfered, by the

(13) *Sir John Alen.*—This official was first clerk of Council in Dublin, afterwards master of the rolls, and finally lord chancellor of Ireland. Very many of his letters are found among the State Papers, all indicating a sharp-witted, practical man as their writer.—See Hamilton's *Calendar*. Alen's salary of £20 per annum as master of the rolls was payable out of the customs of the ports of Dublin and Drogheda. He held one or other of the public offices from 1533 to 1566.—See also Morrin's *Calendar* of the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.

the imprisonment of Con to prevent further ruin. "The cause of his reteyner," says sir Thomas Cusake, the lord chancellor, "was both for wasteinge and destroing of his countrey, and for that he sayed, that he wolde never, for his tyme, care for the amendment of the same, with many other undecent words for a capten of a countrey to saye." The truth is, the old earl had been driven to despair, not so much perhaps by the violent conduct of his son, as by the intriguing of his English friends. Shane had carried off from Dungannon castle all his father's plate and other valuables, together with a sum of £800, equal to £8000 at the present day, and when Cusake went to remonstrate, he found Shane as unpatriotically disposed as his father,—"for," says the chancellor, "he (Shane) was bent to do what he coulde to destroy the pore countrey." Old Con's grey hairs were thus soon brought in sorrow to the grave;(14) and Shane, despising the English earldom, had himself proclaimed *The O'Neill*, the leader and representative of the whole clan or *Cinel-Eoghan*—a title which he valued more highly than any the government could confer. (15)

Sir Henry Sydney, who was lord-justice at the time Shane acted thus independently even of advice from Dublin castle, came northward to Dundalk, or within six miles of Fedan, Shane's well-known residence. Sydney summoned him to come to Dundalk to answer for certain matters currently reported to his disadvantage, and whilst Shane felt that it was rather unsafe to comply with this summons, he also felt that it might be quite as dangerous to refuse. In this difficulty he adopted a novel but pleasant method of extrication. He invited Sydney to come and be his gossip, declaring that on the faith of this tie he would submit to do all that the queen's service might require. (16) Sydney accepted the invitation, and was magnificently entertained, standing sponsor at the

(14) *The grave.*—The grant to Con O'Neill, in return for the surrender of his country, was the title of earl of Tyrone, to be enjoyed by his illegitimate son, Ferdoragh or Matthew, and his heirs male for ever, with all the castles, manors, and lordships which he previously possessed. This grant from the Crown was to be held by knight's service, on the conditions that he, Con, would exchange the name of O'Neill for whatever other name the king—Henry VIII.—might be pleased to supply; that he would adopt and use the English language; that he would cultivate his lands after the English fashion; that he would live in obedience to English law, and be prepared with a rising out of horse and foot when the lord-deputy was pleased to go a hosting against Irish rebels. Con probably regretted this arrangement, as he is said to have cursed any of his posterity who should learn to speak English, sow wheat, or build castles, even although at the time of his being created an earl the king gave him a gold "cheyne of 60 pounds and odd, furnished his robes, and paid the charges of his creation, £65 10s 2d, giving him in ready money £100."—See Morrin's *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1st series, pp. 79, 85.

(15) *Could confer.*—Shane literally despised any other dignity compared with this. When the MacArtimore was made an earl, Shane scoffed at both the man and the title, "braieing out speeches not meet nor seemlie." "For," said he, "Ye have made a wise earl of MacArtimore; I keepe as good a man as he is; and albeit I confess the Queene is my sovereign Ladie, yet I never made peace with her but at her seeking! And where he had required his Parlement robes to be sent him, as earl of Tiron, yet now he required not so mean an honour as to be an earl, except he might be better and higher than an earl. 'For I am,' saith he, 'in blood and power better than the best, and I will give place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Ulster, and as Ulster was theirs, so now it is mine, and shall be mine; with the sword I won it, and with the sword I will keep it.'"—*Hooker in Holinshed*, p. 333, as quoted in Dymmok's *Treatise of Ireland*, edited by Rev. Richard Butler, p. 70.

(16) *Might require.*—A spiritual affinity was acknowledged by the canon law between a gossip or sponsor and the child for whom he stood at the baptismal font. The right of a gossip was regarded among the Celts as equal to that of the natural parent, and hence gossipred or compaternity having such a binding force between Irish and English, was declared to be treason by the famous statute of Kilkenny. But this law did not prevent it from being practised so lately as the close of the seventeenth century. An earl of Thomond, when borrowing £1000 from queen Elizabeth bound himself in the recognizance "not to marry, gossip, or foster contrary to the Statute in that behalf provided without the license of the Lord Deputy or Governor for the time being." See Ware's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 72. The violation of the sacred tie of gossipred was considered specially criminal. Menteith's treachery to sir William Wallace was held a peculiarly aggravated sin because of the latter having been twice a gossip in the family of the former. See *The Wallace*, book viii., 1593, xi., 848.

christening of one of O'Neill's children. After this ceremony came a conference, during which Shane not only justified his conduct, but asserted his princely pretensions with clearness and good temper. He affirmed that the late baron of Dungannon, whom he had slain, was not the son of Con at all, a statement in which Sydney seemingly acquiesced, as he quickly passed to another and a more delicate point in the controversy. He objected that Shane had no right to assume the title of *The O'Neill*, (17) as his father had surrendered his territories to the king, and under that surrender the settlement had been made with the government. To this Shane firmly replied that, according to the institutions still existing in Ireland, his father had no power whatever to make any such surrender, having but a life interest or right in the title and territories of the clan, and being elected according to the law of tanistry. (18) He further contended that, even according to the English law, the letters patent granting his father the earldom were illegal, no inquisition having been made, as for this purpose the country ought to have been previously shire ground. (19) Sydney next referred to certain tumults that Shane had stirred up by his demands on the obedience of the northern chiefs, to which O'Neill replied freely that he had arrogated nothing beyond the time-honoured and lawful rights of his ancestors, who had been the superiors or lords of the other chieftains in Ulster. (20.) By the advice of his council, Sydney replied finally that the queen

(17) *The O'Neill.*—The English always regarded this title with jealousy and fear, and in the act passed after Shane's death, known as the eleventh of Elizabeth, the following clause was introduced to abolish the right of any one to be called *The O'Neill* ever afterwards :—

"And forasmuch as the name of Oneyle, in the judgments of the uncivill people of this realm, doth carry in itself so great a soveraigntie, as they suppose that all the Lords and people of Ulster should rather live in servitude to that name, than in subjection to the crown of England: be it therefore enacted, &c., That the name of Oneyle, with the manner and ceremonies of his creation, and all the superiorities, titles, dignities, preheminences, jurisdictions, authorities, rules, tributes, and expences used, claymed, usurped, or taken by any Oneyle, as in right of that name, or otherwise, from the beginning, of any the lords, captaines, or people of Ulster, and all manner of offices given by the said Oneyle, shall from henceforth cease, end, determine, and be utterly abolished and extinct for ever. And that what person soever he bee, that shall hereafter challenge, execute, or take upon him that name of Oneyle, or any superioritie, dignitie, jurisdiction, authoritie, tributes, or expences, used, claymed, usurped, or taken heretofore by any Oneyle, of the lords, captaines, or people of Ulster, the same shall bee deemed, and taken high treason, and the person or persons therein offending, and being thereof attainted, shall suffer and sustain such pains of death, forfeiture of lands and goods, as in case of high treason by the laws of this realm hath been accustomed and used."—*Irish Statutes*, vol. i., p. 335.

(18) *Tanistry.*—See p. 41, *supra*.

(19) *Shire ground.*—In this statement O'Neill was quite correct. The O'Neill's country, including the present county of Londonderry, was not made shire ground until the month of July, 1591, "when certain commissioners appointed by Queen Elizabeth made a return into the Court of Chancery, in which the river Finn on the west, Lough Foyle and the sea on the north, the river Bann and Lough Neagh on the east, and the Blackwater on the south, were set out as the boundaries." This immense sweep of Ulster was divided into the following eight territories :—1. *The Baronie of Loghynisolin*, now Loughinshollin; 2. *The Baronie of Donganyn*, now Dungannon; 3. *The Baronie of Clochare*, now Clogher; 4. *The Baronie of Omaghe*, now Omagh; 5. *The Baronie of Strathbane*, now Strabane; 6. *The Baronie of Coulrane*, now Coleraine; 7. *The Baronie of Lymbevadye*, now Newtownlimavady; 8. *The Baronie of Anagh*, now Enagh, near Derry. See Reeves's edition of *Primate Colton's Visitation*, *A.D.* 1397, pp. 125—131, where the reader will find a most interesting account of the sub-territories or divisions in each barony throughout this vast tract.

(20) *In Ulster.*—These minor or inferior chieftains were known among the Irish as *Urriaghs*, from *Oir-righ*, "sub-king or chief," tributary to a superior. The O'Neills anciently claimed as their subordinates the O'Cahans, the O'Hanlons, the MacMahons, the Magennisses, the Macartans, the Macguires, and sometimes even the O'Donnells. There were many points connected with the tributary claims thus vested in the O'Neills open to discussion, but generally settled by force. One of the bloodiest clan-battles on record occurred between the O'Neills and O'Donnells, in the year 1491, and was brought on by the following demand and reply of their chieftains:—"Send me my rent," said O'Neill, "or if you don't— !" "I owe you no rent," retorted O'Donnell, "and if I did— !" Among the *Remedies* for the evils of Ulster recommended by Marshall Bagenall, in 1586, the following holds a prominent place :—"As to the seconde: lyke as in the former tyme of good government it was a thing most regarded in all the treaties to weaken the force of the O'Neiles by withdrawinge their *Uryaghes*, as was done by King Henry the Eighthe with Con O'Neile, whom, when he had made Earle of Tyron, he gave him no more by patent than the bare coun-

would undoubtedly act justly in the business, advising O'Neill to remain at peace until her pleasure should be made known. Shane took his advice, and there was peace until Sydney was replaced by Sussex in the office of deputy.

Unfortunately for the Scots, they were almost invariably drawn into the conflict, on one side or other, when war was proclaimed between Shane and the English. James and Sorley Macdonnell determined, however, in 1560, to stand aside, notwithstanding the most pressing appeals from the belligerents, and thus permit them to settle their own quarrel as best they might. Shane appealed to the leaders of the Clandonnell as their former ally, (21) reminding them that he and they were in the same position, battling from year to year against the wily and persistent usurpations of the Sassanach. (22) On the other hand, Sussex for the government, was actively engaged forming a combination against O'Neill among parties that had previously been associates in his policy. With this object, he commissioned an agent, named William Hutchinson, to go first to Edinburgh and consult there with Thomas Randolphe, (23) the queen's ambassador; thence to the earl of Argyle, (24) carrying letters to that nobleman, not only from

trie of Tyron, and specyallye provided that he should not intermeddle with anie on this side the Blackwater: soe is it most needful to take the opportunitie which nowe the people and the tyme doth better offer than it did then. Thearfor, the way is to apportion to Turloughe Lenoghe and the Earle of Tyron (being both of one sirname) lands on the north side of the Blackwater to them and their heirs male, indyfferentlye bounded by some well acquainted with those countries, whearewith they should onlye deale, and meddle no farther, but leave the governmente of the rest to her Majesties cheef commissioner or other her Highnis officer in that province."—See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 158; vol. iii., pp. 38, 45.

(21) *Former ally.*—This was true, especially on two memorable occasions, in 1556 and 1557, when the lord deputy Sussex made Hostings against the Antrim Scots. In the proclamation denouncing Shane as a traitor ten years afterwards, there is the following reference to his conduct during the first Hosting above-named:—"Shane dyd not onely refuse to repayre to her Ma^ties^ said Lieutenant, but falselye and trayterouslye did, with all his force and power of men of warre repayre to James MacConnell, conspiring and combyning with him agaynste our late souereign Ladye Queene Mary." Referring to his demeanour during the Hosting in 1556, the proclamation thus speaks:—"After another Hostyng called and jorney prepared agaynst James MacConnell and his Breathren, styll reputed as foryn enemies, Shane did contrary to his oathe refuse to repayer to her Ma^ties^ said Lieutenant then beying at the Newrie, accompanyed by the earles of Kyldare, Ormond, and Desmond, and others the Nobles of this Realme, upon eny protection or assurance that they could make unto hym . . . receyvinge presentlie into his fostering and kepyng the goodes and cattels of James MacConnell and his brethren; he as a faulse and perjured traitor eftsones combyned with them and procured an assault to be made in a pace (pass) upon her Ma^ties^ armye in their returne." (See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., p. 261.) These legislators, even so long after the occurrence, and when Shane was in his grave, had not forgotten the 'assaulte' made 'in a pace' on the English army, in 1556, on its return from Clannconcadhan (Glenconkein) in Tyrone. The pursuivant, Phil. Butler, who recorded the incidents connected with that Hosting against the Scots, has the following evidently "cooked" account of the 'assaulte':—"On Saturday, the 18th (June), the Deputy (Thomas Fitzwalter, earl of Sussex), came to the pass of Ballohe M'Gille Corroughe, otherwise Balldromm Clashahe. He stayed at the hill by the pass, called Knockloughan, into which pass the earl of Ormond and Ossory, sir George Stanley, Humphrey Warren, Thomas Robert Williamson, Hugh Lipput, and other captains, with English footmen, gallowglasse, and other Irishmen entered, and encountered the said Scottes, vanquished them and slew two of their captaines, the one called M'Imerstille, with 200 others. James Donnollohe Nell left his shield behind him, and escaped narrowly, and so did James and Colle M'Connell." For an account of this Hosting, see *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, 1st series, pp. 259—262.

(22) *Sassanach.*—This was the usual designation employed by the Irish in reference to Englishmen. Not unfrequently it was preceded by the opprobrious word *bodach*, intended to mark the coarse manners and cold reserve of the Sassenach, especially of such as had not been residents in Ireland. The native Irish rarely, if ever, applied the phrase *Boddach Sassenach* to the English of the birth of Ireland, but reserved it for such English as had newly arrived, either as soldiers or in some official capacity. See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, introduction, pp. lxii; see also, *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 22, and *note*.

(23) *Thomas Randolphe.*—Sussex received a reply from Randolphe on May 15 following, in which the writer speaks of an interview with James Macdonnell, and of the latter's willingness to serve against Shane O'Neill. This Thomas Randolph was afterwards appointed master of her majesty's posts in England, or as we would now designate him, post-master general. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, first and second series.

(24) *Earl of Argyle.*—See p. 45, *supra*. This was Gillaspick or Archibald, the fourth earl, a true Campbell in his instincts for accumulation and annexation. This nobleman extended his influence into the North Isles, and over two of the most powerful tribes in that region—

himself, but from Cecil also. Hutchinson was instructed to obtain letters from Argyle to James Macdonnell, who resided in Cantire, and to the countess dowager of Argyle (25), who had married Calvagh O'Donnell of Donegal, and was therefore supposed to be cordially in the interests of her husband. The agent was next to cross the channel, from Cantire to the Antrim coast, with instructions from James Macdonnell to his brother Sorley Boy, and with a letter also from the queen,—going thence to Donegal, with the offer of the title of earl to O'Donnell, and a letter to his lady the countess dowager of Argyle, informing her that the writer, Sussex, had certain presents for her from her majesty the queen. So far, however, as the Macdonnells were concerned, they appear to have made up their minds to remain neutral; and they did so, James contriving to keep the English from any threatenings of war against the Scots, and Sorley Boy playing the same difficult game with O'Neill. The war, which did not actually commence for some time afterwards, was brought abruptly to an end in 1563, by Shane's unexpected submission, followed by his memorable visit to Elizabeth. During that visit, he appears to have become quite a hero in her estimation, at least for a time, and she not only gave him back his lands, but lent him a round sum of money on his return. Even the hapless Urriaghs (26) were handed over to his tender mercies, an act which both she and they had soon good cause to regret, The articles of agreement on this occasion were drawn out by sir Thomas Cusake, and are calendared from the Patent Rolls of 1563 by Mr. Morrin, as follows :—"Her Majesty receives Shane O'Neill to her gracious favour, and pardons all his offences; he shall remain captain and governor of his territory or province of Tirone, and shall have the name and title of O'Nele, and all the jurisdiction and preeminences which his ancestors possessed, with the service and homage of the lords and captains called Urraughts, and other the chieftains of the O'Nele country, and he shall be created Earl of Tyrone." See *Calendar*, 1st series, p. 485.

In return for all these gracious acts on the part of the queen, Shane took occasion to declare among her courtiers that he was anxious above all things to do some service which would, at least to some extent, prove his gratitude. This sentiment being of course duly applauded, and especially by lord Robert Dudley, (27) Shane forthwith wrote to the council in Dublin, stating that, as he could see no greater traitors, or more dangerous rebels to the queen's authority, than the Scots, he

the Clandonnell of Skye and North Uist, and the Clan-Leod of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg. On the 28th of April, 1567, Mary queen of Scots granted Argyle a commission of fire and sword against the Macleans of Mull, who had overrun the isle of Gigha, being part of the jointure lands of lady Agnes Campbell, James Macdonnell's widow, and sister of this fourth earl of Argyle. The latter was the first Scottish man of rank who warmly espoused the doctrines of the Reformation. He used to have John Knox frequently preaching to his family and retainers at his residence known as Castle-Campbell in Clackmanan, on the banks of the picturesque little river Devon. He was engaged with the duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Murray in a rebellion arising out of the opposition made by these noblemen to the marriage of Mary queen of Scots with lord Darnley. This rebellion was a bloodless one, as the rebel chiefs soon submitted and made their peace with Darnley and the young queen. In a long letter to the archbishop of Armagh, Argyle states that the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Murray, Glencairne, and Rothes, with the lord Ochiltree and others had gone into England to seek aid from Elizabeth, whilst he (Argyle) and Boyd remained in the mountains beset on all sides. John Knox, he states, had told him of the archbishop of Armagh's fervency in religious things. Religion, he adds, is the only cause of his own distresses. He writes from Dunnune (Dunoon) September 19, 1565, and encloses copy of the *Protestation of the Scottish Nobility and Congregation professing the right Religion.*

(25) *Dowager of Argyle.*—This lady was Cathrine Maclean, married first to Colin, third earl of Argyle, and afterwards to Calvagh O'Donnell of Tirconnell, or Donegal.

(26) *Urriaghs.*—For an explanation of this term see p. 128, *supra.*

(27) *Robert Dudley.*—This nobleman is better known as earl of Leicester—one of queen Elizabeth's principal favourites.

was disposed to inflict some signal punishment upon them. It is believed, however, that O'Neill was thus craftily intending to clear his own path for a renewal of the struggle with the English, on a much greater scale, and with better hopes of success. He found that the Scots had become impracticable as allies, that they could no longer be employed to carry out his own political designs, that their leaders were becoming too powerful, and one of them at least as popular as himself in Ulster. Before engaging, therefore, in another war with the English, the 'redshank' host must be in some way disposed of, as encumbering, and occasionally threatening his course of action. He well knew that the Scots were hated, and even feared, as much by the government as by himself; and he knew that his resolution of expelling them from the coast had been hailed with the warmest approval in high quarters. His letter to the lord-justice and council on this subject was written at Corcra castle, in Tyrone, on the 18th of August, and in four days afterwards their reply was sent northward, expressing their unqualified approval of his project, and regretting that he need expect no supply of men or victual from Carrickfergus. O'Neill commenced operations without much delay, as, on the 5th of September, we find him writing to the council from Coulrath (Coleraine), informing them that he was rebuilding a castle there on the eastern side of the Bann, and that he had sent a detachment over the river in cots or coracles to occupy the monastery on the western side, which his men held against the Scots during a siege of twenty-four hours. Sorley Boy had been wounded in this conflict. Terence Danyell, the dean of Armagh, had also written to the council, stating that there was a great flood in the Bann, that O'Neill had erected a strong fort in the old castle of Coulrath, and had sent men over the river to ward the Friery, which the Scots attacked like madmen. This affair was the only battle recorded during the remainder of that year; but O'Neill busily engaged himself in preparations for more important movements in the following spring. Sir Thomas Cusake was in raptures with Shane's general bearing, and wrote to Cecil that "having had full discourse of his doings" with that chief, his dealings with or against the Scots, as explained by Shane himself, had been "most commendable." This commendable work on the part of O'Neill consisted in his having swept over portions of the Scottish settlements with fire and sword, his raid being referred to in a letter from the mayor of Drogheda to Cecil, in which the writer states that Shane had attacked the Scots at All-Hallowtide, burning part of their country, and taking pledges. "Three hundred Scots," he adds, "of James M'Donnell's household men (28) have arrived at Lecale, and are now entertained by M'Gillespoke."(29)

(28) *Household men* —These household soldiers, called in the Scottish Gaelic *Luchdtachk*, formed a body of young men selected from the best families of the clan, and carefully trained to the use of the sword and targe, archery, wrestling, swimming, leaping, and all military as well as athletic exercises. They were anciently armed with darts and dirks, and their special duty was to attend on the chief. "They were usually retained by the heir or tanist, who was himself required to prove his right to command them, and the claim to the chieftainship by his personal valour. It was therefore customary for him to lead them on some desperate foray, from which they were expected to bring home a prey of cattle or other spoil, or die in the attempt. These companies were called *Catharn*, a word signifying 'fighting bands,' otherwise pronounced *Cearnachs* and *Kerns*. See Logan's *Scottish Gäel*, pp. 147, 177.

(29) *M'Gillespoke.*—The best known leader among the Scots of Lecale was Alexander Macrandal Boy Macdonnell. He left two sons, Allister and Gillaspick; and one daughter, Mary, who became the second wife of Con O'Neill, first earl of Tyrone. Her two brothers were assassinated by Andrew Brereton, at Ardglass, whilst he entertained them at supper. The council in Dublin, writing to the council in London, on the 20th May, 1551, refers to this murder, stating in substance that Con O'Neill, the earl of Tyrone, had sent a force with two of his wife's brethren, young men, to distrain for rent owing by the Macartanes, a sept of Irishmen bordering on Lecale. Brereton set upon them and slew them, toge-

O'Neill's plan for the spring campaign was ably arranged, and skilfully carried into execution. Early in the April of 1565, his forces were equipped, and prepared to take the field. He resolved to assail the Scots in their remote positions, and before it would be possible to summon James Macdonnell to the rescue. Having solemnly celebrated the festival of Easter at his castle of Fedan, (30) near the Newre, O'Neill marched on the following Tuesday as far as Dromore, and thence the next day to Monynimrock, in the vicinity of Edenduffcarrick. There he remained collecting his best troops until the following Sunday afternoon, and then marched rapidly northward. The Scots, no doubt, were now pretty well convinced of his designs. Their warning fires blazed along the Antrim headlands during that Sunday evening, and no sooner had the first flames leaped up from the hill near Torr-Point, (31) than the faithful *Fir Chinntiré*, or men of Cantire, grasped their weapons and manned their galleys with heroic daring. James Macdonnell, then residing at his ancient castle of Saudell, quickly mustered all his available forces, and crossed the Channel on May-Eve, having previously made arrangements with his brother, Alexander Oge, to follow hastily with whatever reinforcements could be collected. James arrived in Cushindun Bay, then called Bun-abhainn-Duin, as the dawn of May morning melted the mists from the headlands along the coast. On looking southward from his place of disembarkation, he must have seen his own castle at Red Bay in flames, and he soon afterwards discovered that the work of destruction was rapidly progressing within and around the castle walls. A few hours later, and Sorley Boy, with the remnant of his defeated force, came onward in full retreat before O'Neill, and having united with the Scots from Cantire, the retreat was continued northward to Ballycastle, where it was hoped that, during the day, reinforcements would arrive under Alexander Oge. This

ther with several of their men. This murder caused great excitement and horror among all the Scots in Ulster. It was not forgotten in 1563, when the government wanted all the Scots to unite with them against Shane O'Neill. Sussex, the deputy, writing to the council in England, on the 24th of April, 1563, relates the circumstances of the assassination at Ardglass, and requires that Brereton, an English adventurer, be sent back to Ireland to answer for his doings. The Scots, he affirmed, must be appeased. When Randolph, the queen's ambassador, visited James Macdonnell in Cantire to enlist him for the cause of the government against O'Neill, one stipulation was, that the authors of the murder of his (Macdonnell's) two young kinsmen were to be punished. Sussex wrote again to London, stating that Owen Roe Macdonnell, formerly in the queen's service, refused to receive the letters sent to him from the deputy, declaring that he would never "come at Englishman" till the murder of Allister and Gillaspick M'Randal Boy were revenged. Gillaspick, one of the brothers, left a son, then known as MacGillaspick, and mentioned above as having "entertained" James Macdonnell's household men.

(30) *Fedan.*—From the Irish word *Fiodha*, "woods" or "forests." It may be that Shane made a rule to hold Easter in his castle of Fedan, and the festival of Christmas at Dungannon. Sir Henry Sydney boasts of having driven him from the enjoyment of his Christmas festivities, "in the heart of his country, where he had made as great an assembly as he could, and had provided as great and good cheare as was to be had in the countrie." "So I shortened his Christmas," adds this knight, so valiant on his own showing, "and made an ende of myne owne with abundance of his good provision, but provided for such an unbidden guest as I was." Sydney would make us believe that O'Neill and his scout held a sort of colloquy on the subject of this vain knight's heraldic distinctions. The scout announces Sydney's approach. "That is not possible," answered Shane, "for the daye before yesterday I knowe he dyned and sate under his *cloth of estate* in the hall of Kilmaynham." This is rather unlike the style in which Shane would have expressed himself under the circumstances. The scout, by way of impressing his chief with the fact of the great Sydney's approach, exclaims, "I saw the redd bracklok with the knotty club, and that is carried before none but himself"—"meaning," says Sydney, "my pensell with the ragged staff." This awe-inspiring "ragged staff" was the cognisance of the Sydneys, but sir Henry did not evidently know that the word *bratach*, used by the scout, is Irish for a flag. Sydney could explain that the scout meant "my pensell with the ragged staff," but who could explain what this pedantic knight meant by *bracklok?*—See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., pp. 42, 49.

(31) *Near Torr-Point.*—This hill is indicated on Norden's Map of Ireland, about 1610. There is no name of the hill given, but there is the following announcement inscribed at the point on the map where the hill is supposed to be:—"At this marke the Scottes used to make

hope was doomed to disappointment, and on their arrival at the town now mentioned, nothing remained for James and Sorley but to make the best preparations in their power for the conflict that was soon to ensue. With this object they took up a position at the foot of Gleanntaisi, (32) which stretches from Ballycastle Bay along the north-western base of Knocklayd, thus permitting O'Neill to occupy the ancient town of Baile-cashlein, where he encamped on the night of the first of May. The position of the Scots does not thus appear to have been well chosen, and especially if they had wished to keep open their communication with the Bay, in which there was an almost certain hope that Alexander Oge would arrive during the night. No help, however, came. On the morning of the second of May, before five o'clock, O'Neill's army moved forward and attacked the Scots, who numbered about one thousand men, whilst their enemies were at least two to one. After a bloody struggle, the Scottish host was almost literally annihilated. Its officers were all either killed or captured, and of the men, few were permitted to leave the field, and fewer still to survive the retreat.

The brief notice of this important battle in the Annals of the Four Masters is supplemented by several letters preserved among the Irish Correspondence in the State Papers office. One of these letters was written by Shane O'Neill himself, as soon as the general results of the battle were fully known. When the prisoners (only officers) were collected, and safely lodged in Baile-caishlein, he laid aside his bloody sword, and taking up his pen, wrote in Latin to the lord-justice Arnold, the following account of his victory :—

"It becomes my duty to inform your Lordship of my progress towards the North in the Queen's service against the Scots, who are her Majesty's enemies and the usurpers of her territory. In the first place, I took care to clear all the passes in the woods by which I could have access to Clann-aidh-boe. (33) I there built an old fort, and at that point the gentry of Clann-aidh-boe joined me with their followers. I proceeded thence towards the territories occupied by the Scots, and Somhairle Boy defended a certain pass, with the object of preventing my further progress. But by divine

their warning-fires." The hill is situate between Fairhead and Torr Point, but a little way inland from the cliffs. The precise spot was probably on the high land of Ballyeuchan, adjoining Murloch Bay.

(32) *Gleanntaisi.*—The Four Masters thus designate the immediate locality of the battle. In speaking of the fall of the more distinguished persons slain on that field, the annalists add:—"Many others not enumerated, were slain in this defeat of *Gleanntaisi.*" The Annals of Loch Cé mention that the battle-field was in *Glennsheisg*, and there is thus uncertainty as to its exact position. These two glens, Glentow and Glenshesk, meet on the shore at Ballycastle, the one stretching from Armoy along the western base of Knocklayd, and the other from Slieve-an-Aura along the eastern side of that mountain. The water called the *Tow* flows down the former to the sea, its name being evidently the anglicised form of *Taisi*, or rather *Taise.* If the Scots had encamped in Glenshesk, it is not easily understood how the O'Neills could have reached Ballycastle without a collision. But if the Scots moved forward and encamped at the foot of Glentaisi or Glentow, they were thus removed to a considerable distance from the line of the O'Neills' march.

(33) *Clann-aidh-boe.* — More correctly *Clan-Aodh-Buidhe*, so called from the descendants of Hugh O'Neill, surnamed *Buidhe*, or, 'yellow haired.' This Hugh O'Neill, in the thirteenth century, established his authority over the principality anciently called Uladh, the larger portion of which was subsequently known by the tribe name of his descendants—Clannaboy, or country of the descendants of Hugh Boy I. The whole extensive region bearing this name was divided into upper or southern, and lower or northern Clannaboy. Northern Clannaboy extended from the Ravel southward to the Lagan, comprising twenty sub-territories or tuoghs, which are all contained in the modern baronies of the two Antrims, the two Toomes, the two Belfasts, lower Massereene, and the county of Carrickfergus. Upper Clannaboy extended southward from the Lagan, comprising nine sub-territories or tuoghs, which exactly constitute the two modern baronies of upper and lower Castlereagh. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 344—348.

aid I gave them battle, in which many of his men were slain ; the remnant fled ; we took large spoils on that day, and at night we occupied the camp from which Somhairle had been expelled. Thence we advanced the following day through their valleys and protected routes, until we came to the castle of James M'Donnell, called Uaim Aderig, (34) which, with the town, we burned, and afterwards plundered all the adjoining district. (35) On that night, James M'Donnell, accompanied by his brothers and all their forces, arrived in Ireland. He entered the neighbouring harbour with a large fleet of galleys, and immediately he and Somhairle united their Irish and Scottish forces. We advanced on the day following without opposition to the town of Somhairle, which is named Baile Caishlein, (36) and remained there all night in camp, as there was no time to attack them that evening. Early next morning, we advanced upon them drawn up in battle array, and the fight was furiously maintained on both sides. But God, best and greatest, of his mere grace, and for the welfare of her Majesty the Queen, gave us the victory against them. James and his brother Somhairle were taken prisoners, and a third brother, Angus, surnamed the 'Contentious,' and John Roe, (37) were slain, together with two Scottish chiefs, namely, the son of Mac Leod, (38) and the son of the Lord of Carrig-na-Skaith (39) A young chieftain of Isla was slain, whose father was brother to James aforesaid. (40) The sons of Alexander Carrach, (41) and the sons of Alexander Gallta, (42) besides many of the Scottish nobility were captured, and great numbers of their men killed, amounting in all to six or seven hundred. Few escaped who were not taken or slain. Glory be to God, such was the result of these my services undertaken for her majesty in the Northern

(34) *Uaim Aderig.*—More correctly *Uaimhaderg*, 'Red-Caves,' now Red Bay.

(35) *District.*—The beautiful Glenariff was the district which O'Neill desolated on that occasion.

(36) *Baile Caishlein.*—This place was so called from the *caiseal* or *cashel* on Dunanynie, a little westward of the modern town. Several eminent Irish authorities think that *caiseal* is another word for *Cios-ail*, or *Rent-Rock*, as it is so frequently applied to the position, generally on a rock, at which the rents of a district were paid. This position near Ballycastle is called Dunanynie, "hill of the Fairs or Assemblies," with the addition of *Coigne*, which has been dropped in modern days, but which implied that there the rents and tributes were of old collected from the district.

(37) *John Roe.*—John Roe Macdonnell was a distinguished captain of the Scots, but to what family he belonged we have not been able to discover. He was probably married to a niece of Shane O'Neill. (See Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1st series, p. 215.) He was slain in the retreat from Gleanntaisi, when he had got as far as the hollow at the head of Glenshesk, called Lag-na-g Capull. In that dreary place there is a pillar-stone still standing at his head, the spot being known to the people of the district as *Slaught-Eoin-Ruadh*, or John Roe's monument. The Irish word *Leacht*, meaning a sepulchral monument marking one distinguished grave, is sometimes corruptly spelled *Slaught*. There was a coat of mail found here by turf-cutters some years ago. This relic, which is described in the locality as being curiously wrought, hung on the front of a cabin for a long period—until it dropped piecemeal away and disappeared.

(38) *MacLeod.*—It would be difficult to identify this young chief among the numerous officers supplied by the several leading families of the Macleods at the period referred to. He was probably a nephew of James and Sorley Macdonnell. See p. 39, *supra.*

(39) *Carrick-na-Skeath.*—This place, near the Mull of Cantire, is now known as *Carskay*. It is situated on the coast, in the parish of Kilcolmkill. The castle, which belonged to the Macneills, was built on a rock forming a small island near the shore. In the adjoining churchyard of Keil there are several tombstones marking the graves of Macneills of Carrick-Skeath, or Carskay. (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 8.) The young chief of Carskay who fell at the battle of Gleanntaisi was a Macneill, but we cannot make out any particulars of his career.

(40) *James aforesaid.*—If this young chieftain was really a nephew of James Macdonnell, he must have been a son of Angus, James's second brother, who resided generally in Isla.

(41) *Alexander Carrach.*—See p. 18, *supra.*

(42) *Alexander Gallta.*—This chieftain was of the Macdonnells of Sleat, and known in the Isles as Alexander MacConnell, surnamed *Gallich*, because fostered somewhere at a distance from home. His son, the Donnell Gorm Macdonnell of Sleat, after his liberation, came to Ulster as a leader of Scots, under Sorley Boy. The founder of this family was Hugh, third son of Alexander of the Isles. Hugh's descendants were known as the Clanhuistein, and also as the Clandonnell North. Macdonnell of Sleat has always had the title of *Macdhonuill na'n Eilean*, or Macdonnell of the Isles.

parts. Nor here alone, but everywhere throughout Ireland, where my aid may be required, I am ready and prepared to make sacrifices for her grace. Humbly requesting your Lordship to inform her majesty of all these affairs, I now bid you farewell. From the town of Somhairle, called Baile Caislein, 2nd May, 1565. Her Majesty's faithful servant, and your obedient,

"I am O'Neill." (43)

The following letter, written about a month later by Gerot Flemynge, O'Neill's secretary, and addressed to sir Thomas Cusake, contains a much more detailed and interesting account of Shane's movements during this celebrated expedition :—

"After most hearty commendacions, and have bene comanded by my Lord O'Neill to write to your worshipp all his doings and proceedings in this his last journey uppon the Skotts, which I here write unto you in such sorte that your worshipp may discerne every dais wourck by hitself. He kept his Easter at Fedan (44), when he tooke his jorney the Tuesday in the said Easter wyck towards the Skotts, which day he rode xvi. mile, and camped that night at Dromemoer. (45) The next morning he cutt all the Passes or Woods that lay in his way from thence (called Kyllwarline,) (46)

(43) *I am O'Neill.*—This extraordinary man's letters, composed generally in the Latin language, are numerous, and highly characteristic of the writer and his times. Some of their addresses exhibit the nomad style of life frequently adopted by this leader of predatory and insurrectionary bands. He dates one *ex finibus de Tirconail*, when about to wage war with the neighbouring sept of the O'Donnells; and another, *ex sylvis meis*, when driven by the English into a woody fastness. The earl of Sussex, in a reply to one of these letters, remonstrates at their proud tone. Their ambitious tenor bears out the sobriquet *an diomas* or 'the Haughty,' generally applied to Shane, whilst their wit and spirit show that his mind was as vigorous as his body. (See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., p. 1.) Into the *Book of Howth* are collected several curious references to Shane O'Neill. Among other matters connected with his military tactics, we are told that as the troops of Sussex, the lord deputy, on one occasion were marching through the woods between Dungannon and Loughneagh, "from eight of the clock in the morning till seven afternoon, O'Neile never gave over to skirmish with them. All that while the woods so rang with the shot that it was strange to hear, and also the noise of the Scotts that O'Neile had, crying all that day till a little afore night." (See Calendar of the *Carew MSS.*, vol. v., p. 201.) The following is sir George Carew's estimate of Shane's character generally :—"This O'Neile was a prudent wise captain, and a good giver of an onset or charge upon his enemies, during the time of his reign, and was given from fourteen years of age, till the day of his death, always in the wars. Sometimes he had war with the Lord Deputy, O'Donell, his father, his brother, Maguire, and others at one time. Proud he was and arrogant, for he thought that no man ought of right to be his superior, or seem his eqall. He had great policy in the wars, that he was practised with, no man more in his time. He was a great surfeiter, great spender, and cruel and extreme in all his affairs, no man his like, and liberal in nothing but in housekeeping ; a courteous, loving, and good companion to those whom he loved, being strangers to his country. They said he was the last that would give the charge upon his foes, and the first that would flee ; but he could well procure his men to do well, for he had many good men according to the wars of his country.—*Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 205.

(44) *At Fedan.*—See p. 132, *supra.* This locality is now known as the *Fews*, which is also the name of two baronies. Marshal Bagenall speaks of it in 1586, as follows :—"*Fewes* bordereth upon the English Pale, within three miles of Dundalk; it is a very strong countrey of woode and bogg, peopled with certeyne of the Neyles, accustomed to lyve much upon the spoile of the Pale." A manuscript in the Lambeth library has the following reference to Shane's abode at Fedan or the Fews:—"And Shane O'Neille dwelling within less than a mile of the Newrie, at a place called Feidem, suffered no subject to travel from Dublin northward; but sithence the building and fortifications made there by the said Sir Nicholas Bagenal, all the passages were made free, and much of the countrie next adjacent reduced to reasonable civilitie ; till this late rebellion of Tirone hath stopped again all the said passages, and laid the countrie in a manner waste, as it was in the said time of Shane O'Neille."—See *Montgomery MSS.*, new edition, p. 313, *note* 42.

(45) *Dromemoer.*—Now Dromore, in the county of Down.

(46) *Kyllwarline.*—"A portion of Lower Iveagh was known, in the sixteenth century, by the name of *Kilwarlin*, which is variously written *Kilmarlin*, *Kilwarly*, *Kilwarninge*, and *Kilwarney*. This tract comprehended the parish of Hillsborough, and the neighbouring parts of Blaris, Moira, Dromore, and Dromara. The townlands contained in it are set out in the Ulster Inquisitions, No. 31, Car. I. It was the patrimony of a branch of the Maginnis family which was called *MacRory*, from Rudhraighe, an ancestor. Art, surnamed *na Madhman*, or 'of the Overthrows,' who flourished A.D. 1380, had two sons, Aodh and Cathbar ; from the former of whom the lords of Iveagh were descended ; while the Kilwarlin branch derived its origin from the latter. In 1575, Ever Mac

of the M'Cuilins and Kylultagh of Claneboye, which were xii. mile long), (47) that x men may go in a ranck, till he came within Claneboye a mile beyond the Pase, and campid that night at Monynimrock. The morrow after being Thursday, he rood towards Gallantry, (48) a mile from Edindukarig (49), where he campid that night, in which place he buylded and renywied an old Fort, within which there was the situacon of an house, about buylding whereof he was Friday, Saturday, and till Sondaye at noone, and from thence (having left sertaine of his men in the sayde Forte) he removed towards Cloghdonaghy in the Roott, and entering into a Pase called Knockboy (50) of a quarter of a mile long, the Skotts being redy before him, unawares sett upon him, where he kiled of them to the number of xx., and the reste were faine to take the Boggs and Woodes, and took their praies that afternoone. But that night he campid at Cloghdonaghy (51) aforesaid. In the morning after being Monday he departed thens towards Owderick, (52) in the Gulines countrey, to James M'Conill, his owne towne, which towne he wone that same day. This day landid James himself with all his company in Ireland, and after that O'Neill wone the towne, and saw that it stood in such a place that it was out of his reche to helpe them of his men to whome he thought to comitt the kyping thereof, of his own men he bracke it to the grounde rather than the Skotts should againe enjoye the same. He campid that night in the said towne, and on the morrow being

Rory of Kilwarlyn made a surrender of this tract to queen Elizabeth, and took out a patent for the same; which original document is in the possession of George Stephenson, Esq., of Lisburn (1847), whose maternal ancestors were of this race. The name Kilwarlin is still locally preserved, and is borne by the marquis of Downshire, in his inferior titles of viscount and baron."— Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 389; see also Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 333; Dubourdieu's *Antrim*, p. 626.

(47) *XII. mile long.*—Shane's march from Dromore in the county of Down, to the vicinity of Edenduffcarrick, now Shane's Castle, lay through one dense and continuous forest. Hence the name of the district *Coill Ulltach*, 'Wood of Ulster,' now spelled Killultagh. On the corner of an old map of Down published in 1590, there is the following note:—"Alonge this river (the Lagan) be ye space of twenty-six miles groweth much woodes, as well hokes for tymber as hother woodde, which maie be brought in the baie of Cragfergus with bote or drage." (*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 274). In 1586, the dense woods of Killultagh had been, in some places, superseded by swamps and bogs, as marshal Bagenall, in his *Description of Ulster*, at that date, informs us that the district referred to was "full of wood and bogg." Killultagh, strictly speaking, was no part of Clannaboy, north or south, but a territory *per se*. It is now included in the county of Antrim, and (with the small additions of the parish of Tullyrusk, three townlands of Derriaghy, and the east portion of the parish of Camlin) constitutes the present barony of Upper Massereene. Dr. Reeves defines Killultagh as containing the present parishes of Ballinderry, Aghalee, Aghagallon, Magheramesk, Magheragall, and the portion of Blaris north of the river Lagan. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 234, 347.

(48) *Gallantry.*—In an old rental of the Shane's Castle estate, this name is written "Gallanagh als Glanellagh."

(49) *Edindukarig.*—The Four Masters, at the year 1490, call this place *Edan dubh Cairge*, 'The dark face of the rock.' This old name has been long superseded for the modern one of Shane's Castle.

(50) *Knockboy.*—This place, in the neighbourhood of Broughshane, still retains its old name. The mention of it by Flemynge here serves to indicate the line of Shane's march from Edenduffcarrick to Clough. Knockboy was then densely wooded also.

(51) *Cloghdonaghy.*—Now Clough, in the county of Antrim. The parish is called Dunaghy, which is the modern form of Dun-Eochaidh, the name of a fort which stood near the modern village of Clough, and which Dr. O'Donovan supposed to be the *Dun-Eachdach* mentioned in the twenty-ninth verse of the *Circuit of Muircheartach*. The following are the lines in which the poet mentions Dun-Eochaidh, or Dunaghy:—

> "We were a night at Dun-Eachdach,
> With the white-handed warlike band;
> We carried the King of Uladh with us
> In the great circuit we made of all Ireland."

The king of Uladh was carried off on that occasion as a hostage. Dunaghy is situated on the banks of the river Fregabhail (now Ravel), so well-known to the ancient Irish. In the grant from the Crown to the Antrim family, in 1603, Clough is called *Clogh-Maghera-Donaghie*. The remains of an old castle, from which the Macdonnells expelled the Macquillins, are still standing, at a little distance northward from the village. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 72, 332.

(52) *Owderick.*—This is another form of Uaimhderg (see p. 134, *supra*), the name of the castle at Red Bay. Uaimh is pronounced *oov*, and the name is here written by Flemynge pretty much as it was pronounced by the Irish. Flemynge is mistaken in supposing that Red Bay was ever in the Gulines' (Macquillin's) country.

May day he removid thence to a place callid Nyw Castell (53) in the Root, Sanhirly Boy (54) his towne, where that night he campid, haveing his enymies within a mile in sight camping before him. On the morrowe after when he exhortid his men to be true to their prince, and of a good couradge, showing them what praise should follow unto them if they overcame their enymies, and what service to their prince it should be, he gave towards the enymies and mett them about v. of the clocke in the morning, to whom he gave the overthrowe, and took of their banners and ancients (55) xiii., took James M'Conill himselfe, being very sore wounded, his brother Sanhirly Boy, M'Lode, his son, (56) his brother-in-law, and xix. other Gents prisoners; and killed of the Skotts at that present tyme to the nomber of vii. hondreth that they can make a compte of. After which conflicte O'Nele campid that night at Nyw Castell foresaid, (57) where the said James M'Conill, being prisoner, offrid O'Nele all the goodes, cattels, creatts, stoodes, (58) and landes that he had in Irelande and Scotland and to sett himselfe at liberty, affirminge by othe that he would never seeke to revenge the same, whose answere was, that the service he went aboute was not his but the princes, and that it lay not in himself to doe anything but according to her direction. (59) In the morning after he removed thence and came to Downesterick and Downelisse (60) in the Root, being five myles

(53) *Nwy Castell.*—New Castle, was another name for Ballycastle, which was so called from a castle that had been built by the Scots on the site afterwards occupied by Randal Macdonnell's castle, and which was thus distinguished from the very *old* structure on Dunanynie.

(54) *Sanhirly Boy.*—Here is another, and perhaps unique, variety of the name Somhairle or Sorley.—See p. 122, *supra.*

(55) *Ancients.*—This word is a corruption for *enseigns* or *ensigns*, meaning penons bearing military *insignia.* The term is also applied to the bearers of such penons, who are called ensigns, and formerly *ancients.* The loss of so many ensigns must of itself have been regarded as a most disastrous affair among the Scots, who, in common with all Celts, associated a superstitious importance to their banners. In the island of Oransay, near the tomb of Murchard MacDuffaidh, who died in 1509, there was, until recently, a pole erected in honour, or rather to the memory of the *ensign staff* of his distinguished family, on the preservation of which, it was supposed, depended the fate of his race. At Bracadal, in the Isle of Skye, lands were set apart to pay for the preservation of the *Braotach-Shi* of Macleod, which, tradition states, was only brought publickly forth on three grand occasions. See Logan's *Scottish Gäel*, vol. i., p. 289.

(56) *His son.*—For a notice of the two distinct septs of the Macleods in Harris and Lewis, see p. 28, *supra.* The descendants of both Torquil and Tormond were, from an early date, adherents and allies of the Macdonnells, and in the sixteenth century came to Antrim in large numbers, as auxiliaries of the latter. We cannot discover the particular family to which the officer abovementioned belonged, but he had married a sister of Sorley Boy. See p. 39, *supra.*

(57) *Nyw Castell foresaid.*—This new castle stood on the north-eastern side of the space now known as the Diamond in Ballycastle. The adjoining level grounds, reaching down to the sea, were no doubt occupied by the O'Neills' encampment on the night after the battle.

(58) *Stoodes.*—The several terms here employed had their distinct meanings. The 'cattell' then only included cows; the 'creatts' were large flocks driven together in time of war, including not only cows, but sheep and swine; 'stoodes' implied only horses. In this offer of Macdonnell was included all his earthly stores, for cattle represented the riches of Celtic chiefs.

(59) *Her direction.*—O'Neill took care to parry any direct hints from high quarters on the subject of James and Sorley Macdonnell's release. His first letter to the queen after the battle is dated June 18, from his camp in Clannaboy, and is taken up principally with his recommendations of a Mr. Stucley to her majesty; concluding with the announcement that he would write again of other matters, but was then much occupied with the expulsion of the Scots who were threatening an invasion. On the 28th of July, he wrote again to the queen, from *Beind Berb* (Benburb), referring to the battle with the Scots, and the enormous ransoms he was exacting for the release of the prisoners. He further informs her that the queen of Scots, the earl of Argyle, and the island-lords had made urgent applications to him for the release of the Macdonnells, but that he had answered, he could do nothing in the matter until he knew his *own queen's mind on the subject.*

(60) *Downelisse.*—Now Dunluce, pp. 63, 71, *supra.* Sir Richard Hoare has the following reference to this ruin:—"At first sight it only presents an unseemly pile of ruins, like those of a village destroyed; but on a nearer approach, its situation becomes truly striking, and indeed majestic, and particularly when viewed from the sea-shore at its base. Its position is one of the boldest, and gives a degree of grandeur to the ruins, which, in a less commanding situation, might perhaps pass unnoticed." (*Tour in Ireland*, p. 205). Dubourdieu adds:—"The mansion and offices were situated on the mainland; their remains are very extensive, and are divided from the fortress by a deep cut in the rock on which the castle is placed. It projects into the sea, and has the appearance of having

asonder, which were Sanhirley Boy his cheefe castles (61) and the cheefe defence and holt of those partes, of the which he wan the same day Downesterick (62) wherein he left sertaine of his men to defende it againste the enymie. But the other he could not wyn in the space of thre dayes after, till at laste, partlye through feare of Sanhirly Boye his dethe, who was kepte without meat or drinke to this ende the castell might be sooner yielded, (63) and partlye for saulfgarde of their own liffys, seeinge the manifold and cruell skirmishes and assaults on every side, the warde wer faine to yelde the castell into his handes, (64) whiche alsoe he comitted to the saulfe kepynge of such of his men as were most able to defende the same, and mooste true to hym (65); and haveinge thus wann the said castells, kyllid and banyshed all the Skottes out of the North, he returned back again to the firste Fort called Gallantry in Claneboye (see p. 136, *supra*), whence he sent James M'Conill,

been split off from the cliff; over the chasm lies the only approach to the castle, along which is now a narrow wall, but what was probably one side of a bridge which joined it to the land, as, on examination, another wall appears to have run parallel to it." (See *Statistical Account of the County of Antrim*, vol. ii., p. 10). The "very extensive remains" of the "mansion and office on the mainland" have now almost entirely disappeared from their original position, and may be seen built into the house, offices, and ditches of a farm in the immediate vicinity. The oak roofing of the church, which was rebuilt in the time of the duchess of Buckingham's residence at Dunluce, 1637—1640, forms the roofing of an old barn in the district.

(61) *Cheefe castles.*—Besides the castles here mentioned as "cheefe" ones by Fleming, there were also Dunanynie, Deffrick, Clough, Clare Castle, and New Castle—all on the lands of the Macdonnells, and in that northern district; besides Redbay, and Court Macmartin, on the coast further south.

(62) *Downesterick.*—Now Dunseverick, about five Irish miles in a north-easterly direction from Dunluce. This was the celebrated *Dun-Sobhairce*, or *Duin Sebuirgi* of ancient Irish history. It is supposed to have been one of the three earliest fortresses built in Ireland. In later times, Dunseverick belonged to the O'Cahans, the branch of that great family which owned it being known as the *Clann Magnus na Buaise*, 'the clan Magnus or Manus of the river Bush,' to distinguish them from the *Clann Magnus na Banna*, whose territory was situated west of the river Bann. It would appear that the Macdonnells, as the superior power in the Route in 1565, had a garrison in the fortress of Dunseverick, although the older occupants—the O'Cahans—were permitted to hold the castle until the time of Cromwell, when its owner was executed for joining in the war of 1641. The ruins of the latest castle on this insulated rock are evidently those of a structure built about the twelfth century, and probably by an Anglo-Norman invader. The rock of Dunseverick, in the little bay on the east of Bengore-Head, is about half an acre in area, and 120 feet in height. Immense masses of the principal rock present the appearance of having been hewn away as if to render the castle more inaccessible. For a most interesting sketch of the early history of Dunseverick, see O'Donovan's contribution to the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i. pp, 361—363.

(63) *Sooner yielded.*—Shane would have had no hesitation in permitting Sorley Boy to be starved to death as a punishment for the stubbornness of the Scottish garrison in Dunluce, had the men not surrendered in time. When excited on any subject, O'Neill appears to have generally demeaned himself as a brutal savage. His torture of his own father-in-law, Calvagh O'Donnell, is a frightful illustration of his temper. In the same year, 1561, Shane tells, and rather boasts, of having most brutally mal-treated one of his own servants for a comparatively slight offence. The lord-justice had complained of this messenger, that he had not fully explained Shane's meaning in a message sent to him (the lord-justice), and Shane replies on the 9th of June, *ex Confinibus de tir Conaill*, stating to the lord-justice that as a punishment for such neglect, he had first put his servant to the torture and afterwards cut off one of his ears! He further states that the messenger had not spoken his (O'Neill's) mind, as he had been provoked by being robbed on his way by Henry O'Neill's people! For several other illustrations of Shane's cruelty, see *Irish Statutes*, vol. i., pp. 323, 324.

(64) *His handes.*—These castles taken from the Scots were garrisoned first by O'Neill's soldiers, the latter being afterwards superseded by English soldiers. In 1568, three years subsequently, we find that an Englishman named Cadogan was constable of Dunluce, and that in the March of that year he surprised a captain of Turlough Luineach's Scots, who went to attend the Red dean (Terence Danyell) to the earl of Argyle. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, first series, p. 368.

(65) *True to hym.*—Of all Shane's adherents, the O'Donnellys, among whom he fostered, were supposed to have been most trusted by him, and most frequently honoured by being placed in positions of difficulty and danger. A noted pirate, who had been intimately acquainted with Shane's country, has left an account of it which enables us to know something of his more private life. Among other rather curious revelations by this pirate, whose name was *Phettiplace*, he tells us that "Shane O'Neill's power and strength, and safe-keeping of him, lay in his country, and does not consist in his number of men, which is but a handful (if I may say so) of rascalls, but in his crafty slights, by which he covereth himself in the privities of his country, with his *creats*, when his country is attempted. His trust and safety dependeth not in the noblest of his men, nor on his kinsmen and brothers, but upon his foster brothers the O'Donnellys, who are three hundred gentlemen, to whom he hath

beinge sore wounded, and other of the prisoners to Castell Corcke (66), a towne of his owne in Tyron, and kept Sanhirly Boy with himself. The night after this conflicte, James M'Conill his brother Alexander took shippinge in Scotland with ix. hondreth men, and thinking to com helpe his brother, landed at a place called Raghline, an iland in the sea within ii. myle of Ireland. (67) But when he had wourde of his brother his miscaryinge, returned backe againe. These my Lord and Master his doings I his servant have writene to your wourshipp, that I shoulde advertise you nothinge but truthe, nor write nothing in this letter but that he comandid me. And after this letter redd and declarid unto himselfe, understandinge the same to be his owne mynde in everythinge and accordinge to his comaundment, his lordship comaundid me to be the berer meselfe to your Wourshipp of the same, with your man to veryfie and affirme my booke othe before you all the contents of this letter to be true, which I have don accordingly.—By me

"Gerot Flemynge." (68)

Thus James Macdonnell, the most popular as well as the most powerful among Scottish northern chieftains, was left to die in O'Neill's dungeon. It is true, his release had been asked from Shane by queen Elizabeth, and strenuously besought by Mary queen of Scots, and even demanded by the earl of Argyle, in the name of the great lords of the Western Highlands and Isles. As we have seen above, he had offered an immense ransom for himself, and the Clandonnell were ready to give his weight in gold; but Shane had now secured his great rival in northern Ulster, and saw in Macdonnell's destruction the removal of the main obstacle, as he believed, to the realisation of his own dreams of undivided supremacy. O'Neill's distinguished captive soon died, probably from deliberate neglect or violence. There is no positive evidence of this, so far as is known, except that the Scots freely and often charged Shane as the murderer of their chief. If we may infer anything respecting James Macdonnell's death from O'Neill's cruelty in some other cases, there is reason to suspect at least that Macdonnell's last days were bitter indeed. His fate was deplored by his own people in Antrim and the Isles. The Four Masters say that "the death of this gentleman was generally bewailed; he was a paragon of hospitality and prowess, a festive man of many troops, a bountiful and munificent man. His peer was not to be found at that time among the Clandonnell of Ireland or Scotland; and his own people would not have deemed it too much to give his weight in

given livings and countries." See *Ulster Journal*, vol. iii., p. 47.

(66) *Corcke.*—When Shane was negotiating with the government about this attack on the Macdonnells, one of his letters is dated from this residence, which he calls *Castle Corcra.* (See Hamilton's *Calendar*, first series, p. 244). In more modern times, the name was generally written *Corocke.* The castle stood in upper Badony, near Strabane, but its ruins have entirely disappeared. The remains of a monastery adjoining the site of the castle are still to be seen. This monastery was built in the fifteenth century for Franciscan friars. The lands belonging to it were granted to sir Henry Piers, who sold them to sir Arthur Chichester. See Seward's *Topographia Hibernica.*

(67) *Of Ireland.*—See p. 48, *supra.* This island is distant, from the nearest point on the mainland, four miles.

(68) *Gerot Flemynge.*—Gerald Fleming appears to have been very particular in exactly following his master's directions. He was not only a secretary but a messenger also, and he had probably the fate of his predecessor before his eyes, who lost one of his ears from failing clearly to convey his lord's behests. (See p. 138, *supra.*) In 1539, this Gerot Flemyng wrote to Thomas Crumwell desiring to be his servant, and to see the king, Henry VIII., and the prince. He could not then, he says, travel to England, because the country in his neighbourhood (Dublin) was very unsettled, especially from the movements of the O'Neills. He (Flemynge) had no land to maintain his horses and kerne. He sends to Crumwell, as a token, the horse that O'Donnell's standard-bearer rode on the day of O'Neill's (Con's) discomfiture. The above letter describing Shane's victorious expedition against the Scots, was written twenty-six years after his epistle to Crumwell. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1st series, pp. 48, 246, 265.

gold for his ransom, if he could have been ransomed." It was reported that O'Neill had honoured the remains of James Macdonnell by interment in 'Armagh the holy,' and the Scots were under this pleasing impression; but it is hardly probable that Shane would so distinguish a dead foe, who had persistently thwarted his projects, and could never be made subservient to his designs.

The immediate results of this battle in the Glen near Ballycastle are concisely stated in Cusake's letter above. Shane had entered on his northern campaign only with one object—to kill or banish the Antrim Scots—and thoroughly did he accomplish his work. Sorley Boy was taken alive and unwounded, his captor calculating, that, in various ways, the possession of this distinguished prisoner might be turned to account. O'Neill was at pains to represent to the government that his victory over the Scots had been complete, and that the seizure of Sorley Boy would silence all claims on the part of the Macdonnells to hold any lands on the coast. But when Shane thus triumphantly carried off Sorley from Ballycastle, he had literally "caught a Tartar," and although the victory in Gleanntaisi had been apparently decisive, other results very different from those contemplated either by Shane or the government, soon appeared. The Scots had been defeated and dispersed, but the process of recuperation amongst them was very soon initiated on both sides of the channel. They were known by the government to be biding their time for Shane, and when the latter soon afterwards threw off his mask, overrunning the lands of refractory Urriaghs, and defying the authorities of the Pale, the Scots were anxiously enlisted by Sydney as the very people to get into close quarters with their deadly foe. After a two years struggle against the combined forces of the English and the O'Donnells, Shane found himself reduced to the greatest difficulty, and appears to have had no rest except in devising projects of deliverance. He is said to have consulted his secretary whether he should not appear in the presence of Sydney with a halter round his neck as the most abject symbol of submission! The secretary suggested in reply first, that such an act under the circumstances might endanger his life; and secondly, that it would be undignified and pusillanimous. This purpose thereupon was abandoned, but another still more desperate took its place. Sorley Boy, whom Shane had carried about with him as a captive for a period of more than two years, was probably, the inspirer or instigator of this latter project, which involved the fearful risk of an appeal for help to the Scots! Reckless as Shane naturally was, he could hardly have brought himself to suppose that the Macdonnells would forget his treachery in the spring of 1565, when he fell upon them unexpectedly, and without provocation. According to an arrangement with sir Henry Sydney, Alexander Oge, the fourth brother, had arrived at Cushindun, to take part in the war against O'Neill, and with him the latter was induced, by some means, to open negotiations through Sorley Boy.

The Irish annalists truly describe Shane's infatuation, or madness, in this business, as "an omen of the destruction of life and the cause of death." We are strongly inclined to believe that Sorley Boy arranged the whole affair, and brought it at last to the consummation so naturally and ardently wished for by the Macdonnells. Other parties at the time claimed the credit of planning Shane's destruction, (69) and by turns they had their claims allowed,

(69) *Destruction.*—Of all these claimants, we fancy the first and foremost place is due to the queen herself, who had sounded, some time previously, the true key-note for his downfall in the following pithy announcement to her

but the plot that resulted in his death we think must be traced mainly to his distinguished captive. There must certainly have been an understanding between Sorley and his brother Alexander, for otherwise it is not probable that the latter would have listened to any proposals whatever from O'Neill, after having made his arrangements with Sydney. On the contrary, Alexander had declared war to the knife against O'Neill, if not in words, yet by the more unmistakeable act of sweeping a prey from Clannaboy on his arrival, which prey consisted of 1200 cows, besides sheep, swine, and horses. On the return of the Scots to Cushindun with their valuable cattle-spoil, their leader received an invitation from Shane, desiring that he and they should have a friendly meeting, with the view of forming a permanent alliance against the English, their common enemy. (70) This invitation was, no doubt, explained by Sorley to his brother through some medium not mentioned. At all events, it was readily, and even gladly accepted by the Scots. The meeting was arranged to take place at a short distance from the present village of Cushindun, on the north-western slope above the bay. (71) Thither went O'Neill at the time appointed, accompanied by the countess of Argyle, (72) his secretary, and a small

lord deputy :—"As touching your suspicion of Shane O'Neale, be not dismayed, nor let any of my men be daunted. But tell them that if he arise, it will be for their advantage ; for there will be estates for them who want. Nor must he ever expect any more favour from me." (See Ware's *Annals*, at the year 1564.) After this, the sooner Shane could be got to "arise" the better, and it was only his desperate assault on the Scots in that retired Antrim Glen that delayed his doom so long. In that movement he was playing his own cunning and desperate game, as he thought, to perfection; but the queen at any time was able to show a card, the slightest glimpse of which would paralyse all his efforts. The Scots appear to have been actuated by revenge, in the part of the bloody drama assigned to them; but all the English officials, from the greatest to the least, had their eyes steadily fixed on the pleasant prospect of the straths and glades enclosed by the Finn and the Foyle, the Blackwater and the Bann. Sydney claimed and deserved immense consideration for his share in the business, but he had afterwards to lament, which he did in touching style, that his public services had been undervalued and forgotten. Sydney, according to his own account, was an overmatch for Shane in the diplomatic way. "I am informed," writes this knight of the *Ragged Staff*, "he (Shane) offered to them of Kintire all Clandeboy, all the geld kine of his countrie, also to deliver up Sorle-boye, and give them pledge and assurance for his fidelitie towards them. *But I, fearing this beforehand, have so temporized with the Captain of Kintire, Sorley's brother, that they have utterly refused his requests.*" Sydney, indeed, had been in frequent communication with Alexander Oge, knowing him, as he informs us, "to be the mortal enemy" of Shane O'Neill; and Sydney further had the credit of sending over an emissary named Douglas to Kintire, by whom, as he states, "the Scottes that killed O'Neill were brought over." See the *Ulster Journal*, vol. iii., p. 101.

(70) *Common enemy.*—O'Neill had very considerable tact and perseverance in getting the Irish to believe that the English were their common enemy; and, indeed, the enemy also of the old English, who had become in sentiment and policy more Irish than the Irish themselves. The following letter, addressed to the earl of Desmond's brother—John Fitzgerald—is a somewhat curious illustration of Shane's powers of persuasion in the direction now stated :—"Commendations from John O'Nele to John O'Desmond, son to the late Earle of Desmond. Certify yourself than Inglishmen have no other eye but only to subdewe both English and Ierish of Ireland, and I and you especially. And certify yourself also that those their Deputies, one after another, hath broken peace, and did not abide by the same; and assure yourself also that they had been with you ere this time but for me only. And they have not the good luck of war as yet. And for all that my Lord Deputy is in our next borders, we have robbed, spoyled, and burned Meath and all these quarters. And since that, our helps is good together. My especial good friend, now is the time or never to set against them as well as you can; or else God will be revenged on you if you do the contrary. And therefore believe this bearer. I am *O'Nele.*"—See *Ulster Journal*, vol. iii., p. 44.

(71) *Above the Bay.*—The Scots whom Sydney had brought across the channel, by means of Douglas, landed at Cushendun on the 18th of May, and encamped on the slope northwest of the Bay, at a place called Ballyterrim. On Norden's Map this spot is marked as the spot where "Shane O'Neyle was slaine." The annalist Dowling fixes the place of Shane's death "at the Key of Ybuyg." The event may have taken place at the little landing-place or "Key," but where *Ybuyg* is, or rather what particular place is meant, we cannot imagine. Cushindun was known also as *Bun*-abhainn-Duin, but whether Dowling's term is in part composed of *Bun*, "the foot" of the river Dun, it would be difficult say.—See *Ulster Journal*, vol. iii., p. 101. See also, the *Annals* of the Four Masters, vol. v., p. 1617.

(72) *Countess of Argyle.*—For a notice of this lady's family, see p. 130, *supra.* She is always referred to in the State Papers as *Countess* of Argyle (see Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1st series, pp. 152, 170, 172, 217, 237), and the probability therefore is, that before her marriage with

troop of fifty horsemen. A sumptuous banquet had been prepared to inaugurate the re-union of the O'Neills and the Macdonnells, Shane and his party regaling themselves no doubt on the beef and mutton that had been taken a day or two before from his own devoted adherents in Clannaboy. When the festivities had been conducted harmoniously for the space of two days, it would appear that one of the Macdonnells, the son of Gillaspick, (73) charged O'Neill's secretary (74) with originating, or at least circulating a report of a marriage then said to be in contemplation, between O'Neill and the widow of James Macdonnell, who had died of his wounds in one of O'Neill's dungeons. This report, which had even reached the government, and was mentioned in a letter from the Irish deputy to the council in England, the Scots regarded as a foul slander on the lady of their late lamented chief. The secretary, instead of employing the soft word that turneth aside wrath, taunted the Macdonnells as unworthy the honour which they seemed so anxious to repudiate, reminding them at the same time that O'Neill was the hereditary prince of Ulster, and that by his ancient lineage, as well as his exalted position, he was fully entitled to match even with their queen, Mary of Scotland. (75) At this point in the dispute, Shane himself approached, and being, it is said, heated with wine, he foolishly took up his secretary's quarrel, and no doubt spoke his mind freely on the whole subject in hand. It is not improbable that he even accompanied his words by a blow, aimed at the audacious Gillaspick. Where now was Sorley Boy? He was present, and a word from him would have allayed the wrath of the Macdonnells; but the word was not spoken. On the contrary, some significant look or gesture from him probably sealed Shane's fate, by bringing upon him in quick succession, the blows of the Scottish dirks,—or

Calvagh O'Donnell, she had been the wife of Colin, third earl of Argyle. In the *Genealogical Account of the Macleans*, the author states that she was the third daughter of Hector Mor, and that her Christian name was *Julia*, but other writers speak of her as Catherine Maclean. She is referred to in the State Papers as a spirited and highly cultivated woman, who sympathised with, and probably encouraged Shane O'Neill in his resistance to English rule in the North. At the time of Shane's treacherous capture of her husband, Fitzwilliam wrote to Cecil on the subject, adding that it was then generally believed Shane had acted by her consent. For references to this outrage, see *Irish Statues*, vol. i., pp. 323, 324; *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 5th series, pp. 204, 209.

(73) *Gillaspick.*—This Macdonnell has puzzled chroniclers generally, and few, if any, could state with certainty the family to which he belonged. Hamilton's *Calendar*, however, and the Calendar of the *Carew MSS.* have revealed him. Campion was right in designating him *Mac-gilly-Aspuck*, but he does not give us any further light as to his family. This young Scot, however, was the son of Gillaspick Macrandalboy, who, with his brother, Allister Macrandal Boy, was slain treacherously by Andrew Brereton, at Ardglass (see p. 31, *supra.*) This Gillaspick, it would appear, was married to a sister of James Macdonnell, so that MacGillaspick was nephew of the latter. In killing O'Neill, therefore, he was avenging the deaths of his two uncles, James and Angus, the latter of whom fell on the field of Glenntaisi, James dying soon afterwards of his wounds. See p. 139, *supra.* These Macrandalboy Macdonnells of Lecale were of quite a distinct branch from the family of Isla and the Glynnes, and also from the Alaster Carragh family of Lochaber. See pp. 18, 27, 39, *supra.*

(74) *His secretary.*—There is a doubt as to the name of Shane's secretary on this occasion, and two persons have been mentioned as such. They may have been both secretaries: the one a colleague, or more probably an assistant to the other. Campion, who wrote his *Historie of Ireland* four years after the death of Shane, distinctly states that Neal MacConnor was his secretary at the time of the assassination in 1567. (See *The Ulster Journal*, vol. iii., p. 267, *note.*) This official, however, is called Eugene, Owen, or John O'Hagan in the State Papers (see Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1st series, p. 230), and from the standing or rank held by this family, it is most likely that he was O'Neill's principal secretary. His signature to a memorandum drawn up at Fedan in 1565 is given thus—"*Per me Eugenium O hagan secretarium domini Ineill.*" Whatever may have been his name, however, he does not appear to have conducted himself wisely in the interests of his master on the occasion referred to. He is said to have suggested, or rather urged the propriety of O'Neill's seeking to renew his former alliance with the Scots; and if so, he should have prepared himself to assist at the meeting with greater tact and prudence than he is represented to have done.

(75) *Mary of Scotland.*—It so happened that the queen of Scots was at this time a widow, remarrying soon afterwards with Bothwell.

'slaughter knives,' as Campion designates those weapons. Shane was literally hewn to pieces, and his mutilated remains flung into a pit near the place of his assassination. The disaster on the field of Gleanntaisi was thus in some degree avenged, and Sorley Boy restored to freedom after a galling captivity of more than two years. (76)

And thus perished one of the most powerful, if not bravest of the Hy-Niall princes. (77) Like all others placed in prominent positions, his character has been variously estimated. The Irish annalists, if none others, were enthusiastic in his praise, literally ransacking their legendary history for parallels which might appear in the eyes of the native population sufficiently complimentary. They spoke of him as a Conchobar "in prowess and provincial dignity"—a comparison which implies how very much they had been dazzled by his career, for Conchobar Mac Nessa was one of the most illustrious of the Rudrician princes of Ulster. These annalists also describe O'Neill as a second Lughaidh surnamed 'Long-Hand,' the said Lughaidh having been, in his generation, a most valiant and successful leader of the Tuatha de Danaan, who delivered his people from the galling oppression of the ancient Formorians, or men of the sea. (78) Shane's enemies formed a very different estimate of him, and employed the most abusive epithets that could be selected from the English vocabulary to describe his life and career; but, after all, his great crime in their eyes was that, barbarian though they would have the world to believe him, he nevertheless contrived to raise armies, erect forts, besiege fortified towns, and defeat English troops. O'Neill's efforts to resist the queen's government in Ulster cost her majesty upwards of one hundred and forty-seven thousand pounds—a very

(76) *Two years.*—Campion and Hooker mention that captain Piers ("by whose device," they state, "the tragedie was practised"), exhumed Shane's body after it had lain in the pit four days, and cut off the head. In this state Piers thought it could not be preserved sufficiently to answer his purpose; neither could it well be presented to the lord-deputy if in an advanced stage of decomposition—so this gallant captain *pickled the head in a pipkin*, and sent it to Sydney! The latter sent it forward before him to Dublin, where it was staked on a pole at the castle, and where it was standing in 1571, when Campion wrote his account of the assassination. Sydney had offered by proclamation £1000 for O'Neill's "bodie, 1000 markes for his heade," and £500 "to him that shall kill him though he bring neither heade nor bodie." The Scots did not know, at the time of Shane's death, that a reward had been offered for his head, but on hearing of it afterwards, they claimed the money. Sydney was under the impression that the Scots had pickled the head and sent it to him; but on hearing of the reward, Alaster Oge applied for it. "And as I think," says Sydney, "if they (the Scots) be not lately satisfied, they do so still; as I know, not many years since, in your presence at the Council Board, the forenamed Alyster Oge did." It is not at all likely that the Scots got back the money from Piers. See *Ulster Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 91, 101.

(77) *Hy-Niall princes.*—O'Neill's personal bravery was not conspicuous, so far as we are aware; we have seen hints to the contrary, which hints, however, may have been inspired by very questionable motives. Phettiplace the pirate, whose account of Shane was no doubt intended to move the authorities for his, the pirate's pardon, has left the following rather derogatory statement respecting O'Neill's mode of warfare:—"His quality in warlike might indeed is little in him at all, for when the Lord-Deputy attempteth his country, the natural warlike guise is not to be at home, but his country waste; for as soon as he heareth of the Lord-Deputy coming towards his country, he divideth his people and *create* into the strengths of his country, that is in his bogges, woodes, passes, and islands. He knoweth the provision and his force, yea, and which way he will pass, as well within four and twenty hours as if he were in Dublin at the setting forth of the said journey, and how many days he is appointed to tarry in his country. Accordingly he provideth to keep him covertly with his *create* in his fastness, lying himself lurking with two or three hundred horsemen, seeking what means he can to damage some wing or tail of the Lord-Deputy's. And when the Lord-Deputy returneth then O'Neill is at home, and followeth him homewards, doing what exploits he may."—*Ulster Journal*, vol. iii., p. 48.

(78) *Men of the sea.*—The words of the annalists in reference to his death are as follow:—"Grievous to the race of Owen, son of Niall, was the death of him who was there slaine, for that O'Neill, *i.e.*, John, had been their Conchobar in provincial dignity, their Lugh Long-handed in heroism, and their champion in time of danger and prowess." The following quatrain was composed to commemorate his death:—

> "Seven years, sixty, five hundred,
> And a thousand years, it is no falsehood,
> To the death of John, grandson of Con,
> From the coming of Christ into a body."

large sum at that period; and this did not include the many additional taxes levied on the country during the progress of the war, nor the incalculable damages thus inflicted on the people. In the several battles there were slain no fewer than 3,500 English soldiers, besides many others, Irish and Scotch, who, under other circumstances, would have ranked among the most useful of the queen's subjects. (See Stuart's *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, p. 261.) Fitzwilliam, informing Cecil of Shane's death, in a letter of the 10th of June, says:—"This rebel's end was on Monday, towards night, the second June, an end hard enough, but not sufficient for his deserts. If God's will so had been, I would he might have been taken, to the end he might in other sort have received his just desert, and that he might have told, as is said he did report he would, so much as should have gained the queen's Majesty more land than Tyrone was worth." Fitzwilliam had the reputation of being a very religious man, but his reference to Shane's death was heartless, and indeed blasphemous. He was of opinion that the event might have been better arranged, had Providence waited until the council in Dublin would have dealt with him in some 'sort' more suitable to his deserts—to wit, by torture, hanging, and quartering. The only absolute gainer by Shane's death was Piers, (79) who obtained the reward offered by the government for his head.

Not long after this formidable and much feared chieftain had passed away, the enactment known as the eleventh of Elizabeth, for the extinction of the title *The O'Neill*, became law. This act recites the circumstances of his death, and as the recital differs in some particulars from the generally received accounts, it is here submitted *in extenso*:—"He was driven to such straightness and extreem exigent, that the 2nd day of June, 1567, feeling himself all weakened, and beholding his declination and fall neer at hand, avowed and fully determined to come in disguised manner, for fear of intercepting, with a collar about his neck, to the presence of the said lord deputie, and to submit himselfe as a most wretched man, hoping by that order of humilitie to have found some mercie and grace at your Majesties hands, until he was staied against his will by such as pretended to bee his trusted friends, and in especial by the persuasion of a barbarous clerk, named Neyl MacKever, (80) whom hee had in most reputation, and used for his secretary, by whose councell the said rebell was drawen to try and treate the friendship of the Scotts, in joyning with them for the maintayning of that his traiterous rebellion; which, if he might not obtain, then agreed, that his first determination was the likeliest way to save

(79) *Piers.*—William Piers was son of Richard Piers, near Ingleton, in Yorkshire. It would appear that at some time, which is not stated, this William Piers "saved the princess Elizabeth from the rage and fury of her sister queen Mary, by conveying her privately away." Queen Elizabeth afterwards, in 1566, gave him an appointment in the army, and sent him to Ireland "where his services were rewarded by a grant of several lands of great value, and particularly the abbey of Tristernagh, in the county of Westmeath. He was also appointed governor of Carrickfergus, and seneschal of the county of Antrim; we also find him seneschal of Claneboy in 1562; and it was he, says Holingshed, who brought in the head of the rebel Shane O'Neile, for which he received 1000 Marcs." (See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 201—204. *note*). "The Captain Piers here referred to was Wm. Piers, Esq., from whom sir John. Piers, of Tristernagh Abbey, is the ninth in descent. His son, Henry Piers, Esq., of Tristernagh, conformed to the Roman Catholic Church, and prevailed upon his sons to embrace the same faith, of whom Thomas, his third son, became a Franciscan Friar. His great grandson, Sir Henry Piers, of Tristernagh, was the author of a *Chorographical Description of the County of Westmeath*, a work of great merit for the age which produced it. The family residence at Tristernagh is now (1850) in a frightful state of dilapidation, and the family estates much encumbered." See *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. v., p. 1567, *note*.

(80) *Mac Kever.*—See p. 142, *supra*. Mac Connor is probably the correct name. The framers of the act are confused on other points also.

his life, with the losse of his lande and reputation, and thereupon took his journey towards the Scotts, who were incamped in Claneboy (81) to the number of sixe hundred under the leading of Alexander Oge, brother to James MacConell, and one MacGilly Aspuke his nephew, sonne to Agnes Ilye, brother also to the said James which was slain in the late overthrowe given by the said Shane O'Neyle to the Scottes, (82) and so entered the tent of the said Alexander, accompanied with O'Donilles wife, whom hee had kept, Swarley Boye, brother to the said Alexander, the said secretary, and the number of fiftie horsemen, where after a few dissembled gratulatorie words used betwixt them, they fell to quaffing and drinking wine. This Agnes Ilye's sonne, all inflamed with malice and desire of revenge for the death of his father and uncle, began to minister quarrelling talk to Oneyle, who took the same verie hot, and after some reproachfull words past betwixt them the said Gillaspuke demanded of the secretorie, whether hee had bruited abroad, that the ladie, his aunt, wife unto James MacConell, did offer to come out of Scotland into Ireland to marie with Oneile, the secretorie affirmed himselfe to be the author of that report, and said withall, that if his aunt were queen of Scotland, shee might bee well contented to match herselfe with O'Neyle ; the other with that gave him the lye, and said, that the ladie, his aunt, was a woman of that honestie and reputation, as would not take him that was the betrayer and murderer of her worthy husband. Oneyle, giving ear to the talke, began to maintayne his secretorie's quarrel, and thereupon Gillaspuke withdrewe himselfe out of the tent, and came abroad amongst his men, who forthwith raised a fray, and fell to killing of Oneiles men ; and the Scottes, as people thirstie of O'Neiles bloud, for requiting the slaughter of their master and kinsfolke, assembled together in a throng and thrust into the tent, where the said Oneile was, and there with theire slaughter swordes hewed him to pieces, slew his secretorie, and all those that were with him, except a few which escaped by their horses. (83) Alexander Oge, after this bouchery handling of this cruell tyrant, caused his mangled carcasse to be carried to an old ruinous church near unto the camp, where for lack of a better shroud, hee was wrapt in a kerns old shirt, and there miserably interred, (84) a fitt ende for such a beginning, and a funerall pompe convenient for soe great a defacer of God's Temples, and a withstander of his Princes lawes and regall authoritie. And after being four dayes in earth, was

(81) *Claneboy.*—The Scottish camp was in the vicinity of the present village of Cushindun, in the Glynns. The framers of this act were not familiar with northern topography, else they could not have confounded the two equally distinct and well-known territories of Clannaboy and the Glynns.

(82) *To the Scottes.*—For an account of this overthrow in Gleanntaisi, see pp. 133–138, *supra*. The chieftain here incorrectly named *Agnes Ilye*, was Angus Macdonnell, surnamed *Uaibhreach*, who generally resided in Isla. The person who commenced the quarrel with O'Neill's secretary is named in the act both Mac Gilly Aspucke and Gillaspuke. If the former be the correct form of his name he must have been *the son* of Gillaspick, who married a sister of James Macdonnell ; but if Gillaspick was the right word, the person must have been son to Angus of Isla. In either case he would have been nephew of James and Sorley Macdonnell. See p. 142, *supra*.

(83) *By their horses.*—Among those who thus escaped was, probably, Catherine Maclean, 'O'Donnell's wife.' She was cousin to Gillaspick Macdonnell, who began the *melée* in which Shane, her last husband, was slain. She probably returned to her native island of Mull.

(84) *Miserably interred.*—Shane's body is said to have been finally interred in the grounds connected with the old monastery at Glenarm. A local tradition states that soon after his burial there, a friar from Armagh appeared at the gate of the monastery, and was admitted. "Father," said he, addressing the abbot, "I come from our brothers of Armagh to beg that you will permit us to remove the body of the great O'Neill for the purpose of interment in the tomb of his ancestors at Armagh." The abbot at Glenarm paused for a moment before replying—"Have you," said he, "brought with you the remains of James Macdonnell, lord of Antrim and Cantire, who was buried among strangers at Armagh?" The friar answered that he had not brought the wished-for remains. "Then," replied the abbot, "whilst you continue to tread on the grave of James lord of Antrim and Cantire, know ye that

taken up by William Piers, and his head sundred from his bodie was brought into the said lord deputie to Drogheda, the 21st of June, 1567, and from thence carried unto the citie of Dublin, where it was bodied with a stake, and standeth on the top of your Majesties castle of Dublin." See *Irish Statutes*, vol. i. pp. 327, 328.

It was a pleasant time among the authorities of the Pale, when they heard of O'Neill's actual decapitation. They felt a relief—beyond what they could very clearly express—from the strain that had been put upon them all, high and low. In London, the gratification was almost as intense, although the queen could not feel altogether satisfied until she heard that Sorley Boy had taken his departure from Ulster soon after his release. She had got done with Shane, and the next best thing was to have done, for the future, and for ever, with this Antrim chief. So, she lost no time in writing to Sydney, urging him to pay the Scots at once for their going to the Antrim coast on his invitation, and to be careful that they should all return without loss of time to the places whence they came. Sorley, however, was not exactly the man to permit himself and his people to be dealt with in the summary style which the queen and her officials were so determined to adopt. Of all his race, he was perhaps the least disposed to permit the hereditary claim of his family on the Glynns to be thus unceremoniously set aside; and, as for the Route, it had cost so much Clandonnell blood already, and was, withal, such a pleasant place in itself, that he had soon made up his mind to regain what was lost, or perish in the attempt. Although, therefore, he quietly got across the Channel to Cantire on an evening in June, when the sea was smooth as glass, and the shores all around looked their loveliest, yet he did not go before he had ascertained that the Scottish settlers in Antrim generally, remained on their lands. His fortified positions, indeed, from Dunluce to Red Bay, were either broken down, or held by small English garrisons, but this state of affairs he had resolved within himself would soon come to an end. Accordingly he spent the remainder of that summer in the Isles, and among the hills of Argyleshire, and succeeded in forming an alliance between the Campbells and the Clandonnell—an achievement which few, if any but himself was ever able to accomplish. Having collected from both clans eight hundred picked redshanks, he did not think it necessary to ask for permission to return, and his unexpected arrival at Ballycastle Bay on the 27th of November, 1567, was very promptly announced to the government by both Piers and Malbie, two of its most active and intelligent agents in the North. Their letter was dated from Carrickfergus on the 28th—the day after Sorley's arrival; and on the 10th of December, Terence Danyell wrote more fully of his return, stating that so soon as the Scottish force had disembarked, Sorley took occasion to sware solemnly, in the presence of his men, that he would never again "depart Ireland with his good-will"—an oath which he scrupulously kept until his dying day. The resolution to which he then solemnly pledged himself was—not that he would never leave the Irish shore—but that he would never again do so under restraint, or against his will. During the subsequent years he was often in Scotland, forming alliances or collecting re-inforcements, but always returning to the Antrim shore with, as it would appear, a firmer determination to hold his lands against all comers,

we, here in Glenarm, will trample on the dust of your great O'Neill." This tradition has been quoted in nearly the above words by the Rev. G. N. Wright, in his *Guide to the Causeway*, pp. 39, 40. The foundatians of the old abbey walls at Glenarm may still be traced in the cemetery connected with the neat little modern church there.

On his return in the winter of 1567, he re-introduced himself with becoming modesty to the authorities of the Pale, requesting that he might have quiet and immediate possession of the Glynnes, by grant from the crown, which were his family possessions, and also of the lands of Monery and Carey. (85) The government was probably not more surprised by the suddenness of his re-appearance than by the moderate nature of his request, which implied his entire acknowledgement of the queen's authority, even over the lands which belonged to his ancestors. They, however, unwisely hesitated and delayed, until Sorley found that he had no course but one, no alternative but a new appeal to arms. Neither was he slow, when thus compelled, to initiate the quarrel. By the commencement of 1568, the English garrisons along the coast, excepting that of Dunluce, had disappeared, their places being occupied by bands of fierce Islesmen and Highlanders. A few months subsequently, Sorley was the central figure among a number of Ulster lords whom he had drawn around him, and united in a League against the government. Of these, the two most prominent, after Sorley himself, were Brian Mac Felim O'Neill, (86) the chieftain of upper or southern Clannaboy, and Turlough Luinech O'Neill, cousin of Shane, who now renounced his allegiance to the queen, and proclaimed himself the rightful hereditary prince of Ulster. (87) Not satisfied with this important move, Sorley returned to Scotland and secured an alliance with Donnell

(85) *Monery and Carey.*—These two districts are mentioned in the Antrim patents as belonging to the Glynns, although in earlier times they appear to have formed a distinct territory. The other territories of the Glynnes, constituting two-thirds of the whole, belonged to the Bysets, but Monery and Carey were not included in their estate. *Carey* is now a name locally restricted to the parish of Culfeightrin, although it is also the name of a barony including several parishes besides that of Culfeightrin. The early form of the name is *Cathrigia*, from Cathraige, a tribe or sept by whom it was occupied at a remote period. *Monery* is supposed to have been "about co-extensive with the parish of Ramoan and Grange of Drumtullagh." In the grant from the crown to sir Randall Macdonnell, in 1603, the name is written *Munerie;* and in the renewal of this grant by Charles I., it is spelled *Mynirie.* This territorial name in all its forms is now obsolete. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 332.

(86) *O'Neill.*—This chieftain was encouraged by the English to usurp the chieftaincy of both upper and lower Clannaboy, while his uncle sir Con, and his elder brother, Hugh, were held as prisoners in Dublin Castle. Sir Thomas Smith, in 1572, obtained a grant of sir Brian M'Felim's lands, against which the latter indignantly remonstrated in a series of letters, written in eloquent and expressive Latin, dated *à Carrigfergusia*, and signed *Bernardus O'Nele filius Philimei.* The career of this brave chief was suddenly brought to a close by the dastardly Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, who is only known on this coast by deeds of treachery and murder, with the memory of which his name is linked through all time. The assassination of sir Brian Mac Felim O'Neill is thus noticed in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1574:—"Peace, sociality, and friendship were established between Brian, the son of Felim Baccach O'Neill, and the earl of Essex; and a feast was afterwards prepared by Brian, to which the Lord-Justice and the chiefs of his people were invited; and they passed three nights and days together pleasantly and cheerfully. At the expiration of this time, however, as they were agreeably drinking and making merry, Brian, his brother, and his wife, were seized upon by the earl, and all his people put unsparingly to the sword, men, women, youths, and maidens, in Brian's own presence. Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut in quarters. Such was the end of their feast. This unexpected massacre, this wicked and treacherous murder of the lord of the race of Hugh Boy O'Neill, the head and the senior of the race of Eoghain, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and of all the Gaels, a few only excepted, was a sufficient cause of hatred and disgust to the Irish." This massacre happened at Belfast, and two hundred of O'Neill's followers, in attempting to save him, were put to the sword.

(87) *Of Ulster.*—Turlough O'Neill, son of Niall Connelagh, was surnamed *Luinech* from having fostered in a family named O'Luney. Turlough was a cousin-german of Shane, and succeeded to the chieftaincy of the clan on the death of the latter in 1567. He did not obtain this distinction without much debate and strife with Hugh O'Neill, afterwards earl of Tyrone, whom the English backed against Turlough. The clan, however, stood firmly by the latter, whom they had previously chosen tanist, and would accept no chief whom they did not themselves elect. Turlough Luinech warned the government to beware of Hugh O'Neill, whom they had educated and petted, and had thus, as he expressed it, "raised up a whelp they would not easily pull down." Turlough had two castles on the Bann, one at Toome, and one at Coleraine, known as Castleroe. His principal residence was *Dunnalong*, on the Tyrone side of Lough Foyle, six miles above Derry, and about the same distance from Lifford. Few traces of this once-important fortress now remain.

Gorme Macdonnell, the powerful chieftain of Sleat, who is styled in State Papers the lord of the Out Isles. (88) With his assistance, the Antrim chief soon collected a force of 4000 men, which he transferred to the Antrim coast without delay, by means of thirty-two galleys and several boats; and, in the December of 1568, the lords-justices wrote to Cecil that Sorley had landed his army of Scottish Highlanders. There was no opposition on the part of the English to the disembarkation of this formidable host, and, indeed, no campaigning in Ulster during the two following years, so that the Scots for a time were permitted to cultivate their lands, and enjoy the triumph of re-entering them in peace.

This was a really auspicious interval for the Antrim colonists, during which the Ulster League was enlarged and consolidated by two distinguished marriage alliances. The widow of James Macdonnell, known as lady Cantire, (89) and her daughter, Inneen Dubh Macdonnell, became the wives, respectively, of Turlough Luinech O'Neill and young Hugh O'Donnell of Donegal. (90) The lady of Cantire exercised much influence among her own people, the Campbells, and soon after her husband's death, became an object of no common interest with such Ulster chieftains as then happened to be in want of wives. Whether she possessed surpassing personal charms we know not, but she could command the services of multitudinous redshanks, and with Irish chiefs this power on the lady's part constituted a paramount claim, for that leader who could bring the greatest number of Scottish soldiers into the field was always pretty sure to come off victorious. (91) Never was widow, therefore, more interesting in the eyes of Ulster lords than lady Cantire,

(88) *Out Isles.*—See p. 25, *supra.* This chieftain was the then rightful representive of the lord of the Isles, being fourth in descent from Hugh of Sleat, a younger brother of John, who surrendered the island-kingdom in 1493 (see p. 19, *supra*), and whose descendants in the male line became extinct. This Donnell Gorm's father made an unsuccessful effort to be acknowledged in Scotland as king of the Isles, but he was slain when besieging Ellandonan castle, in 1539. By his wife, Margaret Macleod, daughter of Rorie Mor Macleod, of Lewis, he left one son—the Donnell Gorm above-mentioned, who was surnamed *Sassanach*, or the 'Englishman,' from being educated in England, where queen Elizabeth is said to have shown him distinguished attention. He died in 1585, and was succeeded by his son Donnell Mor. See Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, p. 145; see also Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vii., p. 114.

(89) *Lady Cantire.*—See p. 41, *supra.* This lady's jointure-lands lay in Cantire, from which she derived her title. After her union with Turlough Luinech O'Neill, she had also the title of *lady Tyrone.*

(90) *Of Donegal.*—Inneen dubh, at the time of her marriage was much younger than her husband, O'Donnell. The following reference to her noble character as a wife and mother occurs in father Mooney's account of the monastery of Donegal:—"The O'Donnell who then ruled the principality had grown old and feeble; and were it not for the energy of his wife, who possessed the heart of a hero and the mind of a warrior, her younger son, Donnell, would have wrested the wand of chieftaincy from the feeble grasp of his hoary parent. The latter, it is true, had been valiant in his day; but his wars against Turlough O'Neill, then the ally of Queen Elizabeth, and the blood and treasure he lavished defeating domestic treason, rendered him unable to repel the encroachments of the English. To add to his miseries, his eldest son, Hugh, had been captured by the Deputy Perrot, and recommitted to the dungeon of Dublin Castle, after an unavailing effort to baffle his pursuers. A second attempt, however, proved successful; for when the avaricious Fitzwilliam replaced his attainted predecessor, the former for a bribe of a thousand pounds, given, as was said, by the baron of Dungannon, connived at the flight of the illustrious captive, who, after tarrying fourteen days in the fastnesses of Glenmalure, spurred hard across the English Pale, and finally reached his father's castle at Ballyshannon." See Meehan's *Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 11, 12. This extract refers to the facts that whilst the lady's eldest son, Hugh Roe, was in captivity, her youngest son, Donnell, with the connivance of the English, attempted to set aside his father, and usurp the place of his captive brother. His mother, Ineen dubh Macdonnell, prevented this foul attempt from succeeding, by promptly summoning the soldiers of the clan, and at their head, defeating the conspirators on the field.

(91) *Victorious.*—In 1566, sir Francis Knollys, writing from Dublin to Cecil, states it was the general opinion there that three hundred Scottish soldiers were more difficult to vanquish than double that number of Irish, being hardier against changes of climate, and better able to subsist on coarse or scanty fare. Sir William Pelham, a better authority than Knollys on this point, when contrasting the English and Irish soldiers, says:—"Touching the comparison between the soldier of Berwick and the soldier of Ireland, alledging the former to serve in greater toill, yf I give my judgment, all the soldiers of Christen-

and more than one Ulsterman sought her hand, principally, we are afraid, because her hand could bring to the fortunate suitor such an array of bows and battle-axes. At length it was announced that Turlough Luinech O'Neill was to be the fortunate man. His patience, however, must have been pretty severely tested before the marriage alliance could be got finally arranged. His first proposal was forwarded in the November of 1567, through two Irish gentlemen named Ferrall M'Evye and Ferdoragh M'Ananney, the latter being considered the *richest Rhymer in Ireland.* (92) This first proposal of O'Neill was, perhaps, of a too general character, being simply in substance that he would be happy to marry either the lady of Cantire, or her daughter! Negotiations did not progress at that time, probably because he was then in alliance with the English; but in the following year he was leagued with Sorley Boy, and his chances for a Scottish wife were thus considerably increased. M'Ananney, who appears to have remained for a time in Scotland, returned towards the end of 1568, bringing the gratifying intelligence, not only that lady Cantire would become his (O'Neill's) wife, but that her brother, the earl of Argyle, would send him assistance in his then conflict with the English. As a precursor to these distinguished favours, and as an evidence of good-will, Argyle sent to O'Neill a "Taffatae hatt, with a bande sett with bewgles," which, however, the Irish chieftain, for some unexplained reason, declined to accept. (93) Such, at least, was sir Henry Bagenall's (94) account, in a letter written from Carlingford

dom must give place in that to the soldier of Ireland, and for so much difference as is between an alderman of London and a Berwick soldier." See Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1st series, p. 302; *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii,, p. 344.

(92) *In Ireland.*—Among the native Irish, many of their rhymers or bards held high rank, and even were able to accumulate large fortunes. The chief rhymers had extensive lands granted to them by the chieftains of the clans to which they belonged, and whose martial exploits were generally the themes of their song. Many of them were thus enabled to live in stately mansions, and in the exercise of charity and hospitality. It is ascertained from State records that the rentals of chief bards, in many instances, showed yearly incomes of four and five thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of guerdons received from princes and chiefs. In the year 1387, Niall O'Neill, king of Ulster, founded a house at Armagh for the special accommodation of the bardic tribe during periodical assemblies, in which they met to discuss the best means of promoting literature in its various branches. At the years 1434 and 1507, the Four Masters state that Maclisa Mac Namee and Solomon Mac Namee were chief poets or rhymers to the O'Neills. Of the latter, they add that he "was a man learned in poetry, philosophy, and literature, and kept a house of hospitality." Turlough Luinech O'Neill, who represented the earlier princes of Ulster, had evidently the services of the same bardic family, for MacAnanney and MacNamee are the same name although assuming different forms at different periods. The O'Gneeves or Agnews were the poets of the minor branch of Clannaboy O'Neills, and are said to have had their residence in a romantic old castle, the ruins of which may yet be seen on a rock off Ballygellie headland, on the Antrim coast. When the O'Gneeves dwelt there they were called *Agnews*, according to a tradition of the district preserved by Richard Dobbs in his *Briefe Description of the County of Antrim.* See Appendix II.; see also Publications of the *Ossianic Society*, vol. v., *Preface*, pp. xxii.—xxvi.

(93) *To accept.*—Presentations of dress were usual among great people, but only on what might be considered great occasions. In 1566, when Shane O'Neill was pressed by the government and the O'Donnells, he sent for assistance to this same fourth earl of Argyle, and as a means of doing honour to the latter, O'Neill forwarded to him at Inverary the rich apparel which Henry VIII. had bestowed upon his father, Con O'Neill, when creating him an earl. See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 100, *note.*

(94) *Bagenall.*—Henry Bagenall, son of sir Nicholas, was a well known and distinguished officer. He wrote a *Description of Ulster*, in 1586, which was considered a valuable account at the time. The feud between Bagenall and Hugh O'Neill is well-known. He refused to encounter O'Neill in single combat, when the latter challenged him on one occasion—"nay slunk away like a craven, although Tyrone offered to allow the dastard to come armed from head to foot, against him (O'Neill) in hose and jerkin, to encourage him the rather to accept the challenge. Bagenall was valiant enough with the pen, when indicting charges of covert treason against Tyrone—a perfect master of fence when nothing but the pen was needed to deal an assassin thrust; but when there was a question of cold, glittering steel, his heart melted within him like wax. In fact, like the pedant King James who now reigns, he trembled at the sight of a drawn sword." See Meehan's *Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 30.

to the lords-justices. On the 19th of March there was a letter from Malbie to Cecil, (95) informing him that the two ladies, mother and daughter, were coming from Scotland as wives for O'Neill and O'Donnell, and that a certain captain Thornton held himself in readiness to intercept them at sea. A month later, both Fitzwilliam (96) and Bagenall wrote to the queen from Carrickfergus, stating that James Macdonnell's widow intended to reach Ireland about the last day of April, and that, in the meantime, she had sent a bark to Loughfoyle with victuals. (97) The ladies, however, did not come so soon as either their friends or enemies had expected, the whole summer being spent in negotiations between the authorities in Dublin and Cantire, on the subject of Ulster affairs generally, and these two contemplated marriages in particular. At length came an *ultimatum* from Cantire, which was reported by the Irish deputy to Cecil in the month of November, and which announced in substance that should queen Elizabeth assist Mary queen of Scots in the difficulties with which the latter was then beset, (98) the earl of Argyle would minister all neighbourly offices in Ulster, but otherwise he would invade this province in person, with an army of 5000 men. And as for James Macdonnell's widow, she was willing to match with an Irishman, provided she and her sons might enjoy the inheritance that her late husband and his ancestors held in Ireland for seven generations; (99) but if not, then as long as any of the Clandonnell lived, their title to these lands would never be relinquished, or undefended. These were decisive terms, and in addition to them, or rather in explanation of the spirit in which they were to be understood, lord Herries expressed himself in a manner, as reported by Fitzwilliam, "full of the rancour of a ranck Skotte!"

Lady Cantire and her daughter postponed their nuptial excursion until the following summer,

(95) *Cecil.*—William Cecil, lord Burghley, born in 1520, is deservedly placed at the head of English statesmen of the sixteenth century, not only for his great abilities, but also his unwavering attachment to the best interests of his sovereign, queen Elizabeth. He was appointed secretary of State at the early age of twenty. In 1549, he fell for a time, with the fall of protector Somerset; but in 1551, he was restored to his situation, knighted, and made a member of the privy council. During the reign of Mary, he was contented to remain in comparative obscurity, being a member of parliament, however, representing his native county of Lincoln. On the accession of Elizabeth, he was forthwith appointed prime minister—a position which he occupied for the long period of forty years. In 1561, he was appointed master of the Court of Wards, and in 1572, lord high treasurer. He died in the year 1598, being then seventy-eight years of age, and in actual possession of all the onerous offices above-mentioned. See Nichol's *Autographs*.

(96) *Fitzwilliam.*—William Fitzwilliam was born in 1526, and early in life had attained to the important position of marshall of the King's Bench. On the death of Edward VI., he promptly joined in the proclaiming of Mary as queen, by whom he was afterwards duly honoured. He and sir John Allen were sent to this country as delegates for the management of the crown property, which was then enormous. In 1555, Fitzwilliam was appointed keeper of the great seal, and his intimate knowledge of Ireland induced Elizabeth to raise him to the office of lord deputy in 1559—a position which he held three times. He died in 1599. (See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 176.) "Fitzwilliam was one of the most sordid men that ever filled that high office, and, like Perrot, he turned the deputyship to good account, never scrupling any atrocity that might help him to fill his coffers. He was in sooth a very miser, and you are aware that he went to Connaught, when he heard that some ships of the Armada were stranded on the coast, and laid waste whole territories of the Irish chiefs, because they would not, or could not, give him the Spanish gold, which was said to have been found on the persons of the shipwrecked sailors." Meehan's *Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 67.

(97) *Victuals.*—If this bark was not laden with delicacies, specially intended for the distinguished party soon expected to follow, we have here an evidence of the scarcity which must have then prevailed in Ulster.

(98) *Then beset.*—Elizabeth did not certainly assist her kinswoman. When the latter escaped to England, instead of giving her a home and protection, she immured her during eighteen years in a prison, from which she was only set free by the headsman.

(99) *Seven generations.*—From the year 1399, the date of John Mor Macdonnell's marriage with Margery Byset, to the year 1568, the time referred to in the text, was about seven generations.

probably influenced by some weighty considerations of state. However, in the month of July, 1569, the channel was dotted over with white-winged galleys, bringing the distinguished parties from Cantire and the Isles. Whilst this sight gladdened the hearts of the Antrim Scots, it created a panic amongst the agents of the government in the north, (100) who did not fail to forward speedy intelligence of the movement to the authorities in the Pale. Piers wrote first to the lord chancellor, informing him that James Macdonnell's wife had come with an army of Scots, sent by the earl of Argyle, and adding that he (Piers), contrary to his expectation, had not been able to muster as many men as would enable him to take the field with any hope of success. The marriage of Turlough Luinech O'Neill with lady Cantire was celebrated in the lovely little island of Rathlin, but unfortunately the notice of this affair in the State Papers is very meagre indeed. Fitzwilliam, writing to Cecil, on the 12th of September, announces that Turlough Luinech "was 14 days in the Raghlins, and there concluded his marriage with James M'Donnell's late wife." Had the bride and groom been a youthful pair we might imagine that the island was selected for the celebration of this event because of its romantic position and surroundings; but as Turlough was a widower, the father of a family, and lady Cantire the mother of many sons, the choice of Rathlin as their wedding place was probably dictated by some considerations of prudence. But whether or not, there required, no doubt, extensive preparations to be made on the island for the accommodation of such a large and distinguished party as there assembled. (101) It is curious that in the preceding summer, when the marriage was expected to take place, Terence Danyell wrote to the lords

(100) *In the north.*—This panic was considerably intensified by an old prophecy, supposed by the Irish of Ulster to refer to the family of O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, and in particular to the marriage of its chief with a Scottish woman. When, long afterwards, Ineen Dhu Macdonnell's gallant son, Hugh Roe, became so troublesome to the government, the members of the privy council, during the time of Fitzwilliam being deputy, were alarmed at the interpretation then put upon the old prophecy, and actually requested the archbishop of Tuam to give his opinion as to its import. "Concerning O'Donnell and his country," wrote sir W. Fitzwilliam, "this is to be noted: First, this young O'Donnell, who brake prison from Dublin, is born of a Scottish woman, James M'Donnell's daughter, by whose forward means, her son, now O'Donnell, hopeth to be fully assisted out of Scotland, to bring to pass some old prophecy which flieth amongst them in no small request, importing that when two Hughs lawfully, lineally, and immediately succeed each other, as O'Donnells, the last Hugh shall forsooth be a monarch in Ireland, and banish thence all foreign nations and conquerors. This prophecy setteth this young O'Donnell in great conceit of himself, and doth much allure the people wedded to such fancies to flatter, follow, and favour him." See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 254.

(101) *There assembled.*—This little island has often been the scene of tragical events, but it has also witnessed many festive and happy gatherings. Some time, about the commencement of the *first* century, a more distinguished party than even Sorley Boy and these wedding guests assembled there to witness the nuptials of a prince named Conghail Clarainech, afterwards king of Ireland, and the beautiful daughter of a Tuatha de Danann ruler in Rathlin. Among the guests of that long-vanished assembly, were the king of Lochlan or Norway, with his queen Bebeire, and his daughter Berida, and his two sons Naoise or Angus, and Arall or Harald; an Ulster prince named Fergus; Muireadhach, a son of the king of Alba; Anadhal, a son of the king of Connaught; Criomthan, son of Fergus fairge; Lathairne, a prince from whom the town of Larne has its name; Fiachtna, surnamed *fionn*, or fair-haired, and many others. An account of this banquet is preserved in an historical tract, entitled the "*Battles of Congal Clarainech.*" This tract forms part of the rich manuscript materials in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. [For a lengthened and most interesting extract referring to the island of Rathlin, see Appendix V.] Although during the middle ages, and in more modern times, Rathlin was claimed and held as belonging to the kingdom of the Isles, (see p. 13, *supra*), yet in more remote periods, this island was known as part and parcel of the Antrim Glynns. So early as the sixth century, there arose a dispute on certain territorial questions, between the Dalriads of Erinn and Alba. This dispute was settled at the celebrated council of Dromceatt, through the agency of St. Columba. Among the *Carew Papers* is a volume numbered 621, and the contents of folios 40 and 41 have been calendared as follows:—"St Columba I. The judgment of Columbanus, whereby it appears that the seven Toaghes of the Glinnes and the Isle of Raghlins are Irish ground, in anno 563. (Taken from the "Book of the Life of St. Columba.") II. A translation of an Irish Book written of the Life of St. Columba, concerning the seven Toaghes of the Glinnes, called Dalriada, whereof the island of the Raghlin was a parcel, in the year of our Lord 563." *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, 5th series, pp. 344, 456.

justices, informing them that "Sorley Boy had *passed two nights in the Glynns, cutting wattles to build in the Raghlins.*" This timber may have been probably intended to repair the old castle, or build temporary dwellings for the guests. As the ceremony took place in the month of August the island no doubt looked its best, being always more attractive at that season than any other. The fields, then "fading green and yellow," contrast most vividly with the blue waters which lie placidly at the base of the weather-beaten cliffs. If the guests felt somewhat imprisoned during their fourteen days of festivity, they must have also felt that never was island-prison more pleasant or attractive. If they occasionally lifted their eyes at all from the wild beauties of the island to look at the Antrim shore, the views east and west were such as they could have hardly ever afterwards forgotten.

The Scots had now another interval of comparative peace, for so many of their countrymen had arrived about the time of the two distinguished marriage alliances abovementioned, that the forces of the northern chieftains were thus amply and efficiently recruited. This improved state of affairs continued until the summer of 1572, when rumours of a most formidable English invasion, which was to come direct from Liverpool to the Antrim coast, created a violent excitement throughout Ulster. The northern League, which had shown symptoms of dissolution, was re-invigorated, and the redshanks became once more the most important people of Ulster. The leader of this invading host was Walter Devereux viscount Hereford, created earl of Essex in 1572. Like other restless spirits in England who sought this country, Essex saw in Ireland an attractive field, where he might be able not only to exhibit a chivalrous gratitude to the queen for the earldom she had conferred, but also to reap a rich harvest of wealth and renown for himself. The queen, having granted the estates of sir Brian Mac Felim O'Neill to sir Thomas Smith and his son, was soon doomed to hear of the fatal results produced by that glaring act of injustice. Sir Brian continued to remonstrate until the grant to the Smiths had been duly confirmed; when he found, however, that the lands which were held by his ancestors during a period, as he stated, "of fourteen descents," had been actually handed over to an English stranger (see Appendix IV.), he commenced a formidable rebellion, sweeping the districts occupied by the English with fire and sword, and burning the town of Carrickfergus. Of course sir Brian was fiercely denounced in England as a most audacious rebel. Stout volunteers offered their services to assist in crushing him, and, at the same time, the Scots, his allies, who, with equal audacity, had not only seized the Route and Glynns, but had overrun the lower Clannaboy, which the queen claimed as her own. Here was work for Essex, and he was not slow in taking it up.

It is curious, that although Essex came to Carrickfergus breathing out threatenings, especially against Sorley Boy and his Scots, he appears soon to have found some reason for mitigating the sternness of his resolves in this particular. At first he had received a feigned submission from sir Brian Mac Felim, in consequence of which he informed Burghley that he had suffered the "Irishry to reap their corn quietly," and had even generously handed over to them (the Irish) "all the Scots harvest." This policy on his part, according to his own account, had brought matters to such a happy condition that "without loss or danger, men may travel already almost as far as the Bann, and the other way through the Ardes into the English Pale in effect." This was written on the 10th of September, but on the 2nd of November, the whole aspect of affairs had changed. Sir Brian had

brought his creaghts, consisting of 10,000 head of cattle, to the vicinity of Carrickfergus, as an earnest of his submission, but on discovering Essex's real want of means, he removed his cattle, having of course neither the wish nor the power to meddle with "the Scots' harvest." On the other hand, Sorley Boy, who "had bound himself with an oath to maintain the war" against Essex, now rather rose in the estimation of the latter, so that by the 1st of November he was inclined to take Sorley by the hand as an assistant against the 'Irishry!' The following is a part of Essex's 'instructions' to the council in England, through Waterhouse:—"I wish it might come in question whether it were necessary to use his (Sorley's) service against the Irish, who willfully have refused the grace and mercy of her Majesty, broken their fidelity, and vowed confederacy in rebellion. If it be thought the less ill to retain him, than to bound him to a place certain, and a number certain, to make him a denizen, and assign him a service in lieu of rent, as captain of her Majesty's kerne, which he, being a mercenary man and a soldier, will easily consent unto; time, hereafter, and law, shall keep him within bounds, and a stronger force than his own shall ever master him; and, as I am informed, there is not within his circuit any commodious landing-place. You may enlarge this matter as you think good; which, though it threaten peril, yet a continual eye being had upon him, time may disarm him, and make him a plague in the mean season to the obstinate Irish." See *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, first series, p. 449; *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i., pp. 35, 36.

But Sorley Boy had not the most distant idea of permitting himself thus to be made an instrument in Essex's hands, for the injury of his own allies—the Irishry. Indeed, it is quite evident from these and similar suggestions on the part of Essex, that he knew nothing of this gallant and sagacious Macdonnell, who presented himself, in reality to find out through Smith, the true sentiments and intentions of Elizabeth, in reference to the Antrim Scots, now that she had pretty good proof of their ability to hold the northern coast. Essex states that "Sorleyboy hath made petition for a portion of the Glinnes claimed by him by inheritence from the Missets (Bysets), that the same might be confirmed unto him by her Majesty's gift, for which he would serve her Majesty against all other; which inheritance, he saith, was bounded and limited in the time of the government of Mr. Comptroller and of my lord Chamberlain." (See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, first series, p. 449). The arrangement above referred to was mooted during the administration of Sussex, who afterwards held the office of chamberlain when Essex was in Ulster; but the 'inheritance' of Sorley Boy, as "bounded and limited" by Sussex, included much more than a portion of the Glynns. What Essex represents here as a submission on the part of the Antrim lord was simply a conference between him and colonel Smith, during which, among other matters he stated his wish to obtain letters of denization from the queen. All Scots, when settling in Ireland, required such letters, and even the children of Scottish parents, although born here, required to obtain them, if their parents had neglected to do so. At this interview, it would appear, Sorley had expressed some anxiety on the subject (probably a feigned anxiety), and forthwith the matter was communicated to the queen. (102)

(102) *To the queen.*—On the 29th of May, 1573, this colonel Thomas Smith forwarded to London an account of his "colloquy," or interview with Sorley Boy, "who possesseth the Glynnes." According to Smith's account, Sorley wished to have himself and his made denizens by patent, and enjoy the liberties of marriage. In other

In a very short time afterwards came letters patent, granting denization to Sorley. "We are given to understand," says the queen, "that a nobleman named Sorley Boy, and others who be of the Scotch-Irish race, and some of the wild Irish, at this time are content to acknowledge our true and mere right to the countie of Ulster and the crowne of Ireland, to profess due obedience to us and our crowne of England and Ireland, and to swear to be true subjects to us and our successors, as others our natural subjects born in the English Pale be, or ought to be, submitting themselves to our laws and orders, upon condition that they may be received as denizens of England and Ireland; and we (being willing by all gentle means to bring the strayed sheep home again to the right fold, and to maintain peace and quietness in the realm, and to refuse none that will acknowledge their duty) are content that any mere Irish, or Scotch-Irish, or other strangers who claim inheritance, or shall hold any lands, or be resident in any place which is within our grant made to Sir Thomas Smith and Thomas, his son, now Colonel of the Ards and Claneboy, who will be sworn to be true lieges to us and our successors (as the denizen strangers do sware in the Chancery of England), before the said Thomas Smith, junior, (103) or the Bishop of Down (104) accompanied with other discreet persons, and from that day be content to hold their lands of us and the said Colonel, and shall yearly pay to us 20s for every plowland as all Englishmen, followers of the said Smith, pay, shall be reputed and taken for denizens and not for mere Irish; and that the said Smith, or the bishop of Down, may take the said oath during the space of seven years; and upon a certificate of the Colonel of any person or persons having taken the said oath, the Lord Deputy or Chancellor shall order letters of denizenship to be passed to him, or them, including twelve in each patent, if it should be considered convenient." See Morrin's *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery* first series, p. 553.

This grant could not have been considered of much, if any value, by Sorley Boy, as it does not

words, he did not wish that the queen should have the wardship of any or all of his sons and daughters, which wardship in his case would have been a very oppressive affair indeed. Smith, in forwarding this communication, recommended that Sorley should be induced to *profess the reformed religion*, probably as a relief from the oppressions of wardship and marriage, which fell with additional severity on Roman catholics. See Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, 1st series, p. 508.

(103) *Thomas Smith, junior.*—This gentleman was slain in the month of October, 1573, (see p. 152, *supra*), at the instigation of Niall O'Neill, son of Brian surnamed *Fagartach*. Essex, writing to Burghley, from Carrickfergus, on the 20th of October, says:—"The same day at my coming home I received letters from Mr. Moore, the pensioner, and from a brother at Mr. Secretary's, that his son Thomas Smith had been slain in the Ardes that afternoon; which, as I have since learned, was by the revoltings of certain Irishmen of his own household, to whom he overmuch trusted, whereof one being retained by a rebel, Brian Erto O'Neill, did kill him with a shot, and was stricken in the head; his men finding his house scant guardable, have sent unto me for a band of horsemen to convey them to Mr. Moore's at Holywood, which this day I have sent unto them; and because some of Mr. Secretary's kinsmen, and one of his brothers, who beheld this misfortune, do now repair unto him, and can better testify the circumstance of his death, I refer to them the report thereof, being sorry of the mishap, which has given the Irishmen great cause of rejoicing." Essex, when afterwards accounting for the manner in which he had employed his own soldiers, says, in writing to the queen, on March 31, 1575:—"Indeed, upon the death of sir Thomas Smith's son, I gave Mr. Moore, your majesty's pensioner, some countenance in the Ardes, by a few men in wages, and after maintained a ward in his house when he was slain." Camden's account of the result of Smith's attempt at colonisation is as follows:—"After he (sir Thomas) had been at great expense, his natural son whom he had appointed governor, was surprised, and thrown alive to dogs by the Irish; but the abandoned wretches suffered the punishment of their cruelty, being slain, and given to wolves." (*Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. iv., p. 422.) Camden gives no authority for this story as to the frightful manner of Smith's death, and we have not elsewhere met with it, nor heard of it, as being in any State document.

(104) *Bishop of Down.*—This dignitary was Christopher Browne, who had been a prebendary of St. Patrick's, and was warmly recommended to the bishopric of Down as "discreet and learned in the Irish language." See Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1st series, pp. 484, 495.

appear to have affected in the least degree his relations with his allies, the Irishry commanded by the O'Neills. On the contrary, only three months after this grant, he and his allies confronted the troops of the Pale as far south as Newry,—in fact at their own doors,—disputing the possession of that place during a long summer day, or from eight o'clock in the morning until six in the evening. (105) About the time also of his denization, he had received a royal grant of as much of the Glynns as had belonged to the Bysets, being only about two-thirds; but Sorley thought he had good enough title to that portion already, and was disappointed that the grant did not include the whole Glynns, and the territory of the Route also. It is mentioned in a Macdonnell manuscript, that when the queen's patent arrived, Sorley did not receive it with becoming gratitude, but, on the contrary, adopted a rather demonstrative method of expressing his disregard of the royal authority. In the court-yard of his castle, and in presence of his principal officers, he placed the queen's patent and its accompanying documents on the point of his sword, and thrust them into a fire kindled specially for the occasion,—announcing, at the same time, that he intended to hold his lands by his sword, and not by royal favour! This incident must have occurred soon before Essex finally disappeared from Ulster. (106)

Among the various arrangements which Sydney imagined, and even reported afterwards, that he had made in the Route and Glynns, one specially referred to the island of Rathlin. In 1575, Essex discovered therein a "castle of very great strength," and recommended that one hundred men should be stationed in it, sixty to remain on the island, and the remaining forty to be employed principally in carrying water and provisions to their brothers from the mainland! It was his (Essex's) firm conviction that such a force would do better service there against the Scots and Irish than three times their number at any other point in the North. Essex had been only able to station forty men in Rathlin; and Sydney, making a virtue of necessity, had these unfortunate men removed after two months of suffering and privation, which they never afterwards could forget. Sydney refers to the matter as if it were entirely optional whether these men should remain or remove; but if, as he reported, the Route and Glynns were full of corn and cattle, and the "Scotte verie hawtie and proud by reason of the late victories he hath had against our men, fynding the baseness of their courages," the *truth* most probably was, that he had got a pretty decided intimation from Sorley Boy to have them removed without delay. Removed forthwith they were, Sydney explaining in

(105) *Evening.*—This fact is mentioned in a letter from Fitzwilliam to Burghley, dated at Kilmainham on the 30th June. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, first series, p. 515; see also a letter from sir Nicholas Bagenall, expressing fears, July 25, of another attack on Newry by Sorley Boy and his allies the O'Neills, p. 519.

(106) *From Ulster.*—Essex wrote his last communication from Ulster, at Newry, on the 31st of July, 1575. He thence went to Dublin, where, after a brief delay, he passed into England, taking up his abode for a time at Durham House, on the south side of the Strand; the site of this residence is now occupied by the Adelphi. From this place he issued several letters to the queen and others bemoaning his hard fate, at the same time selling off the remainder of his estate to meet a debt of £25,000 expenses incurred in his attempt against Ulster, besides the £10,000, at first borrowed from the queen. The remainder of his property, however, only sold for £10,500, leaving him thus £15,000 in debt. He then returned to Dublin, to look after his grants of Farney and Island-Magee, but died at the metropolis, in September, 1576, under the influence, it was said, of poison administered at the instigation of Leicester. In a poem entitled *Leicester's Ghost*, there occurs the following:—

> "The valiant Earl whom absent I did wrong
> In breaking Hymeneus' holy band,
> In Ireland did protract the time too long,
> While some in England ingled underhand,
> And at his coming homeward to this land,
> He died with poison, as they say, infected,
> Not without cause, for vengeance I suspected."

—See Somers' *Tracts*, vol. i., p. 275.

his report that the men had suffered greatly, that Rathlin was an expensive and useless station, and that it could be easily retaken at any time, when necessary. "The Fort of the Raghlins I cawsed to be abandoned," said he, "for that I saw little purpose for the present to keepe it; so small commoditie at so great a charge to her majestie, being a place so difficult to be victualled; they within the Piece having no fresh water to relieve them, which, with greate danger to themselves, they are forced to fetch abroade. The souldiers I cawsed to be brought hence, being 40 in number; they confessed that in this small tyme of their continuance there, they were driven to kill their horses and eat them, and to feed on theim, and young coltes' flesh, one moneth before they came away, soch extremitie they endured for victuals; it is a Piece verie easy to be wonne at any tyme, but very chardgious and hard to be held." Unhappy Sassanach soldiers, the fresh sea-breezes only added to their misery by improving their appetites! There were myriads of fish, and almost every bird "that dips the wing in water," all around them. Raghery never wanted puffins, which are easily caught, and, when *skinned*, make a wholesome repast in time of need; but the Saxon veterans, it seems, could see or think of no victims smaller than their horses! The island is also most liberally supplied with fresh water, having two lakes and thirty-three springs, which, certainly, did not all burst into existence since the year 1575. Lough Claggan in the north-west covers about a dozen of acres, and the waters of Runaolin in the south-east extend over a space of at least thirty acres. Within less than a quarter of a mile from the castle where these men were stationed, there is a well as remarkable as it is delicious and abundant, its waters rising and falling with the tide, although more than one hundred feet above the level of the surrounding sea,

In connexion with this island, Sydney mentions an atrocious exploit in which he himself took part, and to which he refers with evident pride. When vice-treasurer of Ireland, he accompanied Sussex, the lord-deputy, on two hostings to the north, in 1556 and 1557. "The second journey," says he, "the Earl of Sussex made into those quarters of Ulster, he sent me and others into the island of Raghlyns, where before, in the time of Sir James Croft's deputyship, Sir Raulf Bagnall, Captain Cuff, and others sent by him, landed little to their advantage (see p. 50, *supra*), for there were they hurt and taken, and the most of their men that landed either killed or taken, but we landed more politicly and safely, and encamped in the isle until we had spoiled the same,—all mankind, corn, and cattle in it." (*Calendar of Carew MSS*, second series, p. 359). Sydney's party were more fortunate than their brother freebooters, for they evidently had to meet no enemy. They landed quietly, and encamped in some green nook until they had time to destroy all the crops and cattle, and to murder in cold blood every man, woman, and child, on the island! Sydney did not evidently like to say anything of women and children, but they were included in his phrase, "all mankind," as applied to the inhabitants. On his first journey with Sussex to the north, in the previous year, 1556, he says he performed an exploit, which, by the way, no one else ever mentioned, or perhaps ever heard of. "In the first journey," says he, "that the Earl of Sussex made, I killed James Mac O'Nell (M'Connell) a mighty captain of Scots." Now, the only mighty captain of Scots ever known of this name was James Macdonnell, the eldest brother of Sorley Boy, who, in the year mentioned by Sydney, had, in conjunction with his brother Colla, established himself as lord of the Route, in despite of all the efforts of both the English and the Macquillins. If there

had been any other "*mighty captain*" so called, he would have been frequently named and well known. James Macdonnell, *the* mighty captain, was living ten years after this deed performed upon him by Sydney; and therefore Sydney, in this, as in several other instances, must have 'drawn the long bow' to a very considerable extent.

Although the territories of the Route and Glynns exhibited such unmistakeable evidences of prosperity under the powerful sway of Sorley Boy, Sydney strenuously recommended that he should be expelled forthwith, as a very troublesome usurper. He would have restored the Glynns to the sons of James Macdonnell, thus ignoring altogether the Celtic law of tanistry (see p. 41, *supra*). The Clandonnell in Antrim wanted to hold their territories against English intrusion, and Sorley Boy was their adopted leader, simply because he was the most efficient and trustworthy for the purpose in hand. Sydney was, no doubt, influenced on this question by his interviews with lady Cantire, and her appeals on behalf of her sons. Writing to Walshyngham, he speaks of the lady as follows :—"And truly, sir, I found her a good counsellor to him (Turlough Luinech), a well-willer to peace, and a reverent speaker of the Queen's majesty. She would still persuade him to content himself to be a subject, alleging many examples of her own country of Scotland, where there was many as great potentates as he was, and her own brother or nephew, the Earl of Argyle (I wott not whether, but daughter she was to an Earl of Argyle), (107) who challenged as much *jura regalia* and other sovereignties as he could, and yet contented themselves to submit their causes to laws of the realme, and themselves to the king's pleasure. In truth, sir, she was a grave, wise, well-spoken lady, both in Scotch, English, and French, and very well mannered." This lady Cantire was also styled lady *Tyrone*, after her marriage with Turlough Luinech O'Neill. By this alliance she evidently hoped that she had thus a better chance of securing for her sons the family estates of the Glynns. As a general rule, her policy was peace with the government, and union of all parties, when possible, against Sorley Boy. She figures in the State Papers, either as wise, amiable, and accomplished, or the reverse, just as she is found to declare, from time to time, for or against the government. Thus, in 1575, Ralph Bagenall finds her a "verie nobell, wysse woman, and as dutyfullie using herself to further the Queen's service every waye, as if she weare a naturall borne subjecte;" whilst in 1577, Sydney, whose eulogistic account of her we have quoted above, had entirely changed his mind, and wrote to the council in London that Turlough Luinech had become again rebellious, owing to the "lewd counsel of his wife," who had "a design to make her younger sons by James Macdonnell *stark* in Ireland!" Many passages might thus be quoted from the State Papers for and against the lady, but they really contain no evidence one way or other, as to her real character. At the time of her marriage the great northern League had been already formed, and as Sorley Boy was the virtual strength of this association, lady

(107) *Of Argyle.*—This lady Cantire was the daughter of Colin, third earl of Argyle, who had some serious difficulties with James V., in the course of which Argyle was stripped pretty sharply of his *jura regalia*. The king began to reflect that Argyle had received too extensive powers as lieutenant over the Highlands and Isles. Argyle was deprived, therefore, of his commission against the Isles, and of his honours, but was allowed to hold his great estates. This lady Cantire's brother, the fourth earl, eventually succeeded in regaining almost all the dignities enjoyed by his father and grandfather—among which may be mentioned the offices of lieutenant of the borders, warden of the marches, hereditable sheriff of Argyleshire, justiciar-general of Scotland, and master of the king's household. See pp. 45, 150, *supra*.

Cantire could only wait and watch for some opportunity to advocate the claims of her sons. She was thus placed in a difficult position, for Sorley Boy, whom it would have been her interest and her wish to weaken, was thoroughly sustained by those multitudinous Scots drawn to Ulster by the marriages of herself and her daughter.

During the ten years succeeding Essex's departure, the Antrim Scots enjoyed a period of comparative quiet, with the exception of occasional alarms and annoyances caused by the English garrisons at Carrickfergus and Coleraine. Whatever rumours of wars circulated in the interval throughout the Route and Glynns, during the administrations of Sydney, sir William Drury, (108) and lord Grey, (109) there was no actual fighting. The best generals and craftiest politicians at the queen's command had done their utmost for the expulsion of the Scots, but hitherto in vain. Sorley Boy once more reigned without a rival on the coast, whilst his authority was paramount in northern Clannaboy, and throughout several territories beyond the Bann. During those halcyon days his people literally exchanged their swords for ploughshares, and their Lochaber axes for pruning-hooks. (110) The fields began to assume the shapes and dimensions which many of them retain to the present day, particularly in the Glynns, whilst herds of cattle appeared on the hill-sides and plains. As a general rule, when the Scots had breathing-time from the woeful work of war, they aimed at the accumulation of property in cattle, each settler in the Route and Glynns paying rent at first, not according to the arable value of the land, but according to the number of cows he was able to put on the common pasturage. These cows were counted twice each year, on the 12th of May and the 12th of November, any defaulter in rent forfeiting a cow, or cows, as the case might be. The peace and prosperity then enjoyed by the Scots had no small attractions for their countrymen on the Highland hills and in the bleak outer Isles. The two distinguished marriage-alliances, however, already mentioned, at p. 151, *supra*, had greatly increased the influx of Scottish settlers at this crisis. In the autumn of 1580, sir Nicholas Malbie, writing to the earl of Leicester, (111) refers to this fear-inspiring fact as follows:—"Here is a great bruit of 2000 Scots landed in Clandeboye. Tyrlagh Lenagh's marriage with the Scot is cause of all this, and if her Majesty do not provide against her devices, this Scottish woman will make a new Scotland of Ulster.

(108) *Drury.*—Sir William Drury's native place was Hawstead, in the county of Suffolk. In 1575, the queen appointed him president of Munster, and during the few years of his holding that office, he aimed at thwarting and weakening the authority of the great earl of Desmond. On the departure of Sydney in September, 1578, sir William Drury was sworn in lord-justice of Ireland—an office which he held until the time of his death in September, 1579, at Waterford.

(109) *Lord Grey.*—Arthur lord Grey of Wilton, was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland in July, 1580, after sir William Pelham had held the office of lord-justice from the date of Drury's death. It is curious that lord Grey's patent to the office does not appear to have been ever inrolled. (See *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, part ii,, p. 4.) He came reluctantly to Ireland, having expected some more congenial appointment from the queen.

(110) *Pruning-hooks.*—A similar interval of peace had preceded the advent of Essex. Referring to that period, Sydney has the following severe reflection on the administration of the former:—"And surely, sir, so it (the peace) might have been kept, if the violent and intempestyne proceeding of the Earl of Essex and his followers had not ben; for undoubtedlie treasure, horses, victualls, and other furniture, as well for the warre as husbandtry, was spent and spoyled in that his enterprise, whereof came no good."—See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 96.

(111) *Leicester.*—Robert Dudley, a younger son of that duke of Northumberland who was beheaded for proclaiming lady Jane as queen. Dudley was created earl of Denbigh, September 28, 1563, and earl of Leicester on the following day. In 1575, he gave the queen a memorable entertainment at Kenilworth castle, which lasted seventeen days, and cost £60,000. The full details of this grand affair are very fully recorded in Nichol's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., pp. 420—526. Leicester died in 1588.

She hath already planted a good foundation; for she in Tyrone, and her daughter in Tyrconnell, do carry all the sway in the North, and do seek to creep into Connaught, but I will stay them from that." This increase of Scottish settlers, however, furnished sir John Perrot (112) with the pretext for another crusade against the North. He was naturally a lover of war and spoil, and being appointed deputy in 1584, he appears to have early made up his mind to signalise his administration by the expulsion of the Scots. Their daily increasing numbers was the argument employed to the queen and council in justification of this wicked project; and, indeed, Perrot was moreover confirmed in his resolution by the discovery that his victims had become so comfortable in their worldly condition as to be well worth the spoiler's attention. He informed the council that he had intended at first "to look through his fingers at Ulster, as a fit receptacle for all the savage beasts of the land"—in other words, to let Ulster alone, and permit the Scots there to follow their own ways; but he adds, the arrival of "many Scots," among whom were "Mac Ilanes" sons, had altered his peaceful intentions. Two sons of Maclean of Mull had visited Ulster among other Scottish adventurers, and, according to Perrot's account, had greatly excited his suspicions and fears.

Once more, therefore, the forces of the Pale, and others whom the Pale was able to command, were arrayed against the Antrim Scots. The first intimation we have in the State Papers of this bloody business is a letter to Perrot from the English council, dated August 15, 1584, informing him that arrangements had been made to send soldiers, treasure, and victuals from England to repel the *Scottish invasion*. Next, there is a letter from the Irish secretary, Fenton, (113) to the English council, stating that he has been appointed to "attend in the Northern journey," reporting the arrival of more Scots, and concluding with the gratifying intelligence that Turlough Luinech has been detached from Sorley Boy, and would go, taking his son with him, to assist in the expulsion of his former allies. Fenton further states that the lord deputy will have 2000 men, besides the risings out of the Irishry. On that grand occasion, Perrot took with him all the "protectees of Munster;" in other words, as many soldiers as could be supplied by such leading families in Munster as had lived under the protection of the government, during the great Desmond rebellion that had then just been quelled in that province. He also compelled subjugated rebels from other quarters

(112) *Sir John Perrot.*—This knight was believed to be a son of Henry VIII., whom he very much resembled in personal appearance, and also in his arbitrary temper. Sir Robert Naunton states that Perrot "was sent lord-deputy into Ireland, as it was then apprehended, for a kind of haughtiness and repugnance in counsells; or, as others have thought, the fittest person then to bridle the insolences of the Irish." Perrot, whilst in Dublin, often told the council there to "stick not so much upon the queen's letters of commandment, for she may command what she will, but we will do what we list." He was eventually accused of high treason, and imprisoned in the Tower, where he suddenly died, just as the queen had determined to pardon him. See Somers' *Tracts*, vol. i., p. 268.

(113) *Fenton.*—Sir Geoffry Fenton, a native of Nottinghamshire, was twenty-seven years a member of the Irish Privy Council, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. He translated the *History of Guicciardini* into English, and dedicated this valuable work to the queen. On the urgent recommendation of sir William Pelham, the lord-justice of Ireland, Fenton was appointed secretary of state. In March, 1584, Fenton writes to Leicester as follows:—"Since the death of Sir Nicholas Malbye, the Justices have committed to me, by way of custodium, the young Baron of Leitrim, son to the late created Baron, murdered, it is supposed, by his brother, the Earl of Clanrickard. They have now written to your Lordship and Mr. Secretary Walshingham, to be a mean to her Majesty to bestow upon me his wardship and marriage. His father's living is dangerously entangled, and subject to great traverse and contention in law. If his father's inheritance be recovered, *it may bring to my small living some help during the minority.* I beseech you to be a mean for her Majesties' letters. The Lords-Justices have not the power to dispose of the wards of noblemen." Fenton died in 1608, and was buried in St. Patrick's, and in the same tomb with his father-in-law, Dr. Robert Weston. See Fuller's *Worthies*, vol. ii., p. 574; *Calender of Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 276, 374.

to serve in this northern expedition, such as the "principals of the O'Connors and the O'Mores, (114) not so much," says Fenton, "for the confidence he has in them, as for that he will not leave behind him so doubtful men in so loose a time." The letter from which this is an extract was written on the 19th of August, and three days later he writes to Walshyngham that the deputy would commence his march on the 25th, and that the Donnelaughs and O'Cahans had deserted Turlough Luinech and joined the Scots. Among the rebels recently suppressed was the earl of Clanrickard, (115) who had written on the 14th that he was prepared to go against the Scots, and was then sending forward his son Richard (116) with all haste to join the deputy. On the day appointed an immense force moved northward, commanded by Perrot, who was accompanied by the earls of Ormonde, (117) Thomond, (118) and Clanrickard, sir John Norris, Hugh O'Neill, baron of

(114) *O'Mores.*—The fierce and protracted struggles of these septs against the English rule are sufficiently memorable. The O'Mores and O'Connors fought through eighteen insurrections during a period of sixty years! Down to the time of Essex, their suppression had cost the state more than £200,000, whilst the means employed by Elizabeth to prevent them from recovering their estates cost in soldiery alone twelve-fold her rents; nor was there any peace until their swordsmen were extirpated, and the common people of these clans driven into Kerry. After sixty years of struggle, which ended so disastrously for these hapless Irish, they declared they would rather perish where they were born than live elsewhere. (See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., pp. 341, 342). Perrot appears to have completed the butchery of the principal men of the O'Mores. Writing to Leicester, afterwards, in April, 1587, Perrot records his own brutal murders thus boastfully:—"I caused to be hanged Conell M'Lysaghe O'More, Lisaghe M'William O'More, three notable men of the Kellies, and I have Conell M'Kedaghe O'More's head upon the top of the castle, so as there remaineth not one principal of the O'Mores, but Shane M'Rosse, who was within these four days sore hurt, and like to be killed; and so was Walter Roghe also; whose heads I am promised very shortlie. *I have also taken the young fry of all the Mores*, saving one whom I am promised to have. So as I do not know one dangerous man of that sept left." (*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 442.) Fenton, when writing to the earls of Warwick and Leicester, tells a lamentable tale of the last leading man among the O'Connors. "Since my last," he says, "two of the O'Connors were convented before the Council last week, to debate such challenges as they had one against the other. The one was called Tiege M'Gillpatrick, and the other Connor M'Cormok." The government, in a word, set these hapless men by the ears, and now instigated them to destroy each other. Fenton goes on to tell, as delightful news to the English earls, that the one O'Connor challenged the other—that the lords-justices and council decided that the fight should come off the following morning "in the inner court of the castle of Dublin"—that Fenton himself, the chief-secretary, presided on the occasion—that Tiege O'Connor slew his adversary and kinsman, cutting off his head and presenting it to the English officials who witnessed the slaughter—that Tiege then sent the sword with which he had done this deed as a present to the earl of Leicester, Fenton concluding his letter with the prayer —"I would her Majesty had the same end of all the O'Connors in Ireland." The reader may see Fenton's letter *in extenso* printed in the *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 361, 362.

(115) *Clanrickard.*—Ulick Burke, the third earl of Clanrickard, who, although at first wavering in his loyalty to the queen's government, was soon confirmed therein by the drift of events. He afterwards assisted sir Richard Bingham to crush the rebellion in Connaught, and for so doing was rewarded by receiving large grants from the crown of the rebels' forfeited lands in that province. He married a daughter of Richard, earl of Arundel, by whom he left a family of six sons and two daughters. He died in 1601. The younger of his daughters, lady Honora, became the wife of the veteran sir Nicholas Malbie. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 130.

(116) *His son Richard.*—This was the successor of Ulick, the third earl, and was known afterwards as Richard of Kinsale, because of the bravery he exhibited at the battle there in 1601. This young noble received the honour of knighthood in the year 1584. His father, the third earl, although loyal in the time of Perrot's administration, became refractory again during the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, and Richard, the son, "put himself as a gage and bridle to his father's proceedings," and at the battle of Kinsale—such was the fury of his loyalty—he killed no fewer than twenty Irish kerne with his own hand. This earl married Frances, the daughter of sir Francis Walshingham, who had been previously married, first to sir Philip Sydney, and next to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. He died in 1635. See Lodge, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 131—134.

(117) *Ormonde.*—Thomas Butler, the tenth earl, and generally known as the great earl. At the time of this expedition in 1584, Ormonde had been thirty-three years in the public service. One of the *Carew MSS.* is entitled, *A Short Note of some parts of Thomas Earl of Ormond's services and employments at several times these 33 years past.* "He began his military services as a lieutenant in Wyatt's rebellion, and served with the Earl of Sussex in all his journeys to the North against the Scots, taking 200 horse and 500 foot at his own expense, and fighting on foot at every engagement with the enemy." Towards the close of his career, he was appointed lord general of Munster, where," it is stated, "he executed and put to the sword 46 captains and leaders under Desmond, with 800 noted

Dungannon, and several gallant captains. This great host divided itself into two sections, and marched down both banks of the Bann on Dunluce. But Perrot had hardly time to commence this movement when rumours got afloat that there really was no Scottish invasion at all, and that the immense expense and uproar of the expedition might have well been spared! These rumours, which were endorsed by Mr. Davyson or Davison, (119) a high authority in such matters, made a deep impression on the queen and her council. On the 31st of August, not a week after Perrot had left Dublin, he received a letter from the council in London, plainly intimating that the report abovementioned had become general, and concluding with the following significant hint:—"You are not ignorant how loth we are to be carried into charges, and how we would rather spend a pound forced by necessity, than a penny for prevention." Elizabeth, when writing to Perrot several months afterwards, supplied a paragraph in her own hand, rebuking him sharply for believing that so great a number of Scots had then arrived, and cautioning him against such rash unadvised journies in future!

It was an easy matter for Perrot and his large well-appointed force to march unopposed, and seize the fortress of Dunluce, which was then held by only a small garrison. Sorley was evidently unprepared for such a fierce and powerful invasion, and the few neighbouring septs who had hastily joined him, seeing the hopelessness of their efforts, almost as hastily took their departure. Perrot, having committed himself to the work, naturally endeavoured to represent its results in as favourable a light as possible; but there is little candour among the writers of these State letters, and on them, unfortunately, we are dependent for our meagre knowledge of the events which they describe, or rather distort, so as to answer their own ends. Fenton writes from Dunluce, on the 14th of December, stating that Perrot was then at the Bann with O'Neill and his wife, (120) and that the siege of the Rock of Dunluce was proceeding. The battery used was a "culverin and two shakers of brass."

traitors, and above 4,000 of their men. This was in 1580. Some of his troop, after he was discharged from Munster, executed and put to the sword four captains and 33 of their men. In his last time of Government of Munster, the Earl of Desmond (Garret Fitzgerald, 16th Earl of Desmond, and Ormonde's stepfather) was put to the sword by Ormond's directions, with 38 captains, and 747 traitors. Since his last discharge from Munster, and after the landing of Sir John Perrot as Deputy, he executed six leaders, and 63 other traitors." (*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 414, 415.) A Munster poet, named Eugene Magrath, has celebrated this earl's military career. The following is a translation of that portion of his poem which refers to Ormonde's doings in the north:—

> "He took from Raghlin, in the land of Alba,
> After hard-fought combats, a prey of cattle—
> Twice he set Glen-Concadhain on fire,
> This wealthy and tender-hearted chieftain;
> He left no herds around Loughneagh—
> The seer so provident and bountiful."

(*Kilkenny Archæol. Journal*, vol. i., p. 477.) When this poem was written the island of Rathlin, being one of the Hebrides, was supposed to belong to Alba or Scotland.

(118) *Thomond.*—Connor or Cornelius O'Brien, third earl of Thomond. He joined the rebellion conducted by James Fitzmaurice (see p. 53, *supra*), and for so doing he was compelled, in 1572, to enter into a recognizance (under the penalty of £10,000, to be levied off his lands and chattels), to walk very warily in future, and neither to "marry, gossope, nor foster contrary to the statute in that behoofe provided." He died in 1636, and was buried in St. Patrick's. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 30.

(119) *Davison.*—This man, whose parentage is unknown, rose by his talent and address to be a secretary of state, and appears to have been connected by marriage with the Dudleys, Sydneys, and other noble families. He was the chief instrument in the hands of Elizabeth for carrying out the execution of Mary queen of Scots, no other of Elizabeth's ministers being willing to incur the odium of being publicly connected with that brutal transaction. Davison died in 1608, deserted by his former associates, and afflicted by the evils of extreme poverty. See Nichol's *Autographs*.

(120) *And his wife.*—This residence occupied by Turlough Luinech was situated on the western bank of the Bann, in the immediate vicinity of Coleraine. It was known as *Castleroe* or 'Red-Castle.' In 1579, one Manus O'Cahan proposed to expel Turlough Luinech from this place, and bring in certain Spanish merchants to conduct the fishings on the Bann. When lady Cantire, Turlough Luinech's wife, wrote to Elizabeth and the earl of Morton, her letters were dated from the "Roott," but the name of the residence is not given. It was, most probably, however, in Castleroe those epistles were penned.

The day after the date of Fenton's letter Perrot returned to the camp before Dunluce, and wrote a long statement to the Privy Council, in which he boldly vindicates his own course. In this letter is the following passage :—"As Surleboy had entertained a number of Scots, joining to him O'Cahan and Brian Carragh, and had gotten by the sword the Rowte, part of the Glinnes, Magwillins, and other landes, (121) I entered into action against him on both sides of the Ban. O'Cahan hath come in, and Brian Carragh maketh meanes to be received to mercy. Because Sorley shuns my side of the Ban (Clandeboye), I have sent over to the Lord President of Munster (Sir John Norris), on the Tyron side, some of my horsemen, footemen, and Kerne." (122) Perrot was greatly mistaken if he imagined that Sorley avoided the eastern bank of the Bann from any other than purely strategic considerations. Of the report circulated by Davison that only a very few Scots had really come to Ulster, Perrot says—"they were in number little fewer, their training and furniture no worse, and their purpose no better than I wrote." "Myself, and the rest of my company," he continues, "are incamped before Dunluce, the strongest piece of this realme, situate upon a Rocke hanging over the sea, divided from the main with a brod, deepe, rocky ditch, natural and not artificial, and having no way to it but a small necke of the same rocke, which is also cutt off very deep. It hath in it a strong ward, whereof the capten is a natural Scot, who when I sent to summon them to yielde, refused talke, and proudly answered, speaking very good English, that they were appointed and would keep it to the last man for the king of Scots use, which made me to draw thither." This answer of the proud Scot is evidently retailed by Perrot with much prominence, as if on it he would have been justified in "drawing thither"—a very mild way of characterising his noisy and expensive invasion of Ulster. See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 380.

The deputy no doubt secretly felt very much disappointed that he had really no enemy to encounter, the actual state of affairs in Antrim fully corroborating the truth of the general rumours. Except the small garrison in Dunluce castle, there were hardly any Scottish soldiers to be found, and Sorley Boy had actually gone across the Bann to look after such as could be made available in the emergency. Perrot, however, makes the most of any small affairs in the way of skirmishing that occurred. On the 17th of September, he wrote to the council as follows :—"The ward of this castle of Dunluce, being 40 men, most part Scots, have surrendered. Lord President (Norris) has lighted upon Sorley's people and creaghs, killed certain of them and taken a great prey. I have taken Dunferte, (123) the ward being fled; likewise another Pyle by Portrushe. (124) The Raghlin

(121) *Other landes.*—What the 'other lands' were to which Perrot here alludes, we cannot imagine. Sorley Boy had possession of the Route, including Macquillin's lands, and one-third part of the Glynns, his nephew, Donnell Gorm, having the other two-thirds. The one third of these territories, thus held by Sorley, comprised the two districts of Munerie and Carey, now known as Ramoan with the grange of Drumtullagh, and Culfeightrin. There were no charges in this indictment which had not been generally known, and certainly none to justify an appeal to force in the settlement of them.

(122) *Kerne.*—In Dimmock's *Treatice of Ireland*, Kerne are described as "footmen, slightly armed with a sword and target of wood, or a bow and sheaf of arrows with barbed heads ; or else three darts which they cast with wonderful facility and nearness. Within these few years they have practised the musket and callyver, and are grown good and steady shots." According to the same authority, "Irish horsemen are armed with headpieces, shirts of mail, a sword, a skeine, and a spear. They ride on pads without stirrups. In joining battle, they do not bear the lance under arm, and so put it to the rest, but, taking it by the middle, bear it above the arm, and so encounter."

(123) *Dunferte.*—A small portion of the ruins of this castle may still be seen on the coast, at a place called Blackhill, between Portrush and Portstewart. The old name of Dunferte has become obsolete, and the ruin is now known in the locality as Ballyreagh castle.

(124) *Portrushe.*—This pyle, or castle, stood near

is now all the refuge left him; it hath been the Scots accustomed landing-place. Having shipping at hand, I have appointed 200 or 300 footmen to go thither to-morrow for the taking thereof." (*Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 380.) This is Perrot's last dispatch from Dunluce, but on his return to Dublin, he wrote on the 25th of October, communicating the following very gratifying intelligence of rapine and disaster inflicted by his soldiers on the Scots:—"The Lord President (Norris), the Baron of Dungannon (Hugh O'Neill), Mr. Thomas Norris, and Edward Barkley, did good service against Sorley Boy, the Scots, and the Irish, in Glancomkine. (125) After this small blow on that side of the Ban, and the taking of his Forts and followers on this side, his forces were scattered, and he doth keep his fastness. (126) Where before he was lord over 50,000 cows, and ruled over that end of the Realme, by aid of the Scots, his countrymen, he has now scarce 1500 cows to give him milk. Should he get no favour at my hands, it is said he means to go to Scotland if he can. I have placed garrisons at Colrane and Knockfergus, almost all of the old pay. The natural subjects of that province, the Macquillins, desirous to be freed from the Scots, came to me without protection or pardon. I dismissed them to meet me at the Nurie. I won them there to a conditional composition to find her Majesties garrisons in bread and drink. (127) I could not go over to the Rawlin (Rathlin) to dispossess Sorley and the Scots of that refuge also, because the waters might have arisen and stopped my return for want of bridges, (boats?) and we had great want of victuals, but I trust ere it be long, it will be taken." (128) *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, 383.

the old church—at the base or root of the tongue running westward into the sea, and known locally as Ramore.

(125) *Glancomkine.*—This rather celebrated district, which forms the western portion of the barony of Loughinshollin, county of Derry, is mentioned by the Four Masters, who call it *Gleann-Concadhain*, at the years 1526, and 1584. On Norden's Map, it is marked *Clanconcan*. Speed's Map presents it as *Glankankyne*, lying between "Carnantogher" and "Slew Gallon." English commissioners, in 1591, had spoken of it by the name of *Clonconkayne*. (See Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Reeves, p. 125.) Sir John Davis, who passed through this place in the year 1608, has the following remarks:—"From Dunganon, wee passed into the countie of Coleraine, through the glinnes and woodes of Clanconkeyn where the wilde inhabitantes did as much wonder to see the King's Deputy, as the goastes in Virgill did wonder to see Æneas alive in Hell. But his Lordship passing that waye was of good importance 2 wayes for his Maties service; for both himselfe and all the officers of the armey have discovered that unknown fastness; and also the people of the countrie, knowing their fastness to be discovered, will not trust so much therein as heretofore; which made them preseam (presume) to comitt so many thefts, murders, and rebellions; for assuredly they preseamed more upone our ignorance of their contreys than upone their own strength." See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol iii., p. 170.

(126) *His fastness.*—See preceding note. Perrott's officers must have known the locality of this fastness, but were evidently afraid to enter it. They appear to have known exactly were Sorley was; and only fear, therefore, could have induced them to keep at a respectful distance from this retreat, which Perrot here speaks of as if it had been a giant's den not to be approached.

(127) *Bread and drink.*—The garrisons here meant were those of Coleraine, Dunluce, and whatever minor positions the government had been able to seize on the coast. Among the latter was Dunanynie. Coleraine appears to have had a strong garrison. Among the "Articles indented and agreed upon between the lords of Ulster and sir John Perrot" in that year (1584) was one dated September 14, by which Theobald M'Guilly, the chief of his name, covenanted to maintain 100 footmen in garrison at Colrane, and 25 horsemen; every horseman for his victual to have the same allowances as the footmen had, and for their horses he was to provide them oats sufficient. Each footman was to have 20s every quarter, either in money or in cattle. Every soldier besides, whether footman or horseman, was to have two 'medders' of oatmeal and one 'medder' of butter every five days. The captain of 100 men was to have eight such allowances, every lieutenant four, and every ensign, serjeant, drummer, and surgeon two. See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 382, 383.

(128) *Will be taken.*—The hope here expressed by Perrot was soon afterwards realised, but the captors, as in former instances, were soon fain to abandon the island. On the 22nd of March following, Bagenall, Stanley, and Barkley, addressed a joint letter from Carrickfergus to Perrot, informing him of captain Thornton's "great and sufficient service in transporting them to the Raghlins. Captain Henshaw had been left to ward the Raghlins and Donanany. Had sent away Roche's bark with 20 men. Escape of O'Hara and the rest of the pleges." On the

In the foregoing extracts there is evidence of the loose and unscrupulous style in which these despatches generally were got up. One fact, however, is only too evident. The English soldiers and their Irish allies being so numerous, and having so little fighting to do, engaged in the wholesale spoiling of cattle, and the plunder of all sorts of other property. In times of war, it was customary with the inhabitants to collect their cattle and drive them about in herds to keep them as much as possible under the protection of the military force. But, unfortunately for the Scottish settlers, they had been surprised on this occasion, so that there was no military force sufficient to afford them protection, and no time to have their cattle hidden in fastnesses out of the spoilers' reach. The fifty thousand head of cattle pasturing on the plains between the Bann and the Bush did not belong to Sorley Boy, as Perrot supposed, but were the property of the Irish and Scottish dwellers in the Route. This fine herd did not even include the cattle belonging to the inhabitants of the Glynns. The latter were robbed of their flocks by English forces issuing soon afterwards from Carrickfergus. As a means of preserving them, the people throughout the Glynns drove their cattle into bogs and morasses, and were thus occasionally able to baffle their pursuers; but the latter, when led by such men as Perrot, brutally destroyed any cattle they could not easily remove from these morasses. Perrot says nothing in reference to any other property than cattle stolen by his soldiers, but he sends certain significant presents to his friends, Walshingham and Burghley, which plainly enough prove that Sorley's residences had been plundered of their contents. To Walshyngham, he sends a "mazor" (129) garnished with silver gilt, and having Sorley Boy's arms graven in the bottom. This mazor or bowl was no doubt a valuable affair, being thought worthy by the spoilers of presentation to Perrot, who, in his turn, considered it a fitting gift for his English friend. Sorley Boy's coat armorial was no doubt nearly, if not entirely, the same as that worn by his great ancestor, Somerled of Argyle. Randal, son of Somerled, gave a charter to the abbey of Paisley, and curiously enough, this charter still preserves the original impression of the family seal, which bears on one side a ship filled with men at arms, and on the reverse the figure of an armed man on horseback with a drawn sword in his hand. (130)

1st of May, a Mr. John Price wrote to Walshyngham, from the camp at Edondaffcarrick, stating, among other matters, that the "island of Raghlins is very barren, full of heath and rocks, and there is not any woods in it at all." The island had evidently remained without inhabitants from 1574, when, as we shall see, its people were cruelly massacred by English soldiers. As it had thus lain waste for the space of ten years, Perrot's men no doubt found it bleak enough. They were only too happy to abandon it when the peace came between Sorley and the English in 1586. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 556, 562.

(129) *Mazor.*—Among the family jewels and valuables of sir Colin Campbell, in 1640, was "ane greate *maser*, with ane silver lip, quhilk will containe a quart, quhilk also has ane silver foote; and ane uther little maser with silver lip and foote, with ane cover double over gilt." (See Innes's *Sketches of early Scottish History*, p. 509). Among the MSS. preserved at Penshurst, Kent, the seat of lord De L'Isle and Dudley, is a note of plate received by sir Henry Sydney, deputy of Ireland, at the hands of Thomas Flemyng, part of the goods of the late rebel *Shane O'Neall*. Among these are bason and ewer, 87 oz., flat bowl, 92 oz., standing cups, flat cups, *mazers*, &c. See *Third Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 227.

(130) *In his hand.*—See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 2, *note*. As to be expected, the family arms have become more complicated in modern days. They are now, according to Lodge, "Quarterly (1) Topaz, a Lion Rampant, Ruby, for MacDonnell. (2) Topaz, a Dexter Arm issuant from the Sinister Fess-Point, out of a Cloud, Proper, holding a Crosslet fitchee, Saphire, said to be assumed from one of the families assisting St. Patrick to reduce the Irish to civility, and to propagate the Christian faith. (3) Pearl, a Ship with the sails furled up, Diamond. (4) Parti, per fees, a Saphire and Emerald, the under part wavey, a Dolphin naiant in fess, Pearl." (Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 214.) A lion was the general badge of the Celtic tribes. In ancient families not many instances occur where the *supporters* are figures of creatures long supposed to be extinct. The Highlanders appear to have had less fancy than others for these uncouth de-

To Burghley, Perrot sends a still more curious present, found also among Sorley's household treasures. "And for a token," says Perrot, "I have sent you Holy Columkill's Cross, a god of great veneration with Surley Boy and all Ulster, for so great was his (Columkill's) grace, as happy he thought himself that could get a kiss of the said cross. I send him unto you, that when you have made some sacrifice to him, according to the disposition you bear to idolatry, you may, if you please, bestow him upon my good Lady Walshyngham, (131) or my Lady Sydney, (132) to wear as a jewell of weight and bigness, and not of price or goodness, upon some solemn feast or triumph day at court." Could this have been the cross which St. Columba received from Pope Gregory the Great as a distinguished mark of his favour and approval? The circumstances of the memorable gift are told in detail by Columba's Irish biographer, O'Donnell, who states that the cross was preserved in Tory Island, at the date of his writing, A.D. 1532. "This altar cross," says Dr. Reeves, "is not now (1857) known to exist, but from the description it would seem that it was cased in metal, and adorned with crystal bosses, like the cross of Cong preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy." (See *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, pp. 318, 319.) May not this relic have found its way from Tory Island to Dunluce or Dunanynie, as to a place of safety? And may it not still be preserved in some English cabinet of curiosities?

During the skirmishing in the vicinity of Dunluce, and elsewhere, no one of the deputy's party had been able to get a glimpse of Sorley Boy. One said that he was hiding beyond the Bann; another, that he had gone to Scotland; whilst Perrot himself affirmed that should Sorley be able to make his escape he would certainly do so; or, if not, that he might soon be expected to submit. Sorley, however, was nowhere to be found; and even his nephew, Donnell Gorm, who had been coquetting with Perrot in hope of obtaining the Glynns, "was discovered not to be so honest as was looked for." Donnell, however, knew pretty well that his uncle would soon show himself, and did not dare to incur the old warrior's wrath by any, even the slightest act, in favour of the foe. The Macquillins also probably knew this, when they, very wisely, would only enter into a 'con-

fenders of their arms. At tournaments, and other public displays, their clansmen stood by their shields in naked fierceness, as in the Macdonnell coat armorial; or in their native breacan or tartan, as in those of many other Highland chieftains. See Logan's *Scottish Gäel*, vol. i. p. 292.

(131) *Lady Walshyngham.*—This lady's name was St. Barbe, but we know not to what family she belonged. It is evident, however, from the many references to her in the letters of her husband's correspondents that she must have been a general favourite. Sir Richard Bynghan, who appears to have been a family connexion, addresses several letters to her, mentioning always his progress as an officer in the Irish service. A gentleman named Richard Shee, sends her a "flacket," probably a flasket, of *Aquavitæ* from Ireland. Sir Henry Sydney's son, Philip, was married to Walshyngham's daughter, and hence the former, in 1584, writing from Ireland styles Walshyngham "brother," his lady, "my lady your wife my verie good sister," and their daughter, "my daughter." This daughter was their sole heir, and after the death of her first husband, sir Philip Sydney, she married Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. When the scaffold deprived her of him, she lastly married lord St. Albans. (See Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1574—1584, pp. 209, 489, 515, 518, 547, 561; see also Somers's *Tracts*, vol. i., p. 263.) John St. Barbe, no doubt a connexion of lady Walshyngham, got an extensive grant of lands in 1603, from James I. These lands had belonged to the O'Connors of Roscommon. The name St. Barbe was pronounced and often spelled, as in this grant, *Simberbe*; later it was simply Birte. This gentleman, who dwelt at a place called Turrock in Roscommon, left three daughters, named respectively Joan, Mabell, and Christian *Birte*, who obtained a grant in 1611, of four quarters of land adjoining Castle Turrock. See *Patent Rolls of James I.*, pp. 16, 249.

(132) *Lady Sydney.*—Sir Henry Sydney's wife was lady Mary Dudley, daughter of John, duke of Northumberland, and sister to the earls of Warwick and Leicester. She was mother of the celebrated sir Philip Sydney.

ditional composition' to supply bread and drink to the garrison of Coleraine. Perrot, however, did not consider his presence longer required in the North, and withdrew to Dublin. Very soon afterwards, a sharp-witted English officer, named Carleill, was able so to interpret the sounds on the northern breezes blowing from the Isles, as to inform Walshyngham, his father-in-law, that Sorley had 4000 Islesmen ready to return with him, and to assist him "in taking back his lands." In the meantime, however, Perrot received two letters of very equivocal import, from two of his most esteemed agents. The first came from sir Henry Bagenall at Knockfergus, telling of a battle in which some Scottish officers are named as being killed, and among the rest Donnell Cassyleye, Sorley's guidon-bearer, (133) with forty of the common soldiers. But although Bagenall can tell of the losses sustained by the enemy, he says nothing of his own, and concludes hastily with an urgent demand for more men and a liberal supply of spades, shovels, and other such useful implements. The second letter came also from Knockfergus, and was written by Nicholas Dawtry, (134) who had charge of the queen's stores there. He was also seneschal of Clannaboy, the Dufferin, and Killultagh; but he writes to Perrot acknowledging his *inability* to have Sorley Boy, or his son, *assassinated*, notwithstanding the favourable opportunities he may well be supposed to have had for the perpetration of such an act. It could not be done, however, for the Scots had banished all of Irish birth and combined in assured friendship. Dawtry adds that he himself and 102 others are wounded, without saying a word of their slain. The fact, however, of such a number of wounded is significant enough. Another officer, named William Bowen, writes from the camp, in 'Lesbryn in Clandebuy,' referring to the conflict, in which Donnell Gorm commanded, and "Alexander Carragh was sore wounded." Bowen concludes by asking the constableship of Dunluce, and stating, as a report, that a great force of Scots was coming over from Scotland.

These letters had hardly been dispatched by Perrot to Walshyngham, when another reached the latter from an agent named Beverley, telling him that the sea had become so very boisterous that victualling could not be got to Coleraine. "Of thes things," says Beverley, "I thought it my dutie to signifie unto your Honnour, with desire hereafter to avoide the wynter victlinge northwards (namelie Colrane), where there is no haven or harbour to succor anie barck above 14 tonn, but are constrayned to lie at sea in open roodes with their victualls, where the ocean sea raiseth such a billow as can hardlie be endured by the greatest

(133) *Guidon-bearer.*—Guidon, sometimes written *Guydhomme*, came to signify the flag or standard, though strictly speaking this was the designation of the person who carried it. The Scottish Gäel named the soldier who had the honour of bearing aloft the battle-flag *Fear-go-saelan*, 'the man with the standard.' Every leading chieftain of the Gäel, Irish and Scottish, had his hereditary standard-bearer, an office which was generally enjoyed by one family, and to which a liberal remuneration in lands and perquisites was always attached. The material of which these old Celtic flags were made is not easily determined. In a poem entitled the *Death of Fraoich*, nearly as old, it is supposed, as the time of Oisin, the writer speaks of the *Bratach-sroil*, or 'silken-flag,' but it is probable that the term now used to designate *silk* was formerly applied to any material of very fine texture. In more modern times the banner was only edged with twisted silk or fringe, and was charged with the separate quarterings of the chief or noble before whom it was carried. The name of Sorley's standard-bearer, *M'Cassyleye*, is perhaps incorrectly written by Bagenall.

(134) *Dawtry.* — This captain Dawtrie appears to have been employed by Perrot on difficult and delicate missions. At this time serious complications had arisen between the English and Scottish governments on the subject of piracies which had become frequent in the Channel, and Dawtrie was sent to James VI. to have the whole question arranged. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 121, *note*. For two interesting letters of this captain Nicholas Dawtrie, see Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 507, 539. For references to him, see *Ibid.*, pp. 340, 341, 375, 433, 571, 577.

shipps. (135) And skante once in 14 daies thos wynter seas will suffer anie smale vessel to laye the shippes aboarde to unlaid the victuals." The difficulty also of landing stores at Marketon or Ballycastle Bay, was as great, if not greater, than at Coleraine. On the 20th of January, 1584, Beverley informs Burghley of having made attempts there to victual 2000 men, employed against the Scots in that immediate district, and of the great waste or loss of the stores which had occurred. The mariners, he states, were forced to unlade the victual at Marketon Bay on rafts, wading up to the neck where boats could not be employed. On the same day, sir Henry Wallop, the treasurer-at-war, wrote to Walshyngham, dwelling warmly on the evils of this new campaign, which, he says, "was against the minds of the Council," and in which "our men (the English) take the worst in every encounter." Wallop is particularly wroth on "*the iniquity of Marketon Bay*," where the victual had to be brought to the shore on a raft. (136) We have here at last got one candid witness, and his statement as to the results of the campaign contrasts curiously with the accounts supplied by the officers, who felt, indeed, that they need not communicate with Perrot at all, unless they could tell him of victories over the Scots. After the announcement made by himself on commencing his grand march northward, he is now sorely puzzled in being obliged, three months afterwards, to inform the English council of a *real* Scottish invasion, "in an unwonted season, manner, and number." Perrot saw no way out of his dilemma than to blame the council for not sending 600 men as he had requested, and to admit at the same time that the Scots, as soldiers, were superior to the English soldiers of the Pale. He enclosed on that occasion two letters, which, although written in the usual boasting and unreliable style of the English officers, are nevertheless highly interesting as records of the progress of this final struggle between themselves and the Scots in Antrim. The first of these letters was written by sir William Stanley on the 5th of January, 1584, at Dunanynie near Ballycastle, and is as follows :—

"My verie good Cozen,—The day I wrote to you last, being the first of this moneth, by Shane M'Brian, (137) I marched from the Lough to the Abbey of Banymargey (138) where I found

(135) *Greatest shipps.*—The difficulty to which Beverley refers arises from the complete exposure of this part of the coast to the fury of the Atlantic in stormy weather. The waves have built up an immense barrier of sand across the mouth of the Bann, and running parallel with the shore for an extent of several miles. This barrier, which is locally known as the *Bar*, shuts out large vessels from ascending the Bann to Coleraine, as the depth of the water on this sand-bank is at times but ten feet, and more frequently only five or six.

(136) *On a raft.*—The great waste or loss of victuals here occurred, no doubt, from the stores being swept off the rafts by the fury of the waves, but where, or why, the men were required to wade up to their necks at the work of unlading, it is not now easy to understand. The openings of Glentow and Glenshesk once formed an estuary, at the head of which was evidently *the* ancient landing-place at this point on the coast, but there was no time since, in which rafts, or boats, could not have easily floated into *Port-Brittas*, without the labour of wading, as above-mentioned. The ancient landing-place, once known as Port-Brittas, is still to some extent available for the accommodation of boats and little smacks, whilst the harbour, built at great expense to the public in 1738, has been long since utterly useless.

(137) *Shane M'Brian.*—Notwithstanding the cruel fate of this chieftain's father, sir Brian Mac Felim O'Neill, we here find that Shane had taken the side of the English against his family ally, the Scots. It is stated also by Perrot, in a letter to the English council, dated June, 1585, that Shane had proved himself an active agent in assisting to expel the Scots. "By letters of March 3, we informed you of the service in the North. The Scots little looked that our service would endure through the winter season. Angus M'Donnell made no long abode there after his landing. The last and chief material remaining of them were with M'Donnell Ballagh, a man of accompt amongst them, and specially noted for that he was a chief actor at the killing of captains Baker and Chatterton and their bands. He and his men were getting away too, and a couple of galleys were come to fetch them over, but Shan M'Brian having good spial upon them, did, by direction of Sir Harry Bagenall and Sir William Stanley, draw captain

captayne Carleill (139) and about 47 men of his and captayne Warrens (140) horsemen. The horsemen were loged in the church, and with our two companies we incamped near the same; and when captayne Bowens (141) company came we caused them to lodge at the Fort of Donanynie. (142) It was captayne Carleill's wach nyght; about 11 of the clok the same nyght, came certayne troupes of Skottes on foote, and aboute vi. horsemen with them, who had upon their staves wadds lyghted, wherewith they sodaynly sett the roufe of the churche, being thatched, on fyer. They gave us a brave canvasado, (143) and entred our campe. The alarme beinge geven, I came forth in my shert; and at our first incounter, my men answeringe with mee verie gallantlie, we put them off the grounde, where the left one of their men that was emongst them of greate accompte; he was Sorlles gydon. (144) They wolde fayne have had him away, but they wer so plyed with Shotte, that they left him, and the feld also, and fell to ronnynge away; where our horsemen might have done good servis, but they were so pestered in the church, that they coulde not get forth theire horses in tyme to doo anythinge, and yet the skermish contynued three quarters of an owre. Ther wer bornt in the church seven horse and hackneys. I had slayne my sergeant, and one armed man, William Jones; captn. Carleille had one killed and eight hurte; and I had twelve choys men hurte, and myselfe with arowes, (145) in the raynes of my bak, as I called forwarde my men; in the arme, and in the flanke, and through the thigh; of which wounds I am verie sore, although I trust in God I shall recover it.

Woodhouse with his and Sir George Bourchier's bands, besides his own company, upon him on a sudden, and killed him, and all his best men, to the number of 52, whereof some were gents, and presentlie surprised the two galleys and burnt [them]." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 403.

(138) *Banymargey.*—Correctly Bunnamairge, see p. 40, *supra*. Perrot spells this name *Bonamargie.* See Hamilton's *Calendar*, p. 584.

(139) *Carleill.* — March 6, 1558, a queen's letter directed the appointment of captain Christopher Carleill to the office of seneschal of Claneboy, Dufferin, and Killultagh; with the charge of 25 horsemen, to enable him to resist the invasion of the Scotch islanders, "who, being not far distant from those parts, do use sundrie times in hostile manner, to come over and infest that province of Ulster." Carleill was son-in-law to Walshyngham, which perhaps accounts for the great warmth with which the lords in council recommend him to the Irish deputy. Their letter, requiring his appointment to the above-named office which Dawtrie had resigned, concludes as follows:—"And, for that we think that preferment to be too meane for one of his deserts and sufficiencie, we pray your lordship to afford him all the favour and furtherance you may, and that when some other place shall fall voide, that may be fytt for him, you shall have a special care of his advancement to the same before any other." See Morrin's *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls*, second series, p. 160.

(140) *Captain Warren.*—Captain William Warren, long known as a distinguished English officer. He was brother to sir Henry Warren, in whose favour he presented a petition to the queen, and thereby saved sir Henry from the loss of his lands at Ballybrittan. See Morrin's *Calendar*, second series, p. 258.

(141) *Bowen.*—Captain William Bowen, an active English officer against the Scots. He applied to have the constableship of Dunluce in 1584, but, fortunately for himself, did not obtain it, as Peter Carey who was appointed, was hanged by the Scots over the battlements soon afterwards. For Bowen's letters, see Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, p. 539.

(142) *Donanynie.*—See pp. 38, 121, *supra.*

(143) *Canvasado.*—For Camisado. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, *preface*, p. cxxiii.

(144) *Sorlles gydon.*—Sorley Boy lost several standard-bearers in these conflicts. Donnell M'Cassayleye's death has been already noticed; Donough Reoughe Maccaughtpen, another 'giddon' was slain in Glendun on the 13th of November; and now a third, whose name is not given, falls at this night-attack on the English in Bunnamairge. The name of the second is a puzzle, and may be intended either for Maccaughern or Macnaughten. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, *preface*, p. cxxiii., and *note.*

(145) *With arowes.*—In one of Perrot's letters to the English council, he states that the Scottish bowmen were more effective in the field than the English 'shott.' The Scots were already celebrated for the use of this weapon. In 1263, the most formidable opponents of Haco, at the battle of Largs, were bowmen. At Bannockburn, 10,000 bowmen had much of the honour arising from that great triumph of the national cause. The bow was last used as a military weapon by British troops about the year 1700, when the regiment of royal Scots, commanded by the earl of Orkney, "were armed with bows and arrows, swords and targets, and wore steel bonnets." The Scots made their bows of yew; the English preferred ash; and the Welsh always used the wild elm. See Logan's *Scottish Gäel*, vol. i., pp. 334—337.

"Ther passed within the vewe of this place this daye 24 galleys (146) out of Cantyer, as is supposed to lande some Skottes aboute the Red Bay; (147) our shipping here had the sight of them, but it was so calme they could not bouge. (148) Our victuals be not yet all landed; we have great trouble with the caryage of it up, and smale helpe of the contrie. (149) There are certaynlie looked for here 2,500 Skottes, and it is thought those galleys will lande them this nyght, therfore our appointed meetinge can not hold; but I pray you intrench yourselfe stronglie, and so will we, to keepe this place till we heare other newes, or till my Lord Deputy com, to whom I have written to that ende. (150) We have sent for captayne Bangor and captayne Meryman to com hyther, and for Captayne Parker's companie to com to Coollrane to kepe that place. I fynde the companyes heare verie weake, partlye by manes of leavinge many wardes; ther is one warde at Coollrane, (151) another in the castell on the other syde of the Bande; (152) and captayne Bowen hath XV. men where he lyeth; (153) and nyne in the ward at Donanany; so that he hath not heare above thre skore in the campe; and this skermish hath weakened me and captayne Carleille of 24 men that are slayne and hurte; and for our horsemen, we can make no accompt of them, for theire horses and forneture being bornt, they are able to do little servis.

"I have taken of the purser of the Hare (154) VI. horsemen's staves for Lieutenant Smyth

(146) *Galleys.*—These galleys were long boats, having each a single mast in the centre which carried a square mainsail. A little mast fixed at the prow bore the flag. The Hebridean galley was usually impelled by twenty oars. Grantees were required by their charters to provide and maintain, for the service of the lords of the Isles, these vessels in proportion to the extent of their lands. The long-fad, or lymphad, or galley, performed a leading part in the history of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, and hence it appears in the 'coat armorial' of certain leading chiefs. Somerled's usual fleet amounted to upwards of fifty sail, and at times even to so many as one hundred and sixty. For an interesting account of a curious poem connected with Hebridean seamanship, see Logan's *Scottish Gäel*, vol. ii., pp. 183—185. Randal Mac Somerled's coat armorial had the figure of a galley prominently exhibited. See p. 164, *supra.*

(147) *Red Bay.*—The landing of Sorley's troops took place at *Cushindun*, not Red Bay, as here surmised by Stanley.

(148) *Could not bouge.*—This word is now written *budge*, meaning to move slightly or slowly. It was rather remarkable that, at mid-winter, there was such a calm on the channel as here stated. Such an occurrence is very rare indeed.

(149) *The contrie.*—The ship-stores must have been carried from the port up the very steep ascent now know as the Castle-hill. This was no trifling task; indeed it would be so at the present day, even with the facilities of a comparatively smooth road and wheeled conveyances.

(150) *To that ende.*—Perrot *talked* about another journey to the north, but on hearing that Sorley had landed in such force, and appeared peaceably disposed, the deputy was easily persuaded to remain in the castle. The result of his last journey was doubtful, if not discreditable. The queen, when writing to him on the 14th of April, 1585, concludes with a paragraph written by her *own hand*, rebuking him sharply for believing that a great number of Scots had come to the northern coast. She cautioned him also against such *rash, unadvised journeys in future.* See Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, p. 560.

(151) *Coollrane.*—The fort at Coleraine, built some years previously on the Antrim side of the Bann, was occupied by the small 'warde' or garrison here mentioned. See p. 131, *supra.*

(152) *Of the Bande.*—This 'castell' on the Derry side of the Bann was known as *Castleroe*, and had been an early and well known residence of the O'Neills (see p. 161, *supra*). The rebel earl of Tyrone appears to have been frequently here in the time of his countess, Mabel Bagenall. In a Declaration by one Thadie Nolan, a pursuivant, at Dundalk, on the 13th of June, 1593, there is the following curious reference to a visit made by the earl to Castleroe, in the year above-named:—"Moreover, he (Tyrone) said openly, in the audience of the countesse his wife, Harry M'Shane O'Neill, O'Chainnes sonne, and divers others, in the howse at Castlerowe aforesaid, that there was no man in the worlde that he hated as much as the Knight Marshall; and further said (onely to myselfe) if he wer disposed, he wolde be within a myle of the said Marshall, in spighte of his teethe, do what he could." (*Kilkenny Journal of Archæology*, vol. i, new series, p. 308) The 'Knight Marshal' was sir Henry Bagenall, brother to the countess O'Neill. Between these brothers-in-law there was a deadly feud which only ended by the death of Bagenall, soon afterwards, at the famous battle of the Blackwater.

(153) *He lyeth.*—The encampment occupied by Bowen was on the level grounds immediately adjoining the abbey of Bunnamairge.

(154) *Hare.*—The names of several other vessels employed about this time in carrying men and ammunition into Ireland were the Achates, the Aid, the Antelope, the

because thers are bornt; I praye you be not displeased with him for levinge them. I pray you hasten away our proporcõn of victuals, for I loke for no helpe from the contrie. And so, with my hartiest commendacõns to yourself, and all the good company with you, I take leve. At the Fort of Donanany, this 5th Janewary, 1584. Your verie loveinge cozen,

"WILLIAM STANLEY." (155)

Stanley's very interesting letter is addressed—"To the right Worshipfull my verey loveinge cozen, Sir Henry Bagenall, Knight." On the writer's own showing, it is plain that the Scots had dealt upon him a severe blow. They took him by surprise, and it may well be supposed that as they entered his camp and continued the struggle during three quarters of an hour,—probably much longer,—the 'weakening' which he laments must have been much more serious that he admits. Stanley does not appear to have known that Donnell Gorm commanded the Scots at Bunnamairge. This leader had got a grant of the two-thirds of the Glynnes, but was discontented with the terms thereof. (156) He had attacked Stanley here for some special object, which he probably achieved, afterwards retreating in good order. Stanley's letter to Bagenall was enclosed by the latter to sir John Perrot, on the 7th of January, Bagenall accompanying it by a communication from himself equally interesting, written at Carrickfergus, to which place, as captain Lee (157) informs Walshyng-

Anne Auchier, the Bear of London, the Bull, the Dreadnought, the Elizabeth Bonaventure, the Flying Hart of Antwerp, the Foresight, the Gift of God, the Grace of Neston, the Green Dragon of London, the Greyhound of London, the Handmaid, the Jacques, the Jonas of Bristol, the Lion, the Margaret of Chester, the Marlion, the Marseilles, the Martin, the Mary Edwards, the Nightingale, the Relief, the Revenge, the Richard and Jane, the Samaritan, the Squirel, the St. Peter, the Swallow, the Swiftsure, the Tiger.

(155) *William Stanley.*—Stanley was knighted by sir William Drury, lord-justice of Ireland, in the year 1579. On the close of this war with Sorley Boy, he was placed in command of 1,000 men sent to serve in Holland, and appointed governor of the town of Deventer in the Netherlands, which town, with its garrison of 1,200 men, changed sides in the war, going over under Stanley's command from the English service to that of the Spaniards. English historians represent Stanley as being bribed to act thus, but it is more likely that, having become a Roman catholic, he felt dissatisfied with the English service. A rumour was spread in Ireland that he was soon to return at the head of an invading Spanish force, which rumour is referred to in the following passage of a curious tract written by one Robert Paine, in the year 1589:—"But yet there is a foolish rumoure, that sir William Standley with the Spanish kinges force wil enter Ireland, and that the Irish people who loved him wil take his part. No doubt he was wellbeloved there; but I think rather for his justice and good dealinge amongst them before he was suspected of treachery, than for anie matter of false conspiracie either to prince or countrie; I doe think that Sir William then knew not tenn traitours in all Ireland; for how durst anie rebel make his villainous intent known to a man so famous for true service, as in those days he was accounted? But suppose that he doe come—what is he to the late greate Earell of Desmonde, who had greater followers than Sir William is, and the kinge of Spaine his purse more plentifull than hee can have it." *Briefe Description of Ireland*, edited by A. Smith, pp. 12, 24; see also curious references to sir Wm. Stanley's treachery in Morrin's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 155, 168, 255.

(156) *The terms thereof.*—The following account of this grant to Donnell Gorm, dated at Dunluce, September 18, 1584, was drawn up by Perrot and his council:—"Humble suit has been made to us, the Lord-Deputy and Council, as well by the Lady Agnes Campbell, wife of Turlough Lennoghe O'Nele, mother to the abovenamed Donnell Gorme, as also by the said Donnell himself, that in respect of his humble submission to her Majesty, we would grant him her pardon, and a patent to enable him to be a free denizen in this her realme, and so much of the Glynnes of Ulster as were the lands of Misset, otherwise Bisset, for such yearly rent and services as we think requisite. Considering the letters from her Majesty of 14 March, 1583, declaring her favour towards the said Lady, we grant the aforesaid petitions. The castle of Olderflete shall be at her Ma^ties^ disposition. The said Donnell, or his heirs, shall not serve any foreign prince or potentate. He shall keep no Scots but such as be native of Ireland, and shall book all men in his country, and deliver the book to the Knight Marshall (Sir Nich. Bagnall), or to Sir Henry Bagnall, his son. He shall serve her Majesty with a rising out of 80 footmen at his own charges. He shall not unlawfully intermeddle with any borderers of Ulster. To pay a yearly rent of 60 beeves, to be delivered at the Newry. To serve against Saurlie Boye and any other foreign Scot. Not to convey any part of the Glynnes. He shall preserve all the hawks bred in the Glynns aforesaid, of what nature soever they be, and the same yearly to be sent in safety to the Governor of the realm for the time being. He shall not draw to him any of the followers of Claneboy, the Rowte, or the Ardes." See *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 381.

(157) *Lee.*—This was the celebrated captain Thomas

ham, Bagenall had just made a "precipitate flight" from Glenarm. This flight was occasioned by the re-appearance of Sorley at Red-Bay, an event which prevented an appointed meeting between Bagenall and Stanley, and soon brought about other results of still greater importance. The following is sir Henry Bagenall's letter to Perrot :—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VEREY GOODE LORD,—May it please your Lordship to be advertised that upon the 30th of last month, both Sir William Stanley and I arrived at Glanarme, wher he stayed with me tyll the arrivall of his victualls at Donamynie (Donanany), and marched by nyght through the Brad (158) to the Rowte, as his enclosed letter doth import; upon Thursday the vii of this instant, we appoynted on either syde to invad the enemye, and so to have met in Glannymye. (159) In the meane tyme we wer not idle, for upon Sondaye last I sallyed furth with my companyes towards certayne Glynnes neer us, wher the enymie, Donell Gorm, and his crete then lodged; in my retorne having not showed themselves afore, they chardged me hotlye in a pace, (160) wher I had the chace of them, and put them to flight, and broght som of theire heads awaye, and hurte others; of our syd only one soldier of Mr. St. Leger's was slayne, and ane other of Mr. Treasurer's a little hurte. What befell to my cozen Stanley on the other syde I need not recyt, the enclosed letter will declare. Sir William Stanley in his maketh mention of the galleys that wer seen, and trew it is, that they arrived at Bonandonnye (161) upon Twisday last at night, with Angus M'Conell, (162) all his brethren, and Sorley Boy, with all the force they could bringe. The very certayntie of their numbers yett I knowe not perfectlye, but as reporte is 2000, so as by this meanes

Lee. His letter to Walshyngham, mentioning Bagenall's flight from Glenarm, on the landing of Sorley at Cushindun Bay, concludes thus:—"I was amongst the rest as a common town dog at every hunter's call, appointed to attend his Lordship (Perrot), but now turned off to get my food where I may." Lee is better known as the author of his *Brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland*, 1594, than for his military services. See a copy of his tract in Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, pp. 587—609.

(158) *The Brad.*—This well-known division of lower or northern Clannaboy was anciently known as *Knockboynabrade.* "The name is preserved in the townland of *Knockboy*, and in the word *Braid*, which is used to denote as well the parish of Skerry as the river which bounds it on the south. The valley through which the Braid river flows, dividing the parishes of Skerry and Rathcavan, is, in all probability, that which Colgan refers to in the following description:—'Hodie vocatur *Braige-Dercan* estque vallis in Baronia Aendromensi Dioecesis Connerensis, olim dicta *Glann-fada-na-Feine, i.e.*, vallis longa Feniorum.' (Trias Th., p. 183, col. 2.)" Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 345.

(159) *Glannymye.*—This name is a corruption of the Irish *Gleann-Meadonagh, i.e.*, 'Middle-Glynnes.' In the patents to sir Randal Macdonnell, the name is written *Glinmiconogh* and *Glendonenaghe*, "which seems," says Dr. Reeves, "to be intended for Glendun." See *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 332.

(160) *In a pace.*—A 'pace' meant an opening or path cut in the woods. Our present word *pass* now only implies a defile between rocks or rugged hills.

(161) *Bonandonnye.—Bun-abhain-Duinn* the 'mouth of the river Dun. (See p. 132, *supra.*) This place was doubtless selected by Sorley for disembarkation, in preference to Marketon Bay, the latter being at least partially in possession of the enemy, and a land-force of the enemy apparently awaiting his arrival there. Had Sorley known how really insignificant the English there mustered, both by sea and land, he would have probably thrown his formidable redshank host upon them without waiting to go round as far as Cushindun. The word *cosh* has the same meaning as *bun*, both denoting the mouth or opening of a river.

(162) *Angus M'Conell.*— See p. 45, *supra.* Angus and his brothers were now evidently reconciled to their uncle Sorley, if there ever had been really any quarrel between them. The English policy always was to set up some other than the real representative of the clan as a means, and almost always an effectual means, of dividing the latter. In the present instance, however, this policy does not appear to have succeeded, for although Donnell Gorm had got a grant of the Glynnes, he still continued to fight on his uncle's side. The government then took up Angus, the eldest surviving brother, who had estates in Scoltand, and who, on that account was objectionable to the queen as a person to whom she could hardly reconcile herself to grant lands in Ulster. A grant, however, was formally made to Angus, which he, like his brother Donnell Gorm, appears to have abandoned, on some conditions to suit his uncle. The following is an abstract of this grant to Angus, dated May 16, 1586:—"Indenture made between the Deputy and Council and Angus M'Donnell, of

our former intention and plott to have mett is altered, and I also enforced to retyre hither for salfgard to this towne, and creates of the countrie, which I will gard to the most annoyance of the enemye that I maye, till I heare further from your Honour. They were all determyned yisterdaye to have broken downe hitherwarde to burne this towne, and afterwards to have had the spoyle of Con M'Neyl Oge's contrey; (163) for the Rowte they make reckoninge to be their owne at all tymes, upon which advertisement I thought good to hasten to stop that purpose the best I could. The hearinge that I had so prevented them, at this tyme, turned their corse to the Rowte ther to break their forraye; but how they sped yett we cannot knowe. When they com hither, as I am sure they will verye shortlye, I will carry myself as neare as I can in that sort, that I may do her Majesty most honour and service, and, as my match may be somewhat reasonable and indifferent, till I hear from or see your Lordship, which I assure myself shall be with all convenient expedition; (164) and as I have often heretofor, so I must nowe of force acquainte your Lordship plainlye with the weakness of the other company of horsemen, which your Lordship directed to serve with me; and nowe I can but wishe that they wer stronger till your Lordship may amend it. I have written to my father (165) to hasten hither M'Gynnes (166) and the Baron (167) with their

Downavaige. In respect of the suit made to the queen by the lady Agnes Campbell, wife to Turlough O'Neale, and of the submission made by the said Angus, the Lord Deputy and Council grant, that the said Angus shall have to him, and his heirs male of his body, by letters patent, all the castles, lands, &c., called Misset, *alias* Bisset lands within the Glynnes. If it be found that the castle of Olderflete is parcel of the premises, then the Queen shall have the same. He is to hold of her Majesty by the services of homage, fealty, and two knights' fees; and on condition of performing the articles following:—1. Neither he, nor his followers to serve any foreign prince or any other person within Ireland against her Majesty. 2. No Scots under him, whom he may command, to disquiet the peace of this realme, or serve against her Majesty in this realm, except when there is war between England and Scotland. 3. Not to retain any Scots above 30, other than be natives of Ireland, and to deliver a book of their names to the Marshall of the Queen's garrisons in Ireland. 4. To serve her Majesty with a rising out of 80 footmen in Ulster, at his own and their own charges. 5. He and his tenants not to intermeddle with their borderers in Ulster. 6. To pay a yearly rent of 60 good and fat beeves at Carrigfergus, between Lammas and Hallowtide. 7. To serve against all that shall invade this realm, except against the Scots when war is proclaimed against England and Scotland. 8. Not to alien or convey away his lands. 9. To yearly preserve and give to her Majesty one eyrie of the best hawks, either goshawks or falcons." (*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 426.) This last-named condition in reference to the hawks is much more reasonably put than in the grant to Donnell Gorm (see p. 170, *supra*), who was bound to preserve *all* the hawks of every kind, bred in the Glynnes, and forward them to the lord-deputy, for the queen. From an early period, the peregrine falcon was considered superior to the goshawk, and therefore in greater repute. Giraldus Cambrensis tells a story of Henry II. when crossing to Ireland, having cast off a Norway goshawk at a peregrine falcon, and that after a fierce but brief struggle, the goshawk fell dead at the king's feet. This incident is said to have convinced the king that, of the two kinds, the falcon is the better. Old Fuller, who refers to this story of Giraldus, informs his readers that these hawks' *aeries* are so called from the French word *aire*, 'an egg,' and not because they build their nests in the air! See *Worthies of England*, vol. iii., p. 553.

(163) *Neal Oge's country.*—Neal Oge O'Neill's country was upper or southern Clannaboy, now comprised in the two baronies of upper and lower Castlereagh. See p. 133, *supra*.

(164) *Expedition.*—See also Stanley's letter, pp. 168, 169, *supra*. Perrot abandoned his purpose, but not before having incurred some expense to the state, and imposed trouble on several persons. Norris, as a rare hand at butchering the Scots, had been ordered from Munster to accompany Perrot. In a letter to the privy council, dated March 7, 1584, Norris refers to Perrot's change of purpose thus:—"It may please your Lordships to be advertized that upon report of the landing of the number of Scots with Angus M'Conell in the North, I was sent for down hither by my Lord-Deputy, to attend his Lordship in a journey, which he forthwith purposed to make thither, but hearing that the said Scotts, either terrified with the strength of the garrison there from further attempt, or drawn home again by means of some changes or troubles there happened, as is informed, and being, because of the untimely season of the year, discounselled from taking so hard a journey in hand, his Lordship hath thereupon stayed his purpose." See Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, *preface*, p. xci.

(165) *My father.*—Sir Nicholas Bagenall. See p. 50, *supra*.

(166) *M'Gynnes.*—Sir Hugh Magennis, afterwards created baron Iveagh.

(167) *The Baron.*—Hugh O'Neill, afterwards created earl of Tyrone. See p. 147, *supra*.

forces tyll your Lordship's pleasure be known. In the mean tyme I will not further troble you, but pray the Almighty long to prosper you. From Carrickfergus, this 7th January, 1584. Your Lordship's all at comaundment, "H. BAGENALL. (168)

"Postscripte.—This I must saye by the waye to your Lordship, that theire aide came to them (the Scots) in highe tyme, for I wolde have had no doubt but, by our plott, in one moneth we had banished them from their glinnes; but nowe I heare that many horsemen of the Rowte and O'Cahan's contrey are come to Sorley."

Postscripts are proverbially significant, and certainly this one from Bagenall is no exception to the general rule. Had the Scots permitted him and Stanley quietly to unite their forces in the neighbourhood of Cushindall, the one marching from Glenarm and the other from Ballycastle, he fancies the northern campaign might have been thus brought to a triumphant close; but as it happened, Sorley had landed at Cushindun in time to thwart their arrangements, and was rallying around him a most formidable party, even as the two English knights were in the act of writing the letters above quoted. In truth, the war appeared as if only then really about to commence. It was destined to end only by a virtual surrender to Sorley of more territory than he had asked for, or then expected. On his return to the coast, he was not slow in making his terms once more known to the government. In a peace-loving but undaunted spirit, he addressed Perrot from his "Campe in the Rowte," stating that those who had been formerly employed to treat for him had made matters worse instead of better between them. What was past, however, could not be recalled. He now only wanted to enjoy peaceable possession, originally granted by Sussex, and afterwards confirmed by Sydney. He was willing, for peace's sake, to accept the lower or third part of the Glynnes, provided he would get the whole of the Route, including three great districts between the Bush and the Bann, known as Macquillin's country, as an equivalent for giving up the two-thirds of the Glynnes granted to his nephew, Donnell Gorme. For this grant he was willing to pay the same rent as for the former, supplying 20 furnished horsemen and 80 able footmen in her majesty's service, at his own expense, at any time required, and at any place throughout the north, from Newry to Lough-foyle. These terms were signed *Surle M'Donnell*, not M'Connell, as on former occasions. The date of his letter to Perrot containing these terms, is February 5, 1584, old style, or precisely a month later than Stanley's letter written at Donanynie, and already quoted. On the day Sorley wrote to Perrot, he forwarded a communication to captain Carleille, thanking him for his

(168) *H. Bagenall.*—See p. 128, *supra*. This knight was celebrated in sir Walter Scott's poem of *Rokeby*. He was named after sir Henry Sydney, who stood as gossip or godfather at his baptism. He is well known as the writer of the *Description of Ulster in* 1586, to which reference has already been made. The following is an almost contemporary account of Bagenall:—"Sharing his father's hatred of the Irish, and intent on his own aggrandisement, he lost no opportunity of adding to the grants which he inherited; so much so, indeed, that he ultimately became one of the most active of the supplanting foemen of the O'Neills and their subordinate lords. When the MacMahon of Monaghan was executed at his own door, by the infamous order of deputy Fitzwilliam, Sir Henry Bagenal received a considerable portion of the murdered chieftain's lands; and there can be little doubt that he hoped to oust Tyrone himself, and share the partition of his wide domains. He was, in sooth, a greedy adventurer, restless, rapacious, unscrupulous; in a word, one who deemed it no sin or shame to aid in any process by which the rightful owner might be driven from his holding, provided he got share of the spoil. This man hated Tyrone with implacable animosity; and indeed the Earl reciprocated the sentiment—nay, branded him in public and private as a coward, who shrunk from the ordeal of single combat." (See p. 149, *supra*.) Meehan's *Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries in Ireland*, p. 29.

courtesy and good counsel at some parley where they had recently met. In this letter he refers to his lands as having been in his possession for the period of forty years. He speaks also of the Macquillins as having been untrue and treacherous, and of his own readiness to put one of his own sons into the hands of Hugh O'Neill, baron of Dungannon, as a pledge for the faithful performance of the terms he had now offered to Perrot. This son's life had been threatened by the leader of the Macquillins, and Sorley requested Carlille to restrain the latter, and punish him for his threats. His son was probably a prisoner at the time in the hands of the Macquillins, the latter being evidently allies of the English. In the signature of this letter, the chief's christian name is written *Saurle,* which is still another form of the word. In a second letter to Carleill, written on the same day and from the same place, Sorley explains why it was that one of his (Sorley's) messengers had been slain by Scottish soldiers. The man was found guilty of several acts of treachery, probably in supplying English soldiers with information which ought not to have been given to an enemy. (169)

The war went on during some months longer, and in these months English officers reported unvarying successes for themselves, although occasionally we meet in their letters unguarded expressions which significantly contradict the otherwise boastful chorus of their feigned triumphs. (170) Thus, sir William Stanley, having recovered from wounds he had received in the surprise at Bunnamairge, states in a letter to Burghley, that, although the conflict there cost him the lives of several good soldiers, they had put the Scots to flight, which *had not been done before for seven years.* He might have safely said, however, notwithstanding their continual boasting, that except in some very trivial skirmishing, the like had not happened during *twice* the seven years preceding. Among the numerous letters relating to this final struggle with Sorley, all boasting more or less of victories over the Scots, there is only perhaps *one* written from the Glynnes by a person who was not actually concerned as a soldier in the war. This person, named Martin Couche, would seem to have been sent northward to see for himself, and to report on the condition of affairs to his employer, sir Francis Walshyngham, the English chief secretary of state. In one of his letters,

169. *An enemy.*—In one of his letters, Sorley informs Carleill that he is willing to put his son as a pledge into the hands of the baron of Dungannon or Mr. Edward Moore, of Mellifont, near Drogheda (see p. 154, *supra*). He also declares that he and Macquillin cannot live longer in the same country, meaning territory. Theobald Macquillin, the leader of the clan at this crisis, may have been a cousin of Rorie Oge, executed in 1575. For abstracts of Sorley's letters to Carleill, see Hamilton's *Calendar,* second series, p. 551.

(170) *Feigned triumphs.*—Officers of the class abovementioned were numerous in Ireland at every period from the time of the invasion, and were very generally the real authors of many of Ireland's greatest woes. These unprincipled adventurers' policy led them to excite or goad the natives into rebellions, in the hope of military promotion, or, better still, grants from the crown of rebels' forfeited lands. When neither of these objects could be gained at once, they took care, during intervals of cessation from war, to enrich themselves in humbler but no less certain ways. An apt illustration had occurred in Ulster only a few years previously. When Essex was thwarted in his own selfish projects, he wrote to Burghley complaining of certain officers whose practices he had discovered, and who were individually pocketing three or four thousand pounds sterling a year, which ought to have been employed in the public service. It appeared that these gentry were in the regular habit of raising unlimited supplies from the Irish without a shade of authority to do so. (See *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex,* vol. i., p. 67.) Leland, in his *History of Ireland,* vol. ii., p. 189, mentions a case, not uncommon, of English officers who had assured certain Irish chieftains that upon surrender of themselves to the government, they would obtain pardon for their rebellion. "These chiefs embraced the counsel, submitted, and consented to attend the Lord Deputy St. Leger into England; but here, the only favour granted was, that they were not brought to immediate execution. They were committed to prison, their lands declared forfeit, and granted *to those by whose counsel they had surrendered.*"

written on the 2nd December, he enclosed a statement which has been attractively calendared—*Relation of the Journey to the Woods called the Glynns against the usurping Scots.* We had the curiosity to get from the London State Papers Office, a full and true copy of this 'Relation,' hoping that it might tell us at least something of the 'Woods' in which those irrepressible Scots had their haunts. But Martin Couche chanced, whilst there, to be an eye-witness of a fight at which sir Henry Bagenall himself commanded, and he was evidently so surprised with the whole affair that he could speak of nothing else. The following is the 'Relation' of this comparatively impartial eye-witness:—

"The XIIIth of November laste, the garisons of Knockfergus and Collrane the number of fyve hundrethe foote and one hundrethe horsemen English, together with so manie Irishe on foote and horseback, joyninge our forces, and drawinge ourselves towardes the Glyne, marchinge in verie good sorte, and sett in battalia by the comaundement of S^{r}. Henrie Baggnall, knighte, colonell of the sayd forces. The woodes which we call y^{e} Glyne beinge y^{e} place of strenghte where the usurpinge Skotts contynewe themselves with theere cattell, which wee properlie term create; as soone as wee entred the sayde Glyne the enimys beinge some XIII^{XX} (171) bow-men or neare there abouts, chardged the rerewarde of our battayle (172) very hoatlie, where uponn the skyrmyshe was verie sharpe. This sayde skyrmyshe contynewed for the space of one haulfe hower, or there abouts, wherin was slayne of our companie of Englishe V. or VI. and wounded besydes one hundrethe and upwards insomyche wee wer enforced, whether hitt (it) were for wante of government, or otherwise for lake of breathe, to retyre shamefullie, and the sayde Skottes pursewinge us verie desparatlie at the verie skyrte of the woode, where they gave over, and so made our retreate to y^{e} campe beinge within one Englyshe myle of y^{e} Redd Baye. The nexte daye followinge perfytt intelligence was brought to y^{e} colonell yt there was slayne of the Skottes by us the same tyme in number XLI., and wounded deadlie XXVI. Our happes was the worse and so constrewed amoinge some of the better sorte of soulders for that wee wanted our comaunder captayne Carlyell, (173) whose absence is greatlie lamented by all y^{e} garison of Collrane."

The foregoing statement, it will be observed, says not a word as to the number of the losses sustained by the English in the battle near Red Bay, and in no other letter is there the least reference to this affair at all. Couche accompanied his statement by the following note:—

"Right honorable, my bounden dewtie humblie remembred, may hitt please the same for better dischardge of my dewtie to your honor I have here inclosed a noate of the servys latelie performed in the noarthe, wherin myselfe was; and therfore do presume the rather to signifye the same to your Honor: Thus cravinge pardon, evermore desireinge to contynewe as one of the number of yours, with prayer for y^{e} lounger preservācon of your Honor, with increase. Dublyn this seconde of December 1584, your Honor's humble servaunt at comaundment, "MA. COUCHE.

"To the Righte honorable my singular good master, S^{r}. Frauncys Walshyngham knighte chyffe secretarie to Hir Ma^{tie}, and one of Hir Highnes most honorable Previe Counsell." *Public Record Office, State Papers, Ireland*, vol. cxiii., no. 5.

(171) XIII.^{xx}.—This is Couche's method of writing *thirteen score*, or thirteen times twenty.

(172) *Our battayle.*—The *battle* was a word used to denote the main body of foot constituting an army.

(173) *Carleyle.*—See pp. 166, 168, *supra*. This officer was appointed governor of Carrickfergus in the year 1592. During his term of office he issued a proclamation on the subject of improving the district by the holding of regular

We give the following letter also *in extenso*, as a good specimen of the style of officers' letters from the north, and as illustrative of the savage manner in which the war was waged, even against the defenceless people who were employed in taking care of the creaghts or cattle in the Glynns. The writer, Barkley, was one of those numerous adventurers who came with the earl of Essex, (174) and was, doubtless, anxious to avail himself of any opportunity to avenge upon the Scots the disappointment to which he, in common with all his brother adventurers, was doomed, by the failure of that nobleman's expedition :—

"My duetie humblye remembred to your Lordship. The seavententh day of this moneth we marched towardes the Glynnes; and so soone as Sorlye heard of it, he forsooke the same, and wente with all his creates to the fastnes of Castelltoome, wheare he went to passe over the Band if he thought himselfe too weake. But O'Nell verie honestlie was ther to staye him of that passadge, (175) and as soon as wee understoode of Sorley's repayer towardes those Borders, wee croste over the Roote, and in Bryan Carroughs fastnes, (176) we happened upon five hundrethe kyne of Donnell Gormes; and captayne Warren with eight horsemen chardged a twentye or thirtie of the Scotts, and hitt with his pistoll one of the captaines; and a gentell man of his own, Mr. Nixe (who served verie valiantlie), was shott in to the hand, which was all the hurtt that was done that daye of both sydes. The eighteenth daye we divided ourselves; S^r. Henrye Bagnold in the one parte and myselfe in the other, from the breake of the daye to y^e fale of the night searched the woodes; and capten Lee with a wyng of shott happened upon Sorlyes cariadge, and had verie greate spoyle, had the killinge of their poore people, and hougheinge of manye of their hackneys and garrans. They could bringe none awaye by reasone the bogg was so deepe. The nynetenth daye upon good spiall we entred the other syde of the woode, wheare we were drawen uppon all the creates that the Scottes had, wheare we had the spoyle of the value of five or sixe thousand pound in my judgment; we brought awaye three thousand cowes and garrans, and we houghed in the boggs a thousand more; (177) we have taken a Scottishe-woman that telleth us manie strange

markets therein. In this proclamation, he refers to the lamentable results of the war for the expulsion of the Scots, in which he held such a prominent command, and which had contributed so to desolate the whole Antrim coast, or, as he expressed it, "thes northeaste partes of Ulster, a greate parte whereof lyeth still waste for lacke of inhabitacōn." See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, 3rd edition, p. 294.

(174) *Essex.*—See pp. 152, 153, 155, *supra.*

(175) *That passadge.*—The enmity between Sorley and Turlough Luinech, which Sydney congratulates himself on having stirred up, appears to have still continued. This enmity, however, arose out of lady Cantire's (now lady Tyrone's) anxiety to obtain the Glynns for one of her sons. (See p. 157, *supra.*) Turlough Luinech had a residence at Toome, and had probably drawn a considerable force of his kerne to that point, when thus able to turn Sorley aside from crossing the river.

(176) *Fastnes.*—This fastness was known as Inishrush on the Bann.

(177) *A thousand more.*—The twenty or thirty Scots charged by Warren were probably cattle-keepers. The wealth of every clan consisted mainly in its cattle of various kinds. The English soon discovered this, and always aimed at the wanton destruction of such cows, sheep, and swine, as they could not themselves actually devour, and of such horses as they did not require for their own uses. Fynes Moryson, an Englishman, in his account of the rebellion that occurred soon after this period under the leadership of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, says:—"In the heat of the last rebellion, the very vagabond rebels had great multitudes of cowes, which they still (like the nomades) drove with them, whithersoever themselves were driven, and fought for them as for their altars and families. By this abundance of cattle the Irish have frequent, though somewhat poore trafficke for their hides, the cattle being in general very little, and only the men and the greyhounds of greate stature. Neither can the cattle possibly be great since they only eat by day, and then are brought at evenings within the bawnes of castles, where they stand or lie all night in a dirty yard, without so much as a lock of hay, whereof they make little for sluggishnesse, and that little they altogether keepe for their horses. And they are thus brought in by night for fear of theeves, the Irish using almost no other kind of theft; or else for fear of wolves,

tales of their determynacõn, which I doe beleeve to be true, and by the nexte bote that cometh to Dublyn, I will send her to your Lordship: theire meaninge is, as she sayeth, not to fight with us, and soe it felle oute, for they stoode by and never offered skyrmishe, seeinge theire goodes taken from them. The contrey people hearinge that the Scottes forsooke their goodes and repayred again to the Glynnes followed the spoyle and did them as much hurtt as was possible to be done. On Mondaye nexte we meane to sett forwarde towards the Glynnes and the Raughlens, and to devyde ourselves into three partes, hopinge we shall yeeld good acompte by the twentyeth of the nexte moneth, desyringe your Lordship by that time to give me leave to be the messenger myself, for I am verie weerye of the north; either Sr. Henrye Bagnold or Sr. William Stanley is sufficient with three hondrethe footmen and fiftie horsmen to ende thes warres: Sorlye, I dare be his suertye, will yelde unto anie thinge that your Lordship will sett downe, and give his sonne pleadge for the same. Thus leavinge to trouble your Lordshipp anye further for this time, I humblie take my leave. Carrikefargus this XXVI th of Februarye 1584. Your Lordshipps most humble for ever,

"E. Barkley."

"Post script.—It is reported heare that Captain Carleill giveth up his chardge; his Lyvtenant Hynshawe hath behaved himself so sufficyentlie in all respects in this time of service as your Lordship can not in honour bestow it upon any from him; for his credite he doth desire it, if it be but for a daye, otherwise he thinketh it will be to his disgrace. (178) Sargaunt Price hath, in two or three actions, behaved himselfe verye valiantlie, and doth rest willinge and duetifull in any thinge that belongeth to a soldiour. (179) The soldiours are half without brogs and stockens which will hinder us greatlye if your Lordshipp supplye us not.

"To the Righte honnorable and my verye good Lord Sr. John Perrod, knight, L: Deputie of Ireland, give these." *Public Record Office, State Papers, Ireland*, vol. cxiv., no. 82.

All official documents at this crisis speak of the Scottish cause as literally in *articulo mortis*. Bagenall, Stanley, and Barkley, wrote a joint-letter to Perrot in which they announced that Donell Gorm and his brother had taken their departure to Scotland, that Sorley Boy's son alone kept the field with only 120 men, and that he was so pressed as to be unable to rest two hours in one place at a time. Perrot delightedly forwarded this intelligence to Walshyngham, prefacing it with the announcement that "the Scots are clean banished again!" Bagenall informed Burghley that one William Nyx with nine others had defeated 120 Scots, killing their captain. Another English officer named Stafford, (180) described a sharp combat between 170 of his soldiers and 1200 Scottish and Irish

the destruction whereof being neglected by the inhabitants, oppressed with greater mischiefs, they are so much grown in number, as sometimes in winter nights they will come to prey in villages, and the suburbs of cities." (*Historie*, part iii., pp. 159, 160.) This swarming of thieves and wolves, especially in Ulster, was the result of the disorganisation and desolation produced by such repeated English invasions of the north such as that now undertaken by Perrot.

(178) *To his disgrace.*—This captain Henshaw was left in Rathlin to hold the garrison there in March, 1585. One of his soldiers carried a letter to Perrot, from Sorley Boy, containing overtures of peace. (See Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 533, 556, 577.) Henshaw was appointed seneschal of Monaghan in 1592. (See Morrin's *Calendar*, second series, p. 226.)

(179) *To a soldiour.*—Price writes to Walshyngham on the 1st of May, 1585, from Edenduffcarrick, informing him how he had been chasing the Scots from bog to bog. See Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, p. 562.

(180) *Stafford.*—This was Francis Stafford, afterwards knighted, pensioned, and made a member of the Irish Privy Council. He was one of those who signed the official account of Hugh O'Neill's submission at Mellifont. Writing to Robert Cecil (Salisbury) in April, 1603, sir Francis Stafford "sorrowes moch the loss of

"in which they couched the pike above 40 times and many times came to the sword." The writer states that this was "a sharp combat," without giving any particulars as to his own losses, which he could have accurately told, but, as was usual with the writers of such reports, he volunteers a statement of the enemy's losses, which he could not have accurately known. Among the officers of the latter slain on that occasion he mentions Neece Ro (Angus Roe) M'Donagh M'Allester, and Donnell M'Randal Boye (Macdonnell). Beverley, (181) the victualler, testifies when writing to Burghley, that "the Scots had small fear at first of being supplanted, but now their hearts are broken, their goods preyed, and they shrowd themselves in secret corners."

The march of events soon proved how little these writers knew of the real state of affairs in the north, or of the intentions of the 'pottentates' throughout this troublesome province. The foregoing accounts were written in the spring, but the whole aspect of affairs had changed before the coming of the following autumn. In the spring, Fenton chuckled in the belief that the government had been able to enforce silent submission throughout the land, and that "God delyteth in peace;" but "the summer grief had brought him," and the Scots, whom he supposed incapable of further resistance, had become more troublesome than ever. In the month of August, he wrote to Burghley, imploring him to urge upon Perrot the necessity of doing something to quiet Ulster before the storm, then evidently gathering, would burst upon them in another tempest of war. But Fenton had overlooked the fact that there had been only a *lull* in the storm, not a cessation, as he imagined. He now encloses a letter received from an emissary in the neighbourhood of Dungannon, in which it was stated that the Scots had been joined by the following formidable array of friends, viz., "Con M'Neal Oge's son, (182)

their gracious and sacred Princess (Elizabeth), and yet is revived and comforted in that God hath been pleased to provide so renowned and zealous a king for them." In a letter dated October 12, in the same year, Stafford assures Cecil that "the benefit and good fortune which hath happened to him hath proceeded from Cecil's honourable means and countenance. Protests to God that his dependancy is wholly open to Cecil, with this assurance, that with all faith and duty during his life it shall be performed and manifested in his (Stafford's) most humble and reverent regards, with continual prayers for the preservation of his (Cecil's) health and increase of his honour. Commits him to the protection of the Almighty, and himself to the happiness of his (Cecil's) continual favour and countenance." For several references to this pious and fortunate knight, see Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, 1603—1606, pp. 11, 14, 16, 30, 61, 91, 95, 254, 425. Sir Francis obtained an extensive grant of lands on the Bann, and resided in the vicinity of Portglenone. His daughter, Martha, married sir Henry O'Neill of Shane's Castle, and was mother of Rose O'Neill, second wife to the first marquis of Antrim. (See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 211.) Sir Francis enjoyed, during several years, the office of governor of Ulster. He was interred in the church of St. Nicholas, Carrickfergus. See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, 3rd edition, p. 141.

(181) *Beverley.*—This victualler had also the honour of knighthood, soon afterwards, and was styled *Comptroller of the Victuals*, an office which he held by letters patent, with a salary of 10s per diem. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, p. 494.

(182) *M'Neal Oge's son.*—Con M'Neal Oge O'Neill of Clannaboy left two sons, the elder of whom was slain in 1584. He was known as Donnell M'Quin or M'Conn, and his death is mentioned by the lords-justices, when writing to the council at London, on the 31st of January, in that year. They describe this young chieftain as having been very dangerous, which meant that he had resisted the authorities of the Pale, often successfully, and to the death. Con's second son probably succeeded his father in at least a portion of the family estates, as we here find him allied with Sorley Boy in the year 1585. Con M'Neale Oge, the father, was a very warlike chief, and appears to have taken spoils repeatedly from the inhabitants of Carrickfergus. In a "Note of their great Losses," it is recorded that on one occasion he took from them 400 kine, after having slain the mayor and the constable of the king's castle, with 24 of the townsmen. At another time, Con carried off their mayor, William Wallis, and a Mr. Corbett, from whom he received £540 as their ransom. A third visit from this chieftain is recorded, when he seized and carried off 100 head of cattle. He then placed 200 men by night in the middle of the town to kill sir Brian M'Fellomy, and thus to win the town. Perceiving they were hardly beset by him, they (the inhabitants) gave to Sorley Boy M'Donell £20 sterling in wine, silk, and saffron to assist them. (See *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 147, 148.) In 1584, there were great disputings about territory among the O'Neills, and sir John

the Scots of the Dufferin, (183) the O'Kellies, (184) the woodmen of Kilwarlin, (185) and Macartan's countrey, (186) and Hugh M'Phelim's sonnes." (187) Here was a most formidable combination in favour of the Antrim Scots, and Sorley once more felt himself master of the position. Light is beginning to dawn upon the authorities at last. Perrot cannot accept it, but would blindly

Perrot states that Con M'Neale Oge aspired, by the law of tanistry, to the government of all Clannaboy, but that he adjudged to him upper or southern Clannaboy, giving the northern territory to Shane M'Brian and Hugh Oge. (*Ibid.*, second series, p. 383.) After this arrangement, probably, he was knighted, as in the following year he is styled sir Con. The disputes among this connexion appear to have continued, for in 1592 we have the following reference to the subject in a letter from Elizabeth to the Irish deputy:—"It appears that for extinguishing the contention between Shane M'Brian and his cousin, Neal Oge, touching lands in North Clandeboye, they have submitted themselves and given pledged to live in obedience to our laws, and are desirous to have by our grant the country divided between them, whereupon you have thought it convenient that Shane M'Brian, being the chief of the sept, should have three parts of the country, and Neal Oge a fourth part; and yet nevertheless that the castle of Edendoghkerry, with the lands thereunto belonging, should remain with us, for which they have both made such contention. Morrin's *Calendar*, second series, p. 226.

(183) *Of the Dufferin.*—Scots settled extensively throughout the territories of the Dufferin and Lecale during the sixteenth century. Their leader is known in the State Papers as Alexander Macranald Boy, so called from the descent of himself and his clan from Randal, surnamed *Ban* or 'white-haired,' second son of John Mor and Margery Byset. For sir Thomas Cusake's account of the Scottish occupation of the Dufferin, see the *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, first series; and for Marshal Bagenall's account, in 1586, see *Ibid.*, second series.

(184) *The O'Kellies.*—This clan occupied one of the nine subdivisions of upper or southern Clannaboy. Their lands comprehended "the greater part of Comber parish and Tullynakill. On Norden's map the name *Kellies* is laid on the situs of Comber, and *Slut Kellies* a little W.S.W. of Drumbo. Johnson's map places the *Kellies* between Castlereagh and Dufferin on the east and south, and Slut MacO'Neale and Kinelarty on the west. The family was originally settled near Drumbo." (Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 347.) The O'Kellies were also known as the *Mag Duileachans;* and "Clanbrassel MacCoolechan (Clan-Breasail Mag Dhuilechain), so called for distinction betwixt it and one other country of the same name in the county of Armagh, is a very fast country of woodeand bogg, inhabited with a sept called the O'Kellies, a very savage and barbarous people, and given altogether to spoils and robberies." See *Cambrensis Eversus*, translated and edited by Kelly, vol. i., p. 248, *note*; see also an old authority quoted in Dubourdieu's *Antrim*, vol. ii., p. 627.

(185) *Kilwarlin.*—The territory of Kilwarlin adjoins Killultagh, and its wood men were always a formidable power in ancient Ulster. In 1585, the year above referred to, their captain or leader was Ever Macrorie M'Brian Magennis, this branch of the Magennises being known as MacRorie from its founder Rudhraighe. Their territory comprehended the present parish of Hillsborough, with portions of the parishes of Blaris, Moira, Dromore, and Dromara.

(186) *Macartan's countrey.*—The present Kinelarty, anciently known as *Cinel-Fagartaigh—i.e.*, 'Race of Fagartach,' the tribe name of the Macartans. They derive their name from Fagartach, son of Mongan, son of Saran, of the race of Ross, king of Ulster. From Artan, grand-son of Fagartach, they take their hereditary surname of Macartan. Their country lies between Kilwarlin and Lecale. In 1585, their leader was Acholie M'Cartan, who could turn out in Sorley Boy's service a goodly number of footmen but no horsemen, because their country was not suited to the training of cavalry, being then covered by woods and bogs. (See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 213, 368; O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, p. 60; *Book of Rights*, edited by O'Donovan, p. 206.) The queen had granted this territory to sir Nicholas Malbie, by whom the rightful owners were expelled. In 1575, when Sydney visited the neighbourhood, instead of the Macartans, he found in Kinelarty bands of outlaws and thieves. "Now," says Sydney, "no Benefitt arryseth at all to Malbye, nor none ells; but contrariwise, being held as it is, breadethe moche Trouble and Inconvenience to the goode Neighbourhoode, and common Quiet and Securitie of the Countrie." Sydney's *Letters and Memorials*, vol. i., p. 76.

(187) *Hugh M'Phelim's sonnes.*—Hugh MacFelim O'Neill was elder brother to Brian MacFelim mentioned at pp. 147, 153, *supra.* He was captain or lord of Killultagh, a territory consisting of about sixty thousand acres, now comprising almost all the Lisburn estates. Although he had been a fierce opponent of the Scots, and was slain by them in 1583, his sons now (1585) united their forces with those of Sorley Boy. For an account of a 'difficulty' or dispute between Hugh MacFelim and the people of Carrickfergus, see M'Skimin's *History*, 3rd edition, pp. 291, 292. Northern Clannaboy was divided by Perrot between the sons of sir Brian M'Felim and Hugh M'Felim, but Bagenall states, in his account of Ulster two years later (1586), that there had been great dissentions and slaughters among these cousins. (See *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 438.) Dymock, in his *Treatice of Ireland* (1599), refers to this division as follows:—"North Clanneboy is devided into two partes, the ryver of Kellis being the meare bownde. The South parte thereof was given for a rent to the sons of Brian M'Felim O'Neile, who were all pencioners to her majestie, and the eldest Shane M'Brian yett liveinge was cheeffe. The north part beyond Kellis to the ryver of Ban, by lough Eaugh, was assigned to the sonnes of Hugh M'Felim, elder brother to sir Brian, whose eldest sonne and chiefe of that parte is Hugh Oge M'Hugh." See Butler's edition, p. 22.

break away on another journey to the North. The council oppose, and eventually prevent this project. Fenton now thinks that it would be good policy to permit Sorley and his son to enjoy some corner of the Route, handing over the residue to M'Quillye! Then there is an order in council, which had to be made in consequence of the loss of Dunluce castle to the government; next a letter from Perrot, urging his recall, declaring that he can hardly endure the discredit at Dunluce, and that he could not answer for the peace of the realme, now that the northern gap is again set open! And last of all comes a "plain unvarnished" statement from Wallop, telling of the fall of Dunluce, (188) and the slaying of Peter Carie, its constable, together with many of the English garrison. In truth, this hapless constable was hanged over one of the walls of Dunluce, and in sight of an English force, which quickly decamped without any attempt either to save him, or avenge his death. In April, 1586, the queen wrote to the Irish deputy and council, directing a pension of one shilling a day, to be paid to Catherine Carie, in consideration of the loss of her husband, who, when "appointed Constable of the Castle of Dunluce, was betrayed by some of his own, and miserably slain by the Scots." His widow had "five small children without any means for their maintenance or bringing up." See Morrin's *Calendar*, second series, p. 127.

The joy occasioned among the Scots of Antrim on their repossession of this great old fortress, was soon overclouded by tidings of the death of Alexander Macdonnell, Sorley's favourite and most gallant son. His father had now become old and feeble, and on hearing of his son's treacherous slaughter, the aged chief had probably a clearer vision of the horrors of war than was ever previously vouchsafed to him. At all events, he seemed from that moment to have made up his mind for peace. The retaking of his principal fortress from the enemy appears also to have thoroughly gratified the veteran warrior, because another laurel was thus added to his military crown, and especially because he felt that from Dunluce he could make overtures for peace without humiliation. So, Sorley overtured for peace, and fortunately he found his opponents only too happy to listen. It was forthwith arranged that he should go to Dublin and make a formal submission, and that, in return, he would receive a liberal grant from the crown. The government authorities were well aware that, as they wanted peace, there was only one way of obtaining it, and in that way they had determined to

(188) *Fall of Dunluce.*—In a memoir of sir John Perrot, written several years afterwards, the author exonerates the deputy, and lays the blame of this disaster on the hapless Cary, or rather on his northern extraction:—"Withal, there happening an accident of the loss of Dunluce (which the Deputy had now, and placed a ward therein), he advertised the same unto the Privie Council in this manner. When he first took that pile, he placed a pensioner called Peter Cary to be constable of it, with a ward of fourteen soldiers, thinking him to be of the English pale or race; but afterwards found that he was of the North. This constable reposing trust in those of his country and kindred, had gotten some of them unto him, and discharged the English soldiers, unknown to the Deputy; two of these having confederated with the enemy, drew up fifty of them by night, with ropes made of withies. Having surprised the castle, they assaulted a little tower, wherein the constable was, and a few with him. They at first offered them life, and to put them in any place they would desire (for so had the traitors conditioned with them before); but the constable, willing to pay the price of his folly, chose rather to forego his life in manly sort, than to yield unto any such conditions, and was slain." (See Dubourdieu's *Antrim*, vol. ii., pp. 611, 612.) This story is hardly creditable in some respects, and would have been very differently told by the hapless Cary himself. Whether he was a Cary or Carew, whether of the north or south, he was undoubtedly of English race. It is not to be believed that Perrot would have left such an important place as Dunluce in charge of only fourteen men, and at such a very critical time. Wallop, the treasurer-at-war, speaks of *many of the English garrison* as having been slain, a form of expression which he would hardly have used if only a few of the fourteen men had been put to the sword. And, then, the idea of hauling fifty men up such a height by means of *withies*—ropes made of willow osiers—is quite out of the question. There must have been a desperate struggle for the possession of a place which was regarded as so important by both parties.

proceed at last. There was no longer, therefore, any talk about the exclusion or expulsion of the Scots. The government by its agents, or rather the queen by her deputies, had made many an effort and sacrifice to sweep the redshanks from Ulster, but all these efforts and sacrifices were made in vain. They had, also, time after time, distributed the Route and Glynns to minor claimants, but that farce could not now be repeated, and there was nothing for it but to satisfy their gallant old foe. They had gone through the form of granting two-thirds of the Glynns to Angus Macdonnell; whilst doing so, however, they must have felt that their grant was merely in name, and would soon be re-arranged between Sorley and his nephew; but, as if making haste to appease him in the interval, Perrot actually substituted in the new grant to Sorley the four tuoghs or sub-territories of Dunseverick, Ballymoney, Loughgill, and another small fragment between the Bush and the Bann, all of which he had virtually held, to be sure, but of which he had never received any formal grant from the crown. This was done to make up for the grant to Angus, although these tuoghs and the other smaller portion had all originally belonged to the Macquillins, who were to continue holding under Sorley Boy, as they had done for the space of forty years previously. This astute old warrior, therefore, went to Dublin, on these conditions, and performed his part of the ceremony of submission to perfection, prostrating himself before a portrait of queen Elizabeth that hung in a room of the castle, and expressing very great contrition for his own reckless and ungrateful career! His submission was made on the 11th of February, near the close of the year 1585, old style, and on the 22nd of the same month, Perrot and the council conferred on him the distinguished honour of presenting a velvet mantle adorned with gold lace! (See Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, i., p. 409). So ended Sorley's long and stormy controversy with the State. The indenture between him and Perrot is dated June 18, 1586. In addition to all the lands granted, including the tuoghs of Munerie or Mowbray, and Carey, *i.e.*, Culfeightrin, Ramoan, and the grange of Drumtullagh, he was given the constableship or key-keeping of the castle of Dunluce by the delivery of Mr. Stafford. He was bound to hold of the queen by the service of homage, fealty, and two knights' fees, and on condition of observing the same articles as had been previously imposed on Angus Macdonnell. (189) See pp. 171, 172, *supra*. See also *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, second series, pp. 427, 428.

(189) *Angus Macdonnell.*—An arrangement appears to have been soon afterwards made between this chief and his uncle Sorley Boy, by which the latter re-entered into possession of the entire territories of the Glynns. The persevering efforts, therefore, of lady Cantire on behalf of her sons produced no permanent results. She was so influential, however, that the English council always endeavoured to meet her wishes,—at least when this policy could be carried without much sacrifice. Some time prior to the commencement of the final struggle with Sorley Boy, it was no doubt felt that an effort would be required to keep Turlough Luinech and his lady at peace, and for this purpose the queen resolved to bestow on the latter a distinguished mark of her favour, in the shape of a *royal dress*. Among the many treasures of her majesty's wardrobe were certain garments of great magnificence, costly silks and cloth of gold, which, in their day, had excited the deep admiration of the ladies of England. When the queen wished, therefore, to bestow upon a lady subject an especial token of regard, she could select nothing in a small cheap style so flattering as one of her own magnificent dresses. This explains the following passage of a letter from the Irish deputy, dated Oct. 27, 1578:—"It maie please yr honour, that the forepartes of the Earl of Desmond's and O'Neale's wyves gownes maie bee sente." Before the presentation of a dress from the queen to each of the ladies named, it was found necessary to replace, by new materials, certain "slobbered" breadths in the fronts of the two gowns. Considerable delay, and much correspondence had to precede this desirable renovation. At length, however, early in January 1579, the Irish lord-chancellor Gerrarde, wrote to secretary Walshyngham, as follows:—"I sente my Man with her Maties Gowne to Turloghe his Wyfe, who is a continuall good instrumente to continewe him quyett; his lettres to mee acknowledginge the receipte I sende yr honour to bee made knowen to hir Matie. Her Highnes never bestowed a garment better; the other I have not yet delyvered to the countesse of Desmonde."

By his wife Mary O'Neill, daughter of Con first earl of Tyrone, Sorley Boy had a numerous family of sons and daughters. The names of his sons were Donnell, Alexander, James, Randal, Angus, and, according to Mac Firbis, *Ludar*. The name of Ludar is added in what is called the "Dumb Book of James Mac Firbis," but it does not appear in the pedigree previously given by him. (See Appendix I) Of his daughters, only one appears in record, she having married the chieftain of the Macnaghtens (190) in Scotland. According to the Four Masters, Sorley's lady, Mary O'Neill, died in the year 1582, and her lord in 1590. (191) A Macdonnell manuscript affirms that Sorley Boy died at Donanynie castle in 1589, old style, and was buried at Bunnamairge. The faithful clansmen carried the remains of their brave old chieftain down the slope of the castle-hill, past the harbour where he had so often welcomed his Clandonnell kinsmen to the Antrim shore, and across the ford of the Mairge, where the Irish caóine and the Highland coronach mingled in one wild wail for the dead. (192) They laid Sorley's remains in the older vault, the only family burial-place in the abbey then available. It is traditionally stated in the district that, when his son Randal built the later vault in 1621, he had his father's remains brought into it. This tradition is likely to be true, but there are

(190) *Macnaghtens.*—The Macnaghtens are descended from Ferchar Fada, one of the early Dalriadic kings of Scotland. (See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves, p. 438.) Several leading families belonging to the clan held lands in Glenurchy, and on the shores of Lochawe. The Macnaghtens were zealous adherents of Robert Bruce during the struggle for Scottish independence. In 1343, King David II. granted to Alexander Macnaghten all the lands that had belonged to his deceased father John, his grandfather Duncan, and his great-grandfather Alexander. Between the years 1390 and 1406, David III. confirmed to Maurice Macnaghten a grant of extensive lands lying on the shores of Lochawe. On a small island, or rather peninsula, at the northern extremity of this beautiful loch, stand the ruins of their ancient fortress or castle, called Fraoch-Elan, the keeping of which was granted to Gillechrist Macnaghten in 1267, on condition that he and his heirs would keep it in good order, and well-furnished for the reception of the king, as often as the latter might be disposed to visit it. The burial-place of the old line of the Macnaghtens was the churchyard of Glenurchy. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., pp. 141, 145.) The first of the Macnaghten family who settled on the Antrim coast was John, surnamed *Dhu*, or 'dark-haired,' a nephew of Sorley Boy. This John Macnaghten became principal agent to his cousin, the first earl of Antrim, and his first place of residence was at Ballymagarry, in the vicinity of Dunluce castle. He died in 1630, and was buried near the entrance to the Antrim vault, in Bunnamairge, where the following inscription, in Roman capitals, on a slab of red freestone, is still legible :—

"*Heir . Lyeth . the . Bodie . of Jhn . Macnaghten . first secretarie . to . the . first . Earle . of . Antrim . who departed . this . Life . in . the . yeare . of . our . Lord God .* 1630."

The Antrim branch of the Macnaghtens has worthily sustained the ancient family name, and is represented at the present time by sir Edmund Workman Macnaghten, Bart., of Dundarave, near Bushmills.

(191) *In* 1590.—Mary O'Neill was not buried in Bunnamairge, but in the Franciscan convent of Armagh, the burial-place of her father Con O'Neill, and of his family, from the period of its erection in 1266. It is curious, however, that the house was originally erected by a Macdonnell, who was chief of O'Neill's gallowglasses, in the thirteenth century. The O'Neills are well known to have esteemed the Franciscans more than any other religious order, and hence their preference of this convent church of Armagh as their place of burial. In it was interred Gormliath, the lady of Donnell O'Neill, king of Ulster, in 1353, together with a long list of chiefs, and their families, down to the end of the sixteenth century. The house was reformed in 1518, and was burned in 1566, during the war waged between Shane O'Neill and sir Henry Sydney. In 1596, Hugh O'Neill placed his son Con in ambuscade among the ruins, from which he sallied out, surprised, and cut to pieces a large detachment of English conveying provisions to the city, whose governor, sir Francis Stafford, was compelled to surrender it. A portion of the ruins of this convent may still be seen in the demesne lands adjoining Armagh. Although Mary O'Neill, the wife of Sorley Boy, may have preferred Armagh as a holier, and likely to be a more secure resting-place than Bunnamairge, yet her remains would have had a more peaceful and permanent abode in the latter. For an account of the Franciscan convent at Armagh, see Reeves's *Ancient Churches of Armagh*; Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 280, 281.

(192) *For the dead.*—The late Rev. Luke Connolly, of Ballycastle, mentions in his *Statistical Account of Ramoan* that the Irish Lament was still "kept up here among Roman Catholics (1820), and is arranged with more melancholy sweetness than in any other part of Ireland. It consists of six notes, the first four of which are chanted in a low solemn tone, the concluding two more loud and rapid." (See Mason's *Parochial Survey of Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 510, 511.) The following is the definition of *keen* in O'Brien's Irish Dictionary :—"A cry for the dead, according to certain loud and mournful notes and verses,

no traces of his coffin now to be found, and if any inscription referring to him had ever existed here, on stone or brass, it has long since disappeared. In looking around the gloomy receptacle, it is difficult to associate, even the dust of this great chieftain with such quiet obscurity. But—

"The glories of our birth and state,
Are shadows, not substantial things—
There is no armour against fate,
Death lays his icy hand on kings!" (193)

In the older vault at Bunnamairge Sorley's children also were interred, some of them being sent prematurely to its silent abode by secret treachery, or cold-blooded massacre. As only one of his daughters is accounted for, the others—whatever may have been their number or names—are supposed to have perished, when comparatively young, in a fiendish massacre perpetrated by the followers of Essex. The expulsion of the Scots was one of this heartless adventurer's crazes, and his movements here were comparatively aimless, except in so far as this object was attempted to be carried out. (See Appendix VI.) His expedition was not only a miserable failure, but it will ever be regarded in Ulster as a deep stain on the government of England. In the summer of 1575, and not long prior to the sudden collapse of Essex's adventure, it became known that he intended to order a raid northward, and Sorley Boy took the precaution of sending part of his own family, together with the wives and families of his leading officers, to the island of Rathlin. Essex soon discovered that the place was crowded with refugees—women, children, and non-combatants—who had carried with them their family-treasures, including plate, and other valuables. And this proud English earl saw nothing dastardly or atrocious in attacking these defenceless people. On the contrary, he chuckled over this opportunity of wreaking a deadly revenge on Sorley Boy and his principle adherents, in return for the defeats and disasters the latter had inflicted on English freebooters in the field. Essex secretly ordered John Norris, then in command of three frigates at Carrickfergus, to make an immediate descent on Rathlin. "And when," says he in a letter to the queen, dated July 31, 1575,—"I had given this direction, to make the Scots less suspicious of any such matter pretended, I withdrew myself towards the Pale,"—in other words, he went to Newry, from which place he penned his infamous account of this business to Elizabeth. On the 20th of July, Norris appeared off the island, and on the second day after his arrival he landed a large force by means of a flotilla of boats. In the fortress now (and probably then) known as Bruce's castle, Sorley had placed a garrison of about fifty men, and into it also had crowded the higher class of refugees, increasing the number of persons inside the walls to about two hundred. The commander of the garrison, whose name is not

wherein the pedigree, land, property, generosity, and good actions of the deceased person and his ancestors are diligently and harmoniously recounted, in order to excite pity and compassion in the hearers, and to make them sensible of their great loss in the death of the person whom they lament." For illustrations of the keen, or caóine, see Croker's *South of Ireland*, pp. 173—182. The Scottish cumhadh or coronach is exactly a similar production, and used also as in Ireland, at wakes and funerals. For several curious illustrations, see Logan's *Scottish Gäel*, vol. ii., pp. 238—245.

(193) *On kings.*—The same truth was uttered, in a more homely style, by the monk Adamnan over Bruidhe, when placed in his coffin. The latter was one of the wide-spread and powerful family to which Sorley Boy belonged, and was ruler of that ancient kingdom of which Dumbarton on the Clyde was the capital. Adamnan's words are :—

"It is rare, It is rare,
After ruling in the northern kingdom,
That a hollow stick of withered oak
Is about the son of the king of Alcluaith."

See *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, edited by W. F. Skene. p. 409.

mentioned by Essex, was slain at the first encounter. The command then devolved on the constable of the castle, whose name also is unrecorded, and who appears to have surrendered sooner than he ought to have done, considering the immense advantage of his position. But we must permit Essex to tell the concluding part of this horrible tale, which he did with much pride and delight, in his letter to the queen :—"He (the constable) came out and made large requests, as their lives, their goods, and to be put into Scotland, which requests Captain Noreys refused, offering them as slenderly as they did largely require; viz., to the aforesaid constable his life only, and his wife's, and his child's, the place and goods to be delivered to Captain Norrey's disposition, the constable to be prisoner one month, the lives of all within to stand upon the courtesy of the soldiers. The constable, knowing his estate and safety to be very doubtful, accepted this composition, and came out with all his company. The soldiers being moved and much stirred with the loss of their fellows that were slain, and desirous of revenge, made request, or rather pressed, to have the killing of them, which they did all, saving the persons to whom life was promised; and a pledge which was prisoner in the castle, was also saved, who is son to Alexander Oge Macalister Harry, (194) who pretendeth to be a chief of the Glinnes, which prisoner Sorley Boy held pledge for his father's better obedience unto him. There were slain that came out of the castle of all sorts 200; and presently news is brought me out of Tyrone that they be occupied still in killing, and have slain that they have found hidden in caves and in cliffs of the sea, to the number of 300 or 400 more. They had within the island 300 kine, 3000 sheep, and 100 stud mares, and of bear corn upon the ground there is sufficient to find 200 men for a whole year." See *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i., pp. 115, 116.

This news was received by the queen whilst she enjoyed "the princely pleasures of Kenilworth," as the guest of her favourite, the earl of Leicester. To the first letter Essex received in reply, Elizabeth added the following postscript in her own hand :—"If lines could value life, or thanks could answer praise, I should esteem my pen's labour the best employed time that many years hath lent me. But to supply the want that both these carrieth, a right judgment of upright dealing shall lengthen the scarcity that either of the other wanted. Deem, therefore, cousin mine, that the search of your honour, with the danger of your breath, hath not been bestowed on so ungrateful a prince that will not both consider the one and reward the other. Your most loveinge cousin and sovereign, E. R." In a second letter, written from Dudley castle, *alias* Kenilworth, and referring to the event at Rathlin, the queen expresses herself as follows :—"If you knew what comfort we take to have a subject of your quality,—so assured unto us by bond of loyalty, whereof we have always had so good a trial, and tied unto us so nearly by affinity, a note of no small assurance—to growe in this time when the most part of men do give themselves over, as it were, a prey unto delicacy; to be so serviceable in a calling whereof we may, in time to come, take so great profit; you should then acknowledge that care, and hazard, and travail, bestowed in the

(194) *Harry.*—Correctly *Carrach*, the sobriquet borne by this sept of the Macdonnells, because of their descent from Alexander, surnamed *Carrach*, a younger son of John of Isla. At the period of this massacre, Alexander Carrach and Sorley Boy were at variance, as occasionally happened, especially when the latter was beset by enemies from without. For Alexander Carrach's descent, see p. 18, *supra*.

service of a prince that maketh as thankful acceptation of the same as any other prince that liveth." See *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i., pp. 119, 120.

Whether Essex was able to take any comfort from the foregoing royal announcements, or whether he understood them at all, it is not now of much importance to inquire. On the same day, however, that he had written to the queen about the massacre at Rathlin, he penned a letter to Walshyngham containing the following ghastly postscript:—"I do now understand this day by a spy coming from Sorley Boy's camp, that upon my late journey made against him (195) he then put most of his plate, most of his children, and the children of most part of the gentlemen with him, and their wives, into the Raghlins, with all his pledges (hostages), which be all taken and executed, as the spy sayeth, and in all to the number of 600. Sorley then also stood upon the mainland of the Glynnes, and saw the taking of the island, and was likely to run mad for sorrow, tearing and tormenting himself, as the spy sayeth, and saying that he then lost all he ever had." This passage gives us an awful glimpse of the scene in Rathlin. The old chieftain's frantic demeanour certainly implied that some members of his family were on the island, and in the clutches of the fiends who followed Norris. When Sorley saw the English frigates approaching Rathlin, he no doubt hastily sought some point on the mainland from which he could observe their movements. From the headlands a little eastward of Ballycastle, and in the vicinity of his own residence of Dunanynie, he was only distant four miles from the scene of the massacre, and could, therefore, easily witness the progress of events on the island. The smoke of guns, the blaze of burning houses, the rushing of little parties in flight across the green fields to take refuge in the caves on the shore, and, especially, the signals of fear and despair which would doubtless be hoisted at various points, could be distinctly seen from the headlands on that part of the coast. (196)

In the number of its victims, if not in the deliberate atrocity of its execution, this massacre was very much more appalling than that of Glenco. But yet, so far as we are aware, it called forth no words of grief or indignation from the subjects of "good queen Bess." On the contrary, they were

(195) *Against him.*—This movement against Sorley Boy to which Essex more than once refers in his letters as something to be proud of, led to no results further than two or three days' skirmishing with the Scots on the Bann. The 'fastness' of which Essex speaks in his long letter to the queen on this subject, was the fortified residence of Brian Carragh O'Neill. "That part of Ulster," says Dr. Reeves, "known in the sixteenth century as *Brian Carragh's country*, consisted of a tract on either side of the Bann, of which Portglenone may be taken as the centre. The portion on the Antrim side of the river which consisted of the adjacent part of the parish of Ahoghill, was held by inheritance under O'Neill of Clanaboy; whilst the Londonderry portion, which consisted of the south-east part of Tamlaght-Ocrilly, was wrested by force of arms from O'Cahan, and held in adverse possession. . . . The place which is traditionally pointed out as the site of Brian's abode is a small island in the middle of a marshy basin at Inishrush, called the Green Lough. This spot was really the *Inis ruis*, 'Island of the Wood."—*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., pp. 211—217. Essex referring to this fastness, states that it was on the western side of the Bann, although it is added, he, Brian Carragh, "manureth and feedeth upon the land on this side the river." For Essex's letter to Elizabeth on this expedition, see *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i. p. 108—111; see also Appendix VI.

(196) *Of the coast.*—In the eleventh volume of Froude's *History of England*, the author has a reference to this massacre. His account was severely criticised in the *Athenæum* by a Mr. Brewer, professor of History in the London University, who asserted that the massacre could not have been witnessed from the mainland, which was distant *seven miles* from Rathlin, and that, after all, Sorley Boy was only an audacious and troublesome Scottish freebooter! These assertions, however, only prove that the professor is not familiar with the topography of the Antrim coast, and that he must have learned his Scottish history principally from the *Carew MSS.*, which he has been recently assisting Mr. Bullen to calendar. Froude, who knows little of Sorley Boy, and less of the Antrim coast, was unable to meet his critic's pretentious allegations.

well pleased to hear the news, and no doubt heartily approved of the following letter from Elizabeth to Essex, acknowledging her obligations to Norris, "the executioner," as she appropriately designates him :—"By your letter of 31st July, you advertise us of the taking of the island of Raughlins, the common receipt and harbour of all such Scots as do infest that realme of Ireland, and that your proceeding against Sorley Boy has taken happy success. (197) Give the young gentleman, John Norrice, the executioner of your well-devised enterprise, to understand that we will not be unmindful of his good services." (198) (*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, p. 21.) In praising his officers generally to the queen, after this exploit, Essex tells her that "they think themselves happy when they may have any occasion offered them that is to do your highness acceptable service ; and as I have had sundry proofs of them, and lately in the service done against the Scots in the fastness, and this now done in the Raghlins, so do I find them full willing to follow it untill they shall have ended what your Majesty intendeth to have done." (*Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i., p. 117.) Her majesty intended to have the Scots expelled, or exterminated, and these officers were bent, it would appear, on nothing so much as working her will. So early as the 6th of August, she had sent from Chartley the following general expression of her praise and thanks, to sir Peter Carew, the sons of lord Norris, captain Malbie, and captain Barkleye—all of whom were doubtless assisting at the butchery in Rathlin :—"The Earl of Essex greatly commends your diligence and faithful service. We give you our hearty thanks, especially considering that in all services and hard accidents you have continued still with our said cousin when others have left him." See *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts*, second series, p. 21.

We have already mentioned the death of Sorley Boy's favourite son, Alexander, whose tact and bravery so essentially strengthened the old chieftain's hands. If the walls of the vault in Bunnamairge could speak, they would tell how that gallant young soldier had been brought hither to be buried. When the English host under Perrot approached Dunluce, Alexander Macdonnell was foremost in the field to meet them, and with only a handful of men contrived to keep the struggle going on until the arrival of reinforcements, which his father had collected in Argyleshire and the Isles. In 1585, he headed a skirmishing party against captain Meryman or Merriman, and sought an opportunity of challenging that English desperado to single combat. The stratagem by which the latter effected young Macdonnell's destruction was base and dastardly in no common degree. The

(197) *Happy success.*—This delightful result consisted in the fact, as believed, that every human being in the island, excepting the constable and his family, had been slaughtered! At least one other, however, and probably a few more, were able to conceal themselves from the brutal Sassanachs. In a letter from D. M'Curdy, Esq., of Wigan, the writer says :—"There is a tradition in our family that the only one left alive by the company of soldiers sent to Rathlin by Essex, and under Norris, in 1575, besides the chief and his family, was a woman named M'Curdy, who was found still alive, in one of the caves to which the inhabitants fled for shelter ; all the others being savagely butchered." The surname of M'Curdy,—once so prevalent in the Highlands of Scotland and on the coasts of Ulster, is evidently a contraction of *Mac Illurdy*, the latter being a corruption of *Mac Gillabridghe*, 'the son of Gillabride.' In early chronicles, Somerled or Somhairle, the great thane of Argyle, was always known as *Mac Gillabride*, to distinguish him from others of the same name Norse chroniclers, between the years 1156 and 1164, often corrupt his name into *Sowrdy Mac Illurdy* ! See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 2.

(198) *Good services.*— For a notice of the Norris family see Appendix VI. Soon after the massacre in Rathlin, the queen made good this promise to Norris by appointing him to the lucrative and distinguished office of president of Munster. He was one of six brothers, the sons of sir Henry Norris, created lord Norris of Rycot, groom of the Stole, and executed in 1536, on a charge of alleged adultery with Anna Bullen or Boylen. He is believed to have been innocent of this charge.

following is Cox's account of this affair:—"Alexander M'Sorlie who commanded the Scotts, challenged Merriman to a combate; and a lusty gallowglasse (199) being by, said he was the captaine, and so to the duell they go; the gallowglasse stund the Scotte at the first blow, but he, recovering himselfe, killed the gallowglasse; and thereupon Merriman stept out and fought Alexander a good while with sword and target, and so wounded him in the leg that he was forced to retreat. Thereupon his army being discouraged, was totally routed; and Alexander, being hid under turf in a cabin, was discovered, and his head cut off, and set on a pole in Dublin." One Price, a sergeant in Merriman's troop, was present on this occasion, and wrote an account of the combat and its results, to Walshyngham. "So we killed," says he, "of them aboute three score Scotts, and hurt many of them, and after Alexander MacSorlie had many wounds, he swame over to a lough (an island in a lough) for refuge, and there we found him by great chance, beinge layed in a deepe grave, in the gronde, as though it had been some dead corse, strawed over with green rushes, and on evrie side of the grave six ould calliopes (calliaghs, old women,) weepinge; but in searching the grave, we found a quick corse therein, and in remembrance of Donelus we cried quittance with him, and sent his head to be set on Dublin Castle." The conclusion of this passage is unintelligible. Probably the writer meant that the English force thus murdered Alexander in revenge for some defeat inflicted upon them by his elder brother Donnell, who had been a gallant leader, but who was slain whilst skirmishing near the Bann, a few years prior to 1585. When Sorley, soon after the death of his son Alexander, went to Dublin to make his formal submission, an English official cruelly invited him to look at his son's head, where it had been placed on a spike at the entrance to the castle. The grief-stricken old man, groaning in spirit, proudly replied—"My son hath many heads!" The knowledge of this striking incident is preserved in a Macdonnell manuscript.

Sorley Boy was succeeded by his third son, sir James Macdonnell, who died unexpectedly at Dunluce, on Easter Monday, the 13th of April, 1601. He had made himself peculiarly obnoxious to the government of Elizabeth by his active co-operation with the great northern earl, Hugh O'Neill, and because of his very friendly intercourse with the Scottish court He was a gay, handsome, and very hospitable knight, a frequent guest of James VI., at whose hand he received the honour of knighthood. In the year 1597, he advanced a claim to the estates of Isla and Cantire, on the ground, as sir James alleged, of his cousin Angus Macdonnell's illegitimacy. The king having shown a disposition to favour this claim, the lord of Dunluce visited the Scottish court, where he and his train were received with marked distinction. "Whilst in Edinburgh his claim to the Scottish properties abovementioned was formally brought before the Privy Council, but as it was founded on an erroneous allegation, namely the bastardy of Angus Macdonnell, it was speedily

(199) *Gallowglasse.*—Dymock, in his *Treatice of Ireland*, defines Gallowglass to be "picked men, of great and mightie bodies, cruel, without compassion. The greatest force of the battle consisteth in them, chusing rather to die than to yield; so that when it cometh to hardy blows, they are quickly slain, or win the field. They are armed with a shirt of mail, a skul, and a skeine: the weapon they most use is a battle-axe or halbert, six feet long, the blade whereof is somewhat like a shoemaker's knife, and without a pike; the stroke whereof is deadly where it lighteth, And being thus armed, reckoning to him a man for his harnes bearer, and a boy to carry his provisions, he is named a sparre, of his weapon so called, eighty of which sparres make a battle of Gallowglass."

dismissed by the advisers of the Crown." (Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, pp. 273, 274.) To make up in some measure for this disappointment, the lord of Dunluce received from the Scottish king the honour of knighthood, together with a grant of an estate in Cantire. The lands then granted lie on the western shore of that peninsula, extending from near the Mull in a northern direction towards Machrihanish Bay, and opposite Ballycastle on this coast. The grantee is styled in the patent 'sir James Macdonald of Dunluce, *eques auratus de Cullelungart*,' the latter being the portion of his Cantire lands containing the principal messuage or residence. (200) Sir James's visit to Edinburgh, in 1597, is noticed in the following terms by a chronicler named Patrick Anderson, whose *History* is still in manuscript :—" At this time one Sir James Mac Buie (Mac Sorley Boy), a great man in Ireland, being here for the time to complain of our chief Islesmen, was knighted, and went with his train to visit the castle, and provision therein, and gave great and noble rewards to the keepers." Another contemporary chronicler, named Birrel, has the following entry in his *Diary* in reference to sir James's departure from Edinburgh :—" He went homeward, and for bonally (*bon aller*, an entertainment at the commencement of a journey), the cannons shot out of the castle of Edinburgh." The *Chronicle of Scottis Kingis*, published by the Maitland Club, describes sir James as "ane man of Scottis bluid, albeit his landis lye in Ireland. He was ane bra man of person and behaviour, but had not the Scots tongue, nor nae language but Erse." (See Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 286, 287.) This fact last mentioned proves that Sorley Boy's family resided on his Irish estates, and had become, in one respect at least, more Irish than the Irish nobility themselves, many of the latter being able to speak Latin and English.

In 1597, sir John Chichester, then governor of Carrickfergus, writing to Burghley, forwarded a complaint to the government against sir James Macdonnell and his brother Randal. " I must not forget," he says, " to acquaint your lordship, with the doubt that is held by us of James M'Donnel and Randoll his brother; who albeit they have not yet absolutely declared themselves in disobedience, yet they have so behaved themselves of late towards her Ma^ties^ service, as it promiseth little better fruit at their hands. For, firste they have obstinately refused to do anie service without maintenance from her Ma^tie^, detaininge her rents, notwithstanding I have often demanded the same of them. They have likewise broken down two of their castells, the one called Glinarme, (201) and the other Red Bawne, (202) forteffeinge themselves only in Dunluse, where they have planted

(200) *Residence.*—The original patent is still preserved at Glenarm castle, and recites the names of the denominations on the Cantire estate, as follows :—" The four merklands of Cullelungart, the four merklands of Kilkevin, the four merklands of Ballygrogan and Craigothe, the three merklands of Catcadell and Gorthbane, the three merklands of Clackmakill, the two merklands of Randleithes, the two merklands of Auchecoyne, the two merklands of Kilravane, the two merklands of Cloghquhordill, the two merklands of Auchintor, the one merkland of Auchinstefory, and the one merkland of Glenndeill." See also *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., pp. 6, 7, 11.

(201) *Glinarme.*—This was the old castle at Glenarm built by the Bysets about the middle of the thirteenth century. It stood on the southern side of the river, just opposite the present castle, and at the top of the little street leading up from the Barbacan. After the partial demolition or " breaking down" of this structure in 1597, as above stated, it was never rebuilt. In six years afterwards, sir Randal got a grant of the estates, and built the original portions of the present castle, adding to them before his death in 1636. The ruins of the Bysets' castle were permitted to remain long after it had been abandoned.

(202) *Red Bawne.*—Red Bay castle, here called Red Bawn, was also supposed to have been built by the Bysets, although perhaps they had only *rebuilt* old structures here and at Glenarm. In 1562, James Macdonnell, eldest brother of Sorley, repaired the castle at Red Bay, and brought workmen from Scotland for this purpose. It was partially demolished by Shane O'Neill in 1565, but rebuilt and held by a succession of constables until about the year 1640.

three peeces of ordnaunce, demi-cannon, and culvering, which were had out of one of the Spanish ships coming upon that coast after our fight with them at sea in '88. I have demaunded the said peeces of them, to have placed them in Kerogfargus for the better strengtheninge of the towne, but they have utterly denied the delivery of them." (See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., p. 191). The ill-fated Spanish vessel, wrecked in the vicinity of Dunluce castle, was not one of the large ships of the Armada, but a *galleass*, or gigantic galley—a description of vessel carrying generally fifty guns, and impelled by oars. This vessel was the *Gerona*, and the commander then in charge of her was the famous Alonzo da Leyva, who, says Froude, "was so celebrated personally, and so many attractions combined in him of birth, bearing, and distinguished services, that of the fathers of the highborn youths who had volunteered to accompany the Armada, most of them had committed their sons to da Leyva's special care." This commander had sailed at first in a magnificent ship named the *Rata*, and such was the precious quality of his volunteer band, that after any fight, or storm, encountered by the Armada, the first inquiry that ran among the fleet was—*Is the Rata safe?* The *Rata* was wrecked, but her precious cargo was safely transferred to another vessel; that other was doomed to the same fate, but yet again Alonzo was able to rescue his company of gentle and noble Castilian youths from the fury of the sea. After a few weeks' woeful experience on the western coast of Ireland, they made their way to Killybegs in Donegal, where they got on board the *Gerona*, Alonzo believing that she could carry them safely to the Scottish coast, where they would have received protection. It was found, however, that only about half the large party in Alonzo's charge could get accommodation in the *Gerona*, the other half being disposed of among Irish friends in Ulster, who engaged to keep them safely during the winter months. The larger and more distinguished portion of the company, numbering more than three hundred, sailed away with Alonzo along the northern coast from Killybegs towards the Scottish shore, passing safely Tory island, Lough Swilly, Lough Foyle, and the Magilligan strand. But the wind began once more to rise, and the sea to roll in with its accustomed fury, as the *Gerona* passed Dunluce and neared the Causeway headlands The rowers were utterly unable to keep the immense and unwieldy galleass sufficiently out at sea; she soon became the sport of the waves, and was at length dashed against a low splintered rock running out from one side of a little creek between the Giant's Causeway and the castle of Dunluce. The galleass had no sooner struck than she went to pieces, and out of the large number on board, only five are said to have been rescued from the wreck. Two hundred and sixty bodies, including those of Alonzo and all the young Castilian nobles on board, were washed into the little creek since known as *Port-na-Spagnia*, and were buried no doubt in the old cemetery near Dunluce castle. See Froude's *History of England*, vol. xii., pp. 515, 516.

At that memorable period Sorley Boy, who was still living, occupied his favourite residence of Dunanynie, near Ballycastle, but his eldest surviving son, James, was constable or governor of Dunluce castle under his father. A few of the guns were recovered from the wreck and mounted on the castle, and the Macdonnells got other fragments of the vessel, one of which will be subsequently mentioned. It is curious that, whilst Froude has exercised a commendable industry in searching Spanish State Papers referring to the fate of the *Gerona* and her commander, he seems never to have thought of the Irish State Papers containing an account of efforts

made by the government, in the course of the following summer, to get possession of whatever valuables could still be secured. The tone of these State documents implies that there must have been considerable excitement in the Route, owing to a report that the Spanish vessel had large stores of ducats and doubloons on board. Sir Geoffry Fenton made out a list of all the Spanish vessels wrecked on the Irish coasts, in which it is stated that in the wreck at Dunluce about 300 men perished. (*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, second series, 472.) The government officials, inspired by their unscrupulous and money-adoring lord deputy, Fitzwilliam, (see p. 150, *supra*), made great preparations to collect the treasure, but by the time their preparations were complete, there remained nothing to collect. On the 27th of July, 1589, John Dallawaye wrote to sir George Carew, master of the ordnance, as follows :—" Since my cominge into the North, I have learned that there are two Spaniards and a Scottish captain come over to weigh the ordnance in the Routt, and it is reported that there is a great store of gold and silver there, and that the Spaniards and Scottish captain have brought the king of Scots letters to Anguishe M'Connell (203) and to Sorley Boy ; but it is a thing uncertain to me but by report; but for certain the men are in the Routt, and purpose to proceed in the matter." (204) On the 30th of the same month, sir Henry Bagenal wrote to Carew, as follows :—

" My most worthy and good Uncle,—I long to hear of the safe arrival of your best comfort. If she be come, let her know that there is no artillery at Dunluce to draw you from her. The King of Scots, as I hear say, sent for the same, and at first they did weigh two great peeces. I am sure they have all, and are gone." The first of August, 1589, is the date of a commission from the lord-deputy Fitzwilliam, to sir George Carew, requiring him to take her majesty's "gallyon called the *Popingay*," to recover certain pieces of ordnance in Ulster, "where some of the Spanish fleet perished." On the 24th of August, the deputy wrote to Carew as follows :—"This day I received your letter of the 16th of this month by this bearer the pursuivant, being glad of your and my lady your wife's arrival in good safety, together with her Maties treasure and munition. I wold that the Lord Admiral had not written to captain Thornton for his repair to Chester, so might he have gone with you about the ordnance by Dunluce, which I heard by Sorley Boy, and likewise from captain Henshawe, was assayed by some out of Scotland to be weighed, but still in the water. Take with you 50 of Mr. Marshall's footmen, and the two half bands which he already has at Knockfargus, and Mr. Waring's 20 horsemen in the Ardes, in your way thitherward, providing cables and other things, either out of your office or by the help of the Lord Chancellor of Dublin. At Knockfargus you will obtain greate boates and casks." (See Hamilton's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 10—12; see also *Calendar* of Carew *MSS.*, second series, p. 11). This deputy had already made himself infamous for plundering Spanish ships belonging to the Armada, and remorselessly butchering

(203) *Anguishe M'Connell.*—Angus M'Donnell, nephew of Sorley, got a grant from the crown of so much of the Glynns as had belonged to the Bysets (see pp. 171, 172, *supra*), and would thus appear to have been in possession of these territories in 1589. These lands, however, must have soon passed into the possession of the Dunluce family—probably during the lifetime of Sorley Boy, who died in the following year, 1590.

(204) *In the matter.*—Sir George Carew styles the writer of the above letter, on the margin, "*Auncyent Dallawaye*," 'auncyent' being the old form of *ensign*. He was, no doubt, the person who subsequently settled at Braidisland, and founded the family of Dalway there. For the grant of the Dalway estate, see *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 57, *note*.

all Spanish soldiers and sailors then thrown into his hands. See p. 150, *supra.* The treasure and munition mentioned in the foregoing letter were brought by Carew from England not from Dunluce, and as we hear no more in the State Papers of this shipwreck, except that three hundred Spaniards were drowned, it may be supposed that the government officials failed to secure any portion of the spoil.

The unfortunate Spaniards at Dunluce, in perishing with the wreck of their ship, thus saved Fitzwilliam the trouble of their execution; and the Macdonnells were too powerful to permit coercive measures on the part of the deputy being applied to themselves, or their clansmen, for the purpose of extorting any treasure which may have been found in the ill-fated vessel. Every Spanish ship of the Armada was furnished with its own supply of gold and silver for the great expedition, the two descriptions of money being preserved in two exceedingly strong chests or safes on board each vessel. Although the Macdonnells did not probably claim any of the gold and silver, they retained the two safes, the three pieces of cannon already mentioned, and, it may be, other fragments from the wreck. What became of the guns after the dismantling of Dunluce castle, we know not; but the chests, or strong boxes, are still in the possession of the Antrim family, and have been long used as receptacles for valuable papers and documents connected with the estate. These chests lay originally at Dunluce; next in Ballymagarry, where the family had a residence; then at Ballylough, the house in which the agents generally dwelt; and, finally, they were removed to Glenarm castle, about the year 1740, when a misunderstanding arose between the fifth earl and his agent, Alexander Stewart. The latter complained "that Lord Antrim had prevailed on John Cuppage, who received rents for Mr. Stewart as his assistant, to surrender the keys of *the iron chest,* so that Mr. Stewart had been thus deprived of access to papers which would have enabled him to specify names, dates, and accounts, with greater precision." This "iron chest" was the larger of the two safes, both of which are still in excellent preservation, having been occasionally painted in the original colours, whilst the several emblematical figures were tastefully retained. The chests, made of iron, are covered with iron straps, so as to render them immensely strong. There is one such chest or safe, which belonged to a ship of the Armada, preserved in the Tower of London, and it is in all respects similar to the larger one at Glenarm. The authorities in the Tower believe, we are told, that their specimen of the Spanish safe is unique—the only one in the three kingdoms. In this, however, they are mistaken. Besides the two at Glenarm, there is another in the Presbyterian church at Dundonald, county of Down, which was presented to the congregation there by a Belfast merchant, to be used as a secure and convenient receptacle for the communion-plate and the records connected with their worshipping society. (205)

The 'difficulty' on the question of the Spanish guns mentioned above, was soon afterwards followed by a still greater one. Sir John Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus, thought it necessary to send parties into the Route, to collect by force such rents and cesses, as he alleged, were due out of that district to the queen. Like most tax-collectors under such circumstances, these functionaries

(205) *Society.*—The Dundonald chest was, no doubt, brought to this district by some Scottish settler at the commencement of the seventeenth century, several of the Spanish ships having been wrecked on the coasts, and among the islands, of Scotland.

appear to have done their work harshly. Sir James Macdonnell was thus provoked to draw together a considerable force, at the head of which he followed the tax-collecting party to the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, ostensibly for the purpose of remonstrating against certain oppressions of which they had been charged in the course of their difficult work, but evidently prepared also for the contingency of an open rupture with Chichester. This latter was the result, owing principally to the rash and arrogant conduct of certain English officers, among whom one named Moses Hill (206) appears to have been especially prominent. A battle ensued between the Scottish and English forces, commanded respectively by sir James Macdonnell and sir John Chichester, at a place called Altfracken, near Carrickfergus, in which the English were entirely defeated, and their commander slain. (207) Sir John Chichester's place as governor of Carrickfergus was soon afterwards filled up by the appointment of his younger brother, sir Arthur, against whose advancement to this position sir James Macdonnell warmly remonstrated. The latter, when writing to sir Francis Stafford, ventured on the following significant announcement:—"If her Matie desire me to be her subject, I will not have Sir Arthur Chichester to be the governor of Carrickfergus." This declaration was not afterwards forgotten either to the lord of Dunluce, or to his people, the Clandonnell on the Antrim coast. Sir James Macdonnell died in 1601, from the effects of poison, it is supposed, administered by an emissary in the pay of lord Burghley. (208) The Four Masters record his death as follows:—"James, the son of Sorley Boy, son of Alexander, son of John surnamed Cahanagh, the most distinguished of the Clandonnell, either in peace or war, died on Easter Monday." By his wife Mary, daughter of Felim O'Neill of Clannaboy, he left a large family, of whom nine were sons, and of these sons, excepting Alexander the youngest, very little is known. (209)

It is believed that there are collateral branches of this family, among whom may be mentioned

(206) *Moses Hill.*—This officer came with Essex in 1573, and after the death of the latter, he served with his son Robert, earl of Essex, with lord Mountjoy, with sir John, and sir Arthur Chichester. He was early appointed governor of Olderfleet castle, and it is rather remarkable that his rash conduct before the battle of Altfracken, and his expulsion from Olderfleet by the Macdonnells soon afterwards, did not operate as a check on his prosperous career. In 1603, he was appointed provost-marshal of the forces in Ulster, and from that period received several grants of lands, especially at Hillsborough, in the county of Down. He purchased some church property at Drogheda, where he became extremely obnoxious to the native Irish people. "To us Franciscans," says father Mooney, "he was another Heliodorus, desecrating our holy places, persecuting the members of our brotherhood, and laying sacrilegious hands on the consecrated utensils of the sanctuary." See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 35, 36.

(207) *Slain.*—For several interesting letters relating to this battle which occurred in 1597, see the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., pp. 188—209. For an account of the flight of Moses Hill and others into Island Magee, after the battle, see Richard Dobbs's *Briefe Description* of the county of Antrim in Appendix II.

(208) *Burghley.*—About the same time, Burghley was most intent on procuring the assassination of Hugh O'Neill, and to furnish means for this object, he is said to have declared that, were the money to be had in no other way, he would willingly sell his very shirt! For a curious and interesting account of the suspicious circumstances connected with the death of sir James Macdonnell, see the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., pp. 207, 208.

(209) *Is known.*—For a short account of sir James's descendants, see Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 201—204; see pp. 64, 68, 70, 71, *supra;* see also Appendix VII. A great grandson of sir James settled at a place called Kilkee, in the county of Clare, prior to 1663, and there married Penelope, third daughter of Daniel More O'Brien, of Dromore and Dough in the same county. This lady was sister to Honora, the second viscountess Clare. The youthful Macdonnell from the Route was the founder of a most respectable and influential family in the county of Clare, the present representative of which is major W. E. Armstrong Macdonnell, of New Hall, near Ennis. The Macdonnells of Clare have been more fortunate than their Antrim kinsfolk in having had several native bards of more than ordinary talent to celebrate the interesting events in their family history. Among these bards may be mentioned the well-known Mac Curtins, Andrew and Hugh; John Hartney, John Hore, and Thomas Meehan. As a specimen of the poems written respecting the Macdonnells of Clare, we give the following translation of Hugh Curtin's verses on the marriage of Sorley Macdonnell

Charles Macdonnell, now, if alive, an Austrian count, and formerly secretary to field-marshal Nugent. He held property near Newtown-Mount-Kennedy, in the county of Wicklow, which was sold in the Encumbered Estates Court, about 1860. A kinsman, sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, referring to this Austrian count, says :—"The said Charles had promised to look up his papers, and I believe he had several documents calculated to throw light on the family history, but the sale of his property in Wicklow, and his own settlement abroad have, doubtless, melted away the chance of getting information from him."—*Extract of a letter to the Author.*

with Isabel, daughter of Christopher O'Brien of Ennistymon :

"O Swan of bright plumage ! O maiden who bearest
The stamp on thy brow of Dalcassia's high race,
With mouth of rich pearl-teeth, and features the fairest,
And speech of a sweetness for music to trace.

"Oh, how shall I praise thee—thou lovely, thou noble !
Thou prop of the feeble, thou light of the blind,
Thou solace and succour of wretches in trouble—
As beauteous in body, as bounteous in mind,

"Alas ! there are woes from which nought can defend me,
My bosom is loaded with sorrow and care,
Since I lost the great men who were prompt to befriend me—
The heroes,—the princes of Cashel and Clare !

"But glory and honour to thee, thou hast wedded
A chieftain from Antrim of chivalrous worth,
Of the great Colla Uais the swift—they who headed
So proudly the conquering tribes of the North !

"To that bold cavalier has thou plighted thy duty,
And he is a hero whom none can surpass ;
His valour alone was the mead of thy beauty,
Thou rose of the garden of golden Dal-Cas !"

—See *Collection of Poems written by Clare Bards*, Dublin, 1863, pp. 3, 57. See also Appendix VIII.

CHAPTER V.

SIR RANDAL MACDONNELL, FIRST EARL OF ANTRIM.

SIR Arthur Chichester, although professing for the good of the state, to abandon all vengeful feelings towards the Macdonnells on account of his brother's death, appears to have seized every opportunity of retaliation. Whilst they were actually in rebellion with Hugh O'Neill against the queen, Chichester was bound to meet them fairly in the field, and, if possible, to defeat them by the agencies of honourable warfare; but his policy was to employ any means for this object, even to the wanton and horrible sacrifice of non-combatants, including women and children. This policy is pretty plainly expressed in the following terms:—"On the seaventeenth," he says, "in remimbrance of the daye (1) I undertooke my jorney into the Roote, marcheinge by nyght untill I came thither, to avoyde discoverye; I founde Randall gone with Tyrone, towards Mounster, (2) with 120 foote and 24 horse, leaveinge his nephewe with the rest of his force for the garde of that countrie. (3) Bot I, comeinge unlooked for amonge them, made my entrance almost as far as Dunluce, (4) where I spared neither house, corne, nor creature; and I brought from thence as much prey of all sortes as we could well dryve, being greatlye hindered by the extreame snow fallen in the tyme of my beinge abroade. (5) Upon my returne, they keept passages and straytis, uppon which they fought two dayes with us; (6) wee lost some few men,

(1) *Of the daye.*—This extract is from a letter to Cecil, dated November 22, 1601. The day so worthily 'remimbered,' according to Chichester's estimate of such matters, was the anniversary of queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne in 1558. The murder and rapine, which Chichester on this occasion let loose upon the Route, were indeed the very agencies best fitted to execute Elizabeth's ruthless policy towards the Antrim Scots. There was only to be another anniversary of this event, as the queen died on the last day of the year 1602. Elizabeth was distinguished for the sagacity with which she selected her agents. "The great events and discoveries of the Elizabethan era produced a love of adventure which broke forth in every direction, and varied in the dignity of its objects and in its character, from the height of heroism to the depth of baseness. The eagles took wing for the Spanish main; the vultures descended upon Ireland." Goldwin Smith's *Irish History and Irish Character*, p. 79.

(2) *Towards Mounster.*—After the death of sir James Macdonnell, Randal thus appears to have been recognised as the head or chief of the clan. Chichester knew well when to make his bloody raid into the Route—when all the experienced officers, and nearly all the rank and file of the Clandonnell had departed on their ill-starred expedition with Hugh O'Neill to join the Spanish force that had landed at Kinsale. About 800 of the Clandonnell were thus absent under the command of their valiant captains Randal, Donnell Gorm, Angus, Rorie, and Colldduffe Macdonnell. Of these officers, according to a Macdonnell manuscript, only Randal and his brother Angus returned, the others, with most of their men, having perished at the diastrous battle of Kinsale.

(3) *That countrie.*—Randal's nephew was one of the nine sons of sir James Macdonnell, probably Alexander, afterwards so well known.

(4) *As Dunluce.*—On this occasion Chichester must have marched by night from Carrickfergus along the coast, otherwise his movement would have been sooner discovered. On his raids from Carrickfergus, whether into Down, Antrim, or Tyrone, he always aimed at returning by a different route, so as to desolate as much of the country as possible. We find that he practised this manœuvre when retreating from the neighbourhood of Dunluce, as his line of march lay inland considerably from the coast, and through the Glynns.

(5) *Beinge abroade.*—This reference to the severity of the weather in November, 1601, is confirmed by other accounts. "There happened a great frost, the like whereof hath been seldome seen in Ireland." *Hibernia Pacata* as quoted in the *Census* of 1851, vol. i., part v., p. 105.

(6) *With us.*—From Chichester's admission it is evident that the small party of Clandonnell, left to protect the Route, had acted gallantly on the occasion. He probably returned by Clough, in the present parish of

horse and foote, but they a far greater number, for I brak them severall tymes, and made them often rune, in which consists all their safetie. I have often sayd and writen yt (it) is famine that must consume them; our swordes and other endeavours worke not that speedie effect which is expected, for theire overthrowes are safeties to the speedie runners, uppon which wee kyll no multetudes." See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 48, *note.*

The suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, and the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English throne, were events of much importance to the people that still survived such desolation as had been thus brought upon the Route and Glynnes. The Macdonnells naturally rejoiced that the Plantagenet line of sovereigns had come to an end in England, and that henceforth the throne was to be occupied by a prince not only of Scottish blood, but by a kinsman of their own. (7) Randal Macdonnell was known among his own people by the sobriquet of *Arranach*, from having been fostered in the Scottish island of Arran, and having probably a residence therein. (8) From his proximity to the Scottish capital, he had easy means of access to the court of James VI., and was just such a man—being more of a politician than soldier—as could supply the king with that information concerning the state of Ulster that he specially wanted to obtain. James had been long anxiously waiting to hear of Elizabeth's death, and preparing himself to succeed her as sovereign of Great Britain, and, if possible, of Ireland also. There was a doubt as to this

Dunaghy, and from thence through the wild regions lying between that village and Glenarm, in which there are several "passages and straytis," where a small force could harass and waste a much larger one when in retreat. This was no doubt the same route by which Sussex reached Glenarm, coming from Coleraine through the parish of Loughguile, in 1556. The pursuivant who recorded the deputy's movements on that occasion, says:—"This day we came by a castell of M'Guillin's called Castan *Lough-Keoulle*, and also a great causy or high gravelled way." The following account of the road now referred to has been kindly supplied by a gentleman intimately acquainted with the district:—"The road through this district was very well known within the memory of persons living; some portions of it were removed in making land improvements; some are still frequented byeways; and a part utterly disused and nearly forgotten might yet be traced through the deep bog or moor at the head of Glenariff. At this last named place, no doubt the most dreary portion, the road, about seven feet in width, was formed of broad flat stones, and was called in the country the *Black Causeway*, being the connecting link between Clough and the coast, and therefore requiring occasional repairs. About a century ago, it was customary for the glens-men, and those from the interior, to meet on certain appointed days during the summer season, for the purpose of repairing the causeway. The dwellers in that region then carried their butter to Ballymena market by means of creels suspended at their horses' sides, each person placing a large flat causeway stone in one of his creels to balance the butter on the opposite side. These stones, thus carried to Ballymena, were flung into a heap on the premises of an extensive butter merchant in that town, who is said to have used them in building a large concern for his better accommodation. At any rate, this rude road, and this primitive mode of conveyance, could alone be adopted at the period, as no wheeled conveyances would have been there of the slightest service. The system of carriage by pack-horses prevailed, at the same period, in many places throughout England much more important than the Antrim Glens. Those who know the glens, however, will be inclined to say, that the district has made as great, if not greater advancement than most other localities, since the days of the *Black Causeway*."

(7) *Of their own.*—Not to speak of the earlier intermarriages between the Macdonnells and Stewarts, the relationship of the two races was established by the marriage of Jane Macdonnell, a great grand-daughter of Somerled, with Alexander, the son and heir of Walter, the high steward of Scotland. By this marriage, which took place about the year 1210, the husband obtained the isles of Bute and Arran as a wedding-dowry with his wife. Sometime later, there occurred another distinguished matrimonial alliance between the house of Stewart and that of Isla, the husband and wife being within the forbidden degrees, and therefore requiring a dispensation from Rome to render the marriage valid, which dispensation was obtained in the year 1342. (See Andrew Stewart's *History of the Stewarts*, p. 433; Gregory's *History of the Highlands and Isles*, p. 19.) But the Macdonnells of Dunluce were still more closely related to the royal family of Scotland through their ancestor John Mor, who was the grandson, by his mother, of Robert II., the first Stewart king, descended from Alexander, the son of Walter, the High Steward aforesaid. See pp. 17—21, *supra*.

(8) *Residence therein.*—A powerful branch of the Macdonnells inherited a portion of the island of Arran, from a very early period. In the sixteenth century, Mary queen of Scots granted a portion of this island to James Macdonnell, the uncle of sir Randal of Dunluce; and the latter most probably had a claim through this connexion on some lands therein, on which he occasionally resided. See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 245.

latter point, and hence the king's anxiety to conciliate the Irish, and his ready promises of favour to all who were able and willing to recommend him to the acceptance of the Irish people. (9)

Among the king's most useful and experienced friends in this important matter was Randal Arranach ; for although he had been a rebel to the English crown so long as Tyrone's rebellion had any vitality, no man in all Ulster had more wisely or promptly accepted the position in which Tyrone's declining power had placed him. Macdonnell knew when to lay down his arms with dignity, as well as for his own great advantage. In the Autumn of 1602, he deliberately passed from the rebel ranks to the side of sir Arthur Chichester, offering to serve against Tyrone in Fermanagh, with 500 foot and forty horse, at his own expense. When Randal deserted Tyrone, however, he well knew that his further adhesion would be of no avail in sustaining that chieftain's "lost cause ;" and when he volunteered, in his new-born loyalty, to serve against Tyrone, he was perfectly certain that such service would not be required. (10) His well-timed movements, however, at this critical period laid the foundation of all his subsequent honours and emoluments. At Tulloughoge, in the vicinity of Dungannon, he was introduced by Chichester to lord Mountjoy, (11) the then Irish lord-deputy, from whom he forthwith received the honour of knighthood. Thus recommended to the new king, and being previously his majesty's personal friend and informant, sir Randal was among the very first, under the new order of things to experience the sweets of royal favour. By letters patent, dated May 28, 1603, the king granted to him the entire region comprehending the Route and Glynns, and extending from Larne to Coleraine. This vast expanse comprised anciently sixteen tuoghs or territories, and in modern times it includes the four baronies of Dunluce, Kilconway, Carey, and Glenarm. The Antrim estates, as thus originally granted, contained 333,907 acres. The names of all the ancient tuoghs or districts are recited in the Antrim patents. See Appendix IX.

(9) *Of the Irish people.*—By way of exhausting the vigour of England so as the more easily to accomplish his accession to the throne, James kept his agents in Ireland, first fomenting, and afterwards sustaining the earl of Tyrone's rebellion, which cost England, from April 1, 1600, to March 29, 1602, the sum of £283,673 19s 4½d. "After Tyrone's return from London, he told Sir Thomas Phillips and many others, that if his submission had not been accepted, he had contracted with the Spaniards to fortify two or three places in the North, where his allies and friends in the Scottish Isles should, and might with ease, relieve and supply him." See Harris's *Hibernica*, part i., 130; see also *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, pp. 23—25.

(10) *Be required.*—The probability, indeed, is that O'Neill and his intended son-in-law, Randal, had arranged between themselves the whole affair as to the time and manner of their several submissions. Macdonnell's submission was made a few months earlier than that of O'Neill, but the latter had made up his mind on the point for a considerable time previously to his actual humiliation at Mellifont on the 30th of March, 1603. Gainsforde, an English pamphleter, wrote a partisan account of Hugh O'Neill's rebellion, which he entitles—"*The True, Exemplary, and Remarkable Historye of the Earle of Tirone, by him who was an eye-witness of his fearfull wretchedness and finall extirpation.*" Sir John Davies, referring to O'Neill's surrender or submission, says:—"Whereupon, the multitude being brayed, as it were, in a mortar, with sword, famine, and pestilence together, submitted themselves to the English government, received the laws and magistrates, and most gladly embraced the king's pardon and peace in all parts of the realm, with demonstrations of joy and comfort!" See Curry's *Review of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 48.

(11) *Lord Mountjoy.*—Charles Blount, eighth baron Mountjoy, came to Ireland as lord-deputy in 1599, on the departure of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, and had the credit of ending the long war with Tyrone. Mountjoy returned to England in 1605, bringing with him the vanquished Hugh O'Neill—no common trophy ! The conqueror received many favours from James I., Elizabeth having died without the consolation of knowing that at last her arms had triumphed. Mountjoy, in order to secure his conquests in Ulster, erected several castles, among others Charlemont and Mountjoy, and garrisoned a number of towns with English troops. Among his military arrangements for the peace of the province, he stationed sir Richard Moryson at Downpatrick as governor of Lecale, sir Josias Bodley at Armagh, and sir Edward Cromwell at Dundalk. Mountjoy purchased from sir John King his reversionary interest in the Fitzgerald

Sir Randal Macdonnell, in thus obtaining possession of these great estates, was much envied, even by persons who had themselves obtained very large grants from the crown. Among these may be specially mentioned sir Arthur Chichester and sir James Hamilton, who appear to have taken counsel together against sir Randal, and who lost no opportunity of creating suspicions among English statesmen, as to his movements and designs. Chichester, who now filled the office of deputy, was thus of course the more formidable opponent, having the ear of the English cabinet, and being ambitious to please the king by the extirpation of catholic land-owners. With this object always prominently in view, he spared no efforts to arouse the hostile bigotry of the English cabinet against the Irish nobility and gentry; and of the very many despatches concocted by him, and sent from Dublin castle, there were few, indeed, that did not teem with alarms on the subject of papistical conspiracies. Among other insinuations against sir Randal, Chichester began by regretting that the latter had got such large territories so irretrievably into his possession, and that he, the patriotic deputy, had no power to introduce any arrangements by which sir Randal's territories might be improved! In a letter to Salisbury, dated Dublin Castle, June 14, 1606, Chichester says of sir Randal that "he is neither thankful or obedient, as some late actions of his brothers (12) upon his (sir Randal's) command, hath laid open, as Mr. Hamilton (13) could inform him. He (Chichester), for some respects, had borne with him and his misdemeanours hitherto, but conceived that there would be means found to enforce him to what was fitting, by the creating to be freeholders immediately from the king, some of the ancient inhabitants who then were as slaves unto him, and yet have large quantities of land to himself. By this means all the sea-side on the eastern parts from the river Bann to this city (Dublin), would be civilly planted, and his majesties rent increased and truly answered, whereas he (sir Randal) is a daily suitor to have them abated. (14) Induced by his majesty's letters requiring him to be favourably used, he (Chichester) had granted him two years' rent, which was £320; yet he was not satisfied, but immediately sought to have £40 abated for ever, when the whole is but £160, for sixteen tuoghs, or small baronies, containing above thirty

estates in the county of Down. Either Mountjoy or his son sold that interest to lord Cromwell; or, as some say, exchanged the lands in Down for others in Devonshire. Mountjoy was created earl of Devonshire, but only lived to enjoy this proud title for a brief period. From the time of his advancement to the earldom, on the 26th of May, 1603, until the time of his death he resided in England, being a member of the English privy council, and in this capacity suggesting almost the entire policy which was then adopted for the government of Ireland. When the English council, on the 30th of April, 1606, announced the earl of Devonshire's death to Chichester and the council in Dublin, the announcement was accompanied with the admission that "his experience and merit in Ireland were such that his Majesty and the Council intermeddled little in most particulars." See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 460.

(12) *His brothers.*—Sir Randal's brothers were Angus, commonly called *Neece*, and Ludar, commonly called *Lother*. See p. 182, *supra*.

(13) *Mr. Hamilton.*—This gentleman was knighted soon after the date of Chichester's letter. In 1620, he was created viscount Clannaboy. He received very large grants from the crown in the counties of Antrim and Down. For many interesting particulars relating to him and his family, see *The Hamilton Manuscripts*, edited by the late T. K. Lowry, Esq.

(14) *Abated.*—On the 20th of April, 1605, the king wrote to Chichester informing him that he had "received petitions from Sir Randal for a new grant of his lands upon surrender of former letters patent, praying allowance for anything yielded in the abatement and remitting of his rent, in respect of the poorness and dispeopling of his country; the remitting of his rent by the advice of our Lord Lieutenant is allowed and continued at his discretion; the surrender of letters and abatement of rent for things yielded is deferred for inquiries; the uttermost benefit and favour consistent with justice being conferred upon the petitioner against all persons inclined to do him wrong." (See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 267). The last sentence of the foregoing letter must have been felt by Chichester as rather a sly hit against himself on the part of the king. It appears from a letter written by Chichester to Salisbury, on the 22nd of Feb.,

miles in length, lying together, and as good as any in those parts of the kingdom. This he had gotten from his majesty by mere suggestion, as his ancient inheritance, whereas his father held only four tuoghs of M'Quyllins' lands by grant from the deputy, (15) which be right (if any were) should have descended to the son of his elder brother, the dispossessing of whose children, and thrusting the M'Quyllins clean out of all, would in time raise trouble in those parts; yet he (Chichester) had giving the M'Quyllins some poor contentment by sealing them in a tuoghe of land in the lower Clandeboye." (16) See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, pp. 502, 503.

Chichester's location of Rorie Macquillin in lower Clannaboy is noticed also in another State Paper, describing a perambulation made throughout Ulster in 1605 by the deputy and several members of his council, for the purpose of introducing certain territorial arrangements then supposed to be necessary. The deputy and his associates, whilst in the county of Antrim, established their headquarters at Carrickfergus. (17) On that occasion, they divided this county into eight baronies, annexing Killultagh, which had been previously a territory *per se*. At first, it was in contemplation to annex that district to Down, and then to divide the latter—which would otherwise have been very large—into two counties; but Killultagh was annexed to Antrim, because the river Lagan separates it from Down, and, therefore, the commissioners supposed that the interests of its inhabitants could be more conveniently looked after by the sheriff of Antrim than the sheriff of Down. The con-

1604, that sir Randal was the very *first* to pay his rents to the crown, within the government of Knockfergus, after the settlement of the county under the new king; and that Chichester wished to appropriate to himself those rents paid by sir Randal, in discharge of a debt alleged to have been due to him (Chichester) by the late queen. See Russel's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, reign of James I., p 149.

(15) *The deputy*.—This deputy was sir John Perrot, who granted to Sorley Boy, in 1586, the tuogh from the Bush to the Bann, and the three other tuoghs of Dunseverick, Loughgill, and Ballymoney, in lieu of the two thirds of the Glynns granted at the same time to Angus Macdonnell of Isla, son of James. These tuoghs had once belonged to the Macquillins. See p. 181, *supra*.

(16) *Clandeboye*.—"On the 10th of March, 1608, the king confirmed the abovenamed arrangement respecting the Macquillins, by granting to Rorie Oge Macquillin the whole tuogh of Glynagherty, including twenty-one townlands, bounded on the north by the river Glanrawree and the other general mearings between the Rowte, Glynnes, and Lower Clandeboye; to the west the Mynwater runs between it and Muntercallie in the Lower Clandeboye, until it joins the river Owenbrade; then the bounds between those tuoghs extend directly about two miles between the tuogh Kearte, through the midst of the said river until it joins the river Owendivinagh, and thence the Owenbrade is the known mearing between that tuogh and the tuogh Muntermurrigan, until it joins the river Aghadowey, which holds its course about a mile between this tuogh and the cinament of Knockboynabrade to the ford of Aghadowey, and so about half a mile through the midst of a bog there, and so by the east and the north foot of the Ciburrane situate in this tuogh upon the border of the Glynnes; excepting any lands belonging to the see of Down and Connor, and all hereditaments, &c., belonging to any religious houses. Yearly rent £5, Irish; to find and maintain every year, for the space of forty days, 2 able horsemen and six footmen, to serve whenever required, within the province of Ulster. To hold forever, *in capite*, by the twentieth part of a knight's fee." (See *Patent Rolls*, of reign of James I., p. 114). The territory thus granted comprised the whole parish of Kilconriola. and the adjoining portion of Ahoghill on the east side of the Main Water. "On the 18th of May, 1619, these lands were surrendered by Macquillin to Sir Faithful Fortescue. On the 30th of May, Sir F. Fortescue received a grant from the crown of the tuogh of Clanagherty. The lands were created the manor of Fortescue, with 100 acres in demesne; power to create tenures, to to hold courts, baron and leet, and a monthly court of record, to appoint seneschals and bailiffs, to enjoy all waifs and strays, to have free warren, chace, and park. To hold at the rent and on the conditions of the grant to Macquillin." See *Patent Rolls*, James I., pp. 363, 367.

(17) *Carrickfergus*.—Chichester appears to have had a decided preference for this place above any other in Ulster, and expended large sums of his own, and of the public money in its improvement. He concludes a letter to the earl of Salisbury, dated October 2, 1605, as follows:—"Knockfergus is the only corporate town (the new Liffer of the Derry excepted) to the northward of Dundalk. The first foundation thereof was laid by his Majesty's ancestors. It was the first place committed to his (Chichester's) charge in this kingdom; he stands zealously affected to the good thereof; and in order to repair the ruins of that castle and pier, he will husband the expenses with more care than he ever did any of his own." Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, p. 341.

venience of this arrangement was obvious enough, and especially at a time when the Lagan had no bridges to span its waters, and thus connect its opposite banks. Chichester and his friends next dealt with the interior portion of Antrim, then known as lower or northern Clannaboy. (See pp. 47, 48, 133, 145, *supra.)* They gave to Shane O'Neill, eldest son of sir Brian MacFelim (see pp. 167, 179, *supra*), five tuoghs or districts, each tuogh containing about sixteen townlands, and every townland about 120 acres, some more and few less. (18) To the family of Shane's younger brother, Nial, they gave two tuoghs. To Rorie Macquillin, they gave the one tuogh of Clanagherty "in consideration," says Chichester, "of the loss of his inheritance, disposed of by his Majestie to sir Randolphe MacDonnell." The king, be it observed, had granted to Macquillin the whole barony of Inishowen, in compensation for his then disputed claim to but a comparatively small portion of the lands that had once belonged to his ancestors. Chichester, however, takes credit to himself, as a wise and generous deputy, for granting this one tuogh of Clanagherty to Macquillin, forgetting to add, however, that it was done in consideration of the latter giving up to him (Chichester) the very much larger and more valuable property of Inishowen. (See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 321.) Although Macquillin soon disposed of Clanagherty to sir Faithful Fortescue, it would appear that several leading families of his clan remained as tenants, even after the property had come into the possession of William Adair and William Edmonstone. (19)

It was believed that Rorie Oge Macquillin did not long survive the sale of his Clanagherty estate; but he lived to be an old man, and was alive in 1634. In his old age, he was fortunate in having found a kind neighbour and friend in sir Robert Adair of Ballymena, who appears to have been Macquillin's tenant in some lands which the latter had retained from the general wreck of his property. The following documents, preserved among the *Adair Papers* at Ballymena castle, and kindly supplied by lord Waveney, serve to show the cordial respect and confidence with which the fallen

(18) *Few less.*—These lands, known as the Edenduffcarrick estate, were confirmed to Shane O'Neill, eldest son of Brian MacFelim, by royal grant dated the 12th of May, 1607. The names of the five tuoghs or districts above referred to were *Munterevedy*, *Fuigh* or *Feevah*, *Muntercallie*, *Knockboynabrade*, and *Munter-Murrigan*. This extensive property was held *in capite*, by the tenth part of a knight's fee. Among the reservations were—all hawk's nests, and all young hawks on the premises. For a minute account of the townlands and mearings or boundaries of each division, see *Patent Rolls* of James I., p. 93.

(19) *Edmonstone.*—This gentleman, who bought the Redhall estate on the Antrim coast, in the year 1609, was the seventh laird of Duntreath in descent from sir William Edmonstone of Culloden, who, in 1452, married the lady Mary Stewart, daughter of Robert III. In the Edmonstone collection of family manuscripts preserved at Colzium, near Kilsyth, there are four letters of the first earl of Antrim, one of which was addressed to William, the first settler of the family at Redhall, and the remaining three to Archibald Edmonstone, son of the latter. Tracings of these letters have been kindly sent by sir Wm. Edmondstone, Bart., the present worthy representative of the family. The first letter was written at the Crosse, near Ballymoney, the residence of the earl's nephew, sir Alexander Macdonnell, on the 12th of October, 1626. It refers to a family of the Macquillins as follows:—"Loveinge Friend—Mr. Edmeston,—I pray you trouble not Ever M'Quilene his wiffe for the land that she is in possession of untill you heere what becomes of her husband, and what favour you shewe her hereinn I will and I hope you will not cause to dispossess her but by due course of law, and so this being all, I rest your very lovinge Freind, *Antrim.*" In the *second* letter, which was written December 16, 1629, the earl tells his correspondent that the sheriff of the county is the king's lieutenant, and that he (Antrim) could not command him; but that he is ready to do Mr. Edmonstone any pleasure in his power. The *third* letter is dated Dunluce, the 5th of Julii, 1630, and has reference to disputes and law proceedings among some neighbours. The earl says that he would "send for John Hunter to see what he can say in the plaintive's behalf." He coucludes as follows:—"I think I wroate nothing sharpp unto you, that should give you any discontentment, the matter being friendlie considered, and so this being all to this purpose, I rest your verie loveinge friend, *Antrim.*" In the *fourth* letter, which is addressed to his "worthie Freind," and dated 10th April, 1634, the earl says:—"I have seene a warrant that you have sent for one John Gorme M'Martine and one William Moore to examine the difference betwixt

native chief regarded the prosperous but kind-hearted planter. They are here submitted in the order of their dates, and are only interesting as affording us a glimpse at the closing period of Macquillin's life. The following are the terms of a bond given by him to his friend :—

"Be it knowen unto all men, by these presents, that I, Rorie Og M'Quiline of Glanaghertie, gent., doth binde and obleishe myself, myne heires, exects. and assignes unto Robert Adare, esquire, high sherife of the countie of Antrim, (20) in the some of Twentie pounds ster. lawfull money of and in England, to the paymt. whereof well and trulie to bee made unto the said Robert Adare, at his will and pleasure I bind my selfe firmlie by these presents dated at Ballemeanagh ye 21st of Desember, 1630.

"The Conditione of this obligatione is such that if the above bounden Rorie Og M'quiline doth warrant and make good ane aquitance under ye hand of ye said Rorie og for ye some of tenn pounde fiv shillings ster. in part of payment of his rent and stipende out of ye halfe of Glanaghartie bearinge date with these presents—This beinge performed be ye said Rorie, that then ye above bonde to bee voyd, otherwise ye same to bee and Remaine in full force and strenth in law—in witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seall ye day and yeare above written,

Signed, Sealed, and Delyvered in ye presence of us,

"James Steward.
"S ——— Adare.
"Ed. Sharmane.
"Hugh O'Hara."

Rorie og his mark. M'Quiline.

one Robert Peoples and them." He concludes by an expression of his opinion that the matter is of "noe great importance. Sendinge my love to you and your wiffe, I rest your assured loveinge friend to doe you service—*Antrim.*" For a notice of the ancient and worthy family of Edmonstone of Duntreath and Kilsyth, see new edition of *Montgomery Manuscripts*, pp. 57, 58.

(20) *Antrim.*—This gentleman, who was subsequently knighted, served as member of parliament for Wigtonshire from 1639 to 1648. He was son of William Adair, who purchased the Ballymena estate from sir Faithful Fortescue, and died in 1626; son of Ninian married to Helen Gordon of Lochinvar; son of William married to Helen, daughter of the second earl of Cassilis; son of Ninian who died in 1525; son of Alexander slain at the battle of Flodden in 1513; son of William; son of Nigel or Neil Adair of Dunsky, who was living in 1426. This ancient and honoured family is derived from an Irish stock, being really Fitzgeralds of Desmond, a branch of which is believed to have removed from Athdare or Adare, in Ireland, to settle on the other side of the channel, in Galloway. Rorie Oge Macquillin had probably died before 1636, as his friend, sir Robert Adair, married in that year, the marriage settlement including, among others, the lands that had been held by Rorie until the time of his death. The indenture between Robert Adare of Ballymanagh, Esq., and his wife Jane of the one part, and John Edmonstone of Ballibantra, William Houstone, younger, of Culnibackie, Alexander Adare of Ballicheg, all of the county of Antrim, gents., and Thomas Adare, provost of Stranraier, witnessed, that Robert Adare, demised, and granted to the gentlemen now named, his whole moiety or half part of the tuogh or territory of Glannarhartie als Clanarchy, containing the townlands of Ballymanagh and Ballyloughaw, the three quarters of Broghnemalte, the quarter of Garmenicke, the half quarter of Cardonavy, then in the possession of Francis Shawe, the townland of Lymore, the half quarter of Twishen, the townland of Loghnegary, the half townland of Antequintas, the half of Cabragh, the half of Doneveagh, the three quarters and a half of Dromyne, the half of Dongall, the townland of Monaghan, the half of Ballye, the towns and townlands of Cragewarrin, Ballygarvy, Downfean, and Clogher, the half of Kilfluigh, the half quarter held by William Moore and John Magee, lying next adjoining to Ballymanagh and Downefean, to have and to hold in trust for Jane his wife. The date of this deed is 8th June, 1636, the witnesses being Ar. Edmonstone (father of Mrs. Adair), Ffrancis Edmonstone, A. Turnebull, William Adair, and Humphray ———. For list of the lands held by sir Robert at the death of his father in 1626, see new edition of *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 113, *note*. This fine estate is still intact, and now in the possession of the right honourable lord Waveney, the popular and noble-minded representative of its original purchaser, William Adair. When the latter first settled in the district, his lands included about the half of Clanagherty, the other half being purchased from sir Faithful Fortescue by William Edmonston of Duntreath, who soon afterwards sold it to Dr. Alexander Colville. With a grand-daughter of the latter this, the

This bond is followed by the required acquittance, thus:

"I Rorie og M'quiline of Glanaghardie, gentlman, doe by these presents acknowledge my selfe to have Receaved from ye hands of Robert Adare, esqre., high sherife of ye Countie of Antrim, ye some of tenn pounds fiv shillings ster. lawfull money of Ingland, and that in part of payment of my rent and Stipende, wch was due to me from ye said Robert Adare, esquire, for his half of Glanaghardie, (21) and that according to ane agreement, made betwixt me ye said Rorie og M'quiline and Mr. Will. Johnstone, esqre., att ye Counsell table, wch rent and stipende was due to me since May Day, 1628, for ye which some this shall be unto ye said Robert a sufficient aquitance, and Further bindeth my selfe to save and harmless keep ye said Robert Adare from and against all persones and especiallie att ye hands of knight, as witnes my hand ye 21st of Desember, 1630.

"Delyvered in ye presence of us,

"James Steward.
"S ——— Adare.
"Ed. Sharmane. (22)
"Hugh O'Hara."

Rorie og his mark. | / | M'Quiline.

The following assignment is evidence of Rorie's declining powers and his increasing dependence on the good offices of his friend :—

"May it please youre Lo. that I have assigned and given over to my good ffreind Robert Adaire of Ballymeanogh, esqre., my wholl right and Interest of my yearly Pensione of foure shillinges Irish p. diem, wch was granted unto mee by our late Souvrainge King James of blessed memory, dureing my naturall lyffe, as by the late establishment doe appeare. Theirefoire, my humble desire unto youre Lo. is that youre Lo. wilbee pleased to give direction and command that the said Robert may Receave the same in tyme comeing, Togither with what Arrears is due; ffor that I have appointed him for mee, and in my place, as be a letter of Atturney will appeare; and that because the said Robert hath given me in land and money full sattisfactione and contentment, wch I enjoy yearlie of him, as alsoe doth mee many other greatt Courtessies and ffavours Dayly wch Redounde much unto my advantage and proffitt, soe that I am fully sattisfied and paid by him, and withal I am ane old man of greatt yeares, not well able to trawaill my selfe, and to appearance is not lyke to have many dayis. Theirefore, I hope youre Lo. will take this into your goodly Considerationе, and not suffer any longer Delay of this little poore thing wch is the meanes of my Liveing,

Galgorm estate, passed into the family of Moore, her son being ennobled as viscount Mountcashel. His representative sold out these lands several years ago. See lord Clermont's very interesting *History of the Family of Fortescue*, vol. ii., pp. 94, 95.

(21) *Glanaghardie.*—See preceding note. The other halves and quarters of the townlands of Clanaghertie not included in sir Robert Adair's estate, belonged to the Colville family, whose castle or manor-house was Galgorm. For an account of Dr. Alexander Colville and several members of his family, see the new edition of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*.

(22) *Ed. Sharmane.*—This gentleman is represented at the present day by John Sharman Crawford, Esq., of Crawfordsburn, county of Down. Edward Sharmane's grandson, also named Edward, married Anne O'Neill, a daughter of French John O'Neill of Shane's Castle. Several relics of this lady are still preserved at Crawfordsburn, among which may be mentioned a pair of beautiful claret-jugs, presented with other articles on the occasion of her marriage.

for wch I shall ever pray for youre Lo. long health and happines—I Rest youre Lo. humbell servant,

" Witness hereunto,
" M. TURNEBULL.
" HUH: O'HARA."

RORIE OGE mark / his M'QUILLIN.

The following is the document conveying from Macquillin the power of attorney to his friend:—

"I Rorie Oge M'Quilin gent. doeth hereby appoynt Robert Adare of Ballimanagh, esqr. to paye the rent of Laymoir being ten lib. ster. to my wyff Mistris Marie O'Neall, as alsoe I doe appoynt ye said Mr. Adare to take up yearlie of the rent of ye towneland of Loghnegarrye, (23) or to sett ye same for the use and benefit of her my said wyf to have all the days of my lyff, which rent I doe alow for my hous keeping, and doeth hereby charge the said Robert not to pay any rent nathere out of Laymore nor out of Loghnegarrye dureing my lyff bot to my wyff for the use aforesaid, and I bind my selfe to ye said Robert not to medell with ye rent of the said ten pounds, nor to trubell any of ye tennants during my lyff—And this is to be ample forme of law, as witnes my hand this 4th July, 1634.

" Signed and Delyvered
in presence off
" HUGH O'HARA.
" JENKEN M'QUILLIN.
" RICHARD \ / M'FERDORAGH M'QUILLIN.
his mark.

RORIE OG his / mark. M'QUILIN.

On the list of sir Randal Macdonnell's most troublesome neighbours may fairly be placed also one captain Phillips, afterwards better known as sir Thomas Phillips, whom Chichester terms "a discreet and honest servitor." As a means of introducing a 'plantation' of English and Scotch at Coleraine, Chichester obtained for Phillips a grant of the old abbey lands adjoining that town; and no sooner did the latter get a foothold, than he began to add to his possessions. There had been negotiations between him and sir Randal about a lease of Portrush and the lands adjoining; some cause, however, had operated to change the landlord's opinion in the matter, and he would have gladly dispensed with Phillips as a tenant. The latter pretended to feel aggrieved, and when writing, May, 19, 1605, to Robert Cecil, the English chief-secretary, Phillips states in substance, that "Sir Randal M'Donnell, upon their first acquaintance, being in a good humour, gave him a little neck of land called Port Rush, some mile and a half from the castle of Denn Lewes (Dunluce); it contains some sixty acres or thereabouts. When he gave it him, he conditioned he should keep the 'redshanks' from landing there; which he undertook, and has at his own charge made it defensive against them or any other his majesty's enemies. It stands to very great purpose, being an outlet to all places in the north. Hard by it is a goodly road. Under the fort itself there might be made a

(23) *Loghnegarrye.*—This place is now known as Loghmegarry, in the vicinity of Ballymena. Rorie appears from another paper to have had his residence in that townland. His wife, Mary O'Neill, probably survived him, but to what branch of the O'Neills she belonged we are unable to discover.

good harbour, with the value (cost) of £100, which would save many men's lives and goods, as there is no harbour there for shipping. It is one of the most necessary places in all the north for a ward to be kept, for with ten men it might be kept from all the Irishry and redshanks of the isles. It is the key of all those parts. It is offensive and defensive against the islanders who usually did land there, for it is but six hours sailing. Divers have told him (Phillips) they grieve much that he (sir Randal's) is seated there. Sir Randal is sorry to have let him have it, and would give any reasonable thing to have it back again. Has it for 40 years, paying yearly one hogshead of claret wine. Has been at great charge there, and as yet got nothing. Sir John Davys (24) can inform his lordship of the circumstances. Prays to have some settled estate as a ward there, and a grant of Castletown (Castle Toome) during his life, as being two of the most necessary places in the north." (25) Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, pp. 275, 276.

On the 16th of July, 1606, sir Randal addressed a long letter to Salisbury complaining of the conduct of sir James Hamilton and captain Thomas Phillips, in conspiring to deprive him of his right to a fourth part of the fishing of the river Bann. Richard Dobbs, in his *Briefe Description* of this county, refers to the loss thus sustained by the earls of Antrim (see Appendix II.), but it was not known in his time, by whose ingenuity the flaw was discovered in the Antrim patent which deprived the grantee

(24) *Sir John Davys.*—One of the most efficient, and best known of sir Arthur Chichester's assistants in the government of Ireland, was sir John Davys. He arrived on the 20th November, 1603, as solicitor-general, and on the special recommendation of the earl of Devonshire. He succeeded as attorney-general on the 29th of May, 1606, and continued to fill that office until the year 1619. It was during this period that he frequently acted as judge of assize, thus acquiring that knowledge of the country and its people, "which, combined with the graces of his style, renders his accounts so attractive." See Preface to Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, pp. cxiii., cxiv.

(25) *In the north.*—Although Phillips was a fortunate adventurer, he was unable to attain to the accomplishment of all his cherished projects. He does not appear to have obtained, as he asserts he had, a lease of forty years from sir Randal Macdonnell of the "little neck of land called Port Rush," nor was he able to get from the crown, notwithstanding the efforts of his influential friends, any "settled estate," at that place. The king would not consent to mutilate the estate of sir Randal Macdonnell to accommodate even so "discreet" a servant as captain Phillips; but he rewarded him very amply, notwithstanding. The latter had evidently set his heart on Portrush, and for a grant there was willing to undertake great exploits against the Irish and the Islesmen alike. All traces of the old fortress, described as equally offensive and defensive, have disappeared. On the 18th of February, 1606, captain Phillips obtained a grant, for twenty-one years of the castle and fort of Twom, or Castletown, with thirty acres adjoining, all which are held in his Majesty's possession, being lands of right belonging to the crown, for the defence of those remote parts, and places thereabouts. This was made a grant for ever, on 17th June, 1612. The rent, a pair of gilded spurs, value 20s., to the king or chief governor, if any of them should come to the said castle. On the 22nd of February, in the same year, the grantee had license from the crown to hold a Wednesday market and a fair on the 24th of June and two days following at Coleraine, with the usual courts and fees. On the 20th of April, 1609, sir Thomas Phillips, knight, had license to make *aquavitæ* in Coleraine county (now county Derry) and in the Rowte, in Antrim county. On the 20th June, 1606, this officer had a grant of the customs and subsidies, small and great, upon all merchandises, wares, and goods, imported and exported at Portrush and Portballintrea in Antrim county and the river Bann in Antrim, Tyrone, and Coleraine counties (except the duties on the wines), with the ferry and ferryboat of Coleraine over the Bann, and the ferry of Twome over the said river, and all other ferries and passages over that river, in every convenient place betwixt Coleraine and Twome, with the fee of one halfpenny for every passenger and his burden, and for every cow, bull, and ox, and in proportion for smaller cattle, to be carried over between sun and sun; rent £1 sterling, to hold for 21 years. This grant was made in redress for the many stealths, robberies, and other evils, which were actually committed and carried from one country to the other over the Bann, by reason there was no keeping upon the passages thereof, and that every one transported whom and when it pleased him by boats, and other small vessels, much tending to the disturbance of the common peace of the said countries and his Majesty's service. Sir Thomas Phillips finally obtained a "settled estate," in the neighbourhood of Newtownlimavady, which was conveyed to him by deed, 20th September, 1612, by William Cockayne, alderman of London, governor, and the other commissioners of the plantation for the city of Derry, in the province of Ulster. The lands in Colrane county (now Derry) are created the manor of Lymovade, with 500 acres in demesne. To hold for ever, in common soccage. 30th Decr., 1613. For the abovenamed several grants, see *Patent Rolls*, James I., pp. 83, 86, 131, 199, 200, 204, 286.

of this fourth part of the fishing. In the following summary of sir Randal's letter, the discoverers stand clearly enough revealed:—"The encouragement his Lordship was pleased to give him (Sir Randal) in desiring that he should certify him from time to time, of anything that might concern himself in particular, makes him presume now to recur to his Lordship. Upon his arrival here found himself dispossessed of the fourth part of the fishery of the river Band, which his Majesty was pleased to grant him by patent, being the best stay of his living. (See Appendix X). This was wrought by means of one Mr. James Hamilton, who, searching and prying curiously into his patent (as he doth into many other men's estates), seeks to take advantage upon words and other slight causes, thereby to avoid his (sir Randal's) interest, and to pass it to himself upon other men's grants which he hath purchased. He is now possessed of great countries, and yet is not contented therewith, but seeks to pull from him that little portion which his Majesty of his bounty hath been pleased to bestow upon him. In this device Captain Thomas Phillipps, being formerly his (Sir Randal's) farmer of that fishing, hath joined with Hamilton; and by that means he (Sir Randal) is put from his possession, they having laboured warrants to that effect by consent between them. Besides this, Captain Phillipps hath procured two several informations to be laid against him in the Star-Chamber, suggesting that a riot was committed by some of the people of his country about the said fishing; wherein about 60 of the poor inhabitants are brought in question, who had not any intention to commit any outrageous or riotous acts, but came in a friendly and familiar manner, and there was not so much as any evil language passed between them. For his own part, he was then with the Lord Deputy, at Dublin; and coming afterwards towards the fishery, desired to speak with Captain Phillipps, who came forth as though against an enemy with pike and shot. Having no more in his company but two serving men and three merchants, some provocations and injuries were offered him, but he passed them over, rather desirous to seek right by any means than by force, remembering the words that his Lordship spoke to him at parting, desiring him not to be his own carver. He will ever be mindful of these words when any such occasion is given him, and yet he is brought into the Star-Chamber for his patience, which does not grieve him so much as the untrue report given out of him otherwise, of purpose to bring him in disliking of the state. His poor people thus troubled are in so great terror that they have fled for the most part, he knows not whither. Only this will he desire, that he (Salisbury) will not give credit to any sinister informations against him, without first hearing his answer, and that he will be pleased to write in his behalf to the Lord Deputy, that he may find his lawful favour in some greater measure than as yet he had found, and that his Lordship may use him no worse than the rest of the gentlemen in the province of Ulster, nor be a partial judge betwixt him and those that take his fishing from him." (See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 518). Sir James Hamilton, referred to in the foregoing letter, got a conveyance of the whole fishery of "the pool of Lough Eaugh (Neagh) and the river Band up to the rock or waterfall called the 'Salmon Leap;' also full right and liberty of catching, and carrying away, and exporting salmon, and all kinds of fish in the said pool, Lough Eaugh and the Band, within the foresaid limits, and the bottom and soil of the same, and of each of them." This valuable grant was sold by him to sir Arthur Chichester, on the 10th of April, 1606.

For whatever reason, whether from relationship or policy, the king appears to have turned a

deaf ear to all insinuations against sir Randal Macdonnell, although the insinuations reached him from high quarters and through influential channels. Chichester was not slow in discovering that his majesty had set himself against permitting the disintegration of the Antrim lord's estate, and therefore took up new ground from which to assail him. Because Macdonnell's kinsmen, together with numerous other members of the Clandonnell, came and went frequently across the channel on their own several errands, Chichester had a pretext for complaining that some conspiracy, or rebellion, was being thus matured amongst them. On the 8th of June, 1604, sir Arthur wrote to Cecil, recommending that Phillips should have a custodiam of the abbey of Coleraine, rather than a Scotchman, who was then soliciting that position. Chichester preferred Phillips, as the latter, he stated, would "hinder the unlawful excursions of our neighbouring islanders, who come and go at their will and pleasure, leaving ever behind them some note of their incivility and disobedience. As of late, Angus M'Connell (see pp. 171, 172, 181, *supra*), lord of Kentyre, pursuing one of his sons that had offended him at home, lighted upon him at the Roote, where he tried and hung some of his men; and charging his son with sundry treasons, after a few cups were soon reconciled, and returned in company, before he (sir Arthur) could apprehend them. At his return thither (to Knockfergus from Dublin) he found several companies of outlaws and rebels gotten together in this country and on the borders of Tyrone; one party, of above six score, which he has broken, and killed, and hanged above the third man; and the earl of Tyrone has done the like with those upon his borders, not sparing his own nephew whom he took and hanged; (26) and so, God be thanked, they are in reasonable quiet, albeit poor, and in great necessity, which makes them outlaws, being driven to steal for want of other substenance." (Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 178.) The unhappy people, who thus formed themselves into predatory bands, had been driven from their homes during the progress of the savage war in Ulster. On the 28th of August in the same year, sir Arthur wrote to Cecil, who had then been created viscount Cranbourne, that on his return to Knockfergus from Leixlip, "he heard of the arrival of seven score of islanders at the Roote, to Sir Randall M'Donnell, under the command of Donnell Greame (Gorm, see pp. 165, 170, 176, *supra*), with such arms as they usually beare. The number and fashion of them has caused him to send for Randall, charging him to bring that gentlemen and his people with him. Is suspicious of these assemblies and conferences, and therefore has kept together Captain Phillips's company of soldiers, who hath spent the two years past at Toom, keeping in quietness those parts which lie on the Bannside to the mouth of that river, and so along the coast which borders on Scotland. Knows no country that better requires looking after, nor a better man for the business than Captain Phillips, which has made him

(26) *Hanged.*—It is to be regretted that Chichester has not been more explicit in this story, which represents the earl of Tyrone as hanging his own nephew. The only nephew of the latter, indeed, of whom mention is made as being hanged, was Brian Mac Art O'Neill, whom his uncle Tyrone loved, but whom Chichester feared. This young man had been present at a drunken brawl in which one of the brawlers happened to be killed, and Chichester seized this opportunity to have Brian Mac Art thrown into gaol on a charge of murder. Tyrone knowing the sort of jury that would be employed on his trial, offered Chichester a ransom of £800 for his nephew; but although the latter dearly loved money, he loved the blood of Bryan Mac Art still more, and therefore Tyrone's nephew was convicted and hanged. This remorseless act on the part of Chichester was bitterly denounced afterwards by Tyrone in his declaration of the grievances which had induced him "to depart his country." See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 110, 111, 193, 194.

(Chichester) advise that his company be not disbanded till the country be better settled." (*Ibid.*, p. 194.) The district to which sir Arthur refers was that extending along the coast in a north-eastern direction, from Coleraine to Ballycastle and Cushindun. Considering that the cause of this excitement was the deplorable famine existing throughout the district, sir Randal Macdonnell's position must have been an unenviable one indeed.

The Scottish kinsmen of sir Randal continued to disturb Chichester's nerves at intervals. On the 8th of June, 1607, when writing to Salisbury, he states that it had been "certified by several letters that Angus M'Connell, pretended Lord of Kentyre, has put himself into arms and done some annoyance to the Earl of Argyle's people seated in that promontory. (27) Many of the poor people make means to fly into the Roote, to Sir Randall M'Donnell, and Angus threatens to put over into those parts with his galleys for the spoil of that country and the subjects adjoining. Has directed them to have a care of their safety, and will give them the best assistance he may." (*State Papers Ireland*, vol cci., p. 77.) Sir Randal, in giving refuge to Argyle's people, was thus literally protecting the enemies of his race—a fact which Chichester is forced to record, although he abstains from any comment on this generous conduct of Macdonnell. When writing to the English Privy Council, on the 16th of July following, Chichester returns to the subject of the threatened invasion from the Scottish coast, as follows:—"About six weeks since, having received intelligence from the sea-coasts of Ulster, and especially of Antrim, that Angus M'Connell and Donnell Gorm, with some other confederates, that had gotten together a number of men and long boats, and were up in arms in the Islands of Scotland, intending to make attempts on those coasts, and especially that of Kentyre, of which Angus pretends to be lord, and also upon the opposite parts of this realm, he (Chichester) had directed Captain St. John with the king's ship, the 'Lion's Whelp,' . . . to ply up and down the channel from the river of Strangford to that of Loughfoile, both to secure these parts and so to amuse the rebels that perhaps they would lie still. . . . Angus M'Connell has some purpose to come over in person; and though any one of these islanders would come to him upon the least word from him, yet this man seems to be inclined to come over without any such capitulation. If he come in that manner, as otherwise he shall not, he (Chichester) means to detain him until he hears Salisbury's further pleasure concerning him. Many of the inhabitants likewise of that side have made suit to come over into the county of Antrim with their goods and cattle to inhabit there, and they offer to be guides back again if they (the State) should make any expeditions against the Islanders. All this proceeds from a conceit they have, that some soldiery would be sent against them from hence, and like to come upon them and spoil them unawares. They do not here certainly know in what disgrace or terms of disloyalty these islanders stand with his Majesty, but whensoever he shall be pleased to reduce them to obedience, it is to be done from their northern parts more effectually than from any other. Since the writing of this letter, news is sent him out of Tirconnell that Caphare Oge O'Donnell, with thirty men in company, well appointed after their fashion, is gone to the Isle of Illa (Isla), among the rebels. His return with some forces against

(27) *That promontory.*—Chichester meant *peninsula*, when speaking of Cantire. The celebrated Mull of Cantire is indeed a promontory so remarkable that it may, probably, have been spoken of as designating the whole peninsula. For an account of this territory, see p. 3, *supra*.

the country there is to be feared, for he is a malcontent, and unsatisfied with the Earl of Tirconnell, who witholds most of his land from him against right, as he affirms; and that was the cause of his and Neale M'Swyne's last stir in Tirconnell. Has given directions by Captain St. John to bring him again if possibly he may come by him. And hereof has written to the Earl of Argyle." *State Papers, Ireland,* vol. ccxxii., p. 101.

The "poor people," whom Chichester describes above as flying from the face of Angus Macdonnell in Cantire, had been planted in that district seven years previously, and were presbyterians from the shires of Renfrew, Dumbarton, and Ayr. The seventh earl of Argyle, and several of his kinsmen, the Campbells, had encouraged, if not originated for their own purposes, an insurrection among the Highland clans in 1599. Angus Macdonnell headed this movement, and being defeated one of the conditions imposed upon him by the government was the entire removal of his clansmen and adherents from Cantire. When the district was thus swept clean of its native inhabitants, Argyle offered, that if it were granted to him, he would pay the crown a higher rent than ever the Macdonnells had done, and would also forthwith plant it with respectable farmers from the Lowlands. These offers were eagerly accepted by the crown, and without delay a number of settlers from the counties abovenamed took possession of the lands that had been occupied from time immemorial by the leal and gallant *Fir Chintiré,* or 'men of Cantire.' In 1607, sir James Macdonnell, the son and heir of the old chieftain Angus, escaped from prison, and his appearance among the clans was the signal for another attempt on the part of the Macdonnells to wrest their extensive lands from the Campbells. The new insurrection was initiated by Angus seizing his hereditary district of Cantire, and expelling the settlers, who indeed did not wait to be expelled. Fortunately for them, better lands awaited them on the Antrim coast, and many of them made their way with their cattle and goods across the channel. Sir Randal Macdonnell received them, presbyterians though they were, and these people were the more welcome no doubt, because of their bringing with them the means of stocking their farms, In this way came many Lowland settlers to the Antrim estates, who were literally driven thither by the circumstances above-mentioned, and who, otherwise, might never have dreamed of leaving the opposite shore.

A little time was sufficient to prove that sir Randal, so far from concocting rebellion among his Scottish kinsmen, had been doing good service in allaying excitement and insurrection on both sides of the channel. But Chichester was not to be appeased, and *would* have it, that sir Randal, if not hatching mischief among his Scottish kindred, must at least be supposed to sympathise with the real sufferings of his discontented Irish connexions. On the 12th of September, 1606, the deputy concludes a long letter to Cecil, lord Salisbury, by an expression of his decided belief that the Ulster lords, O'Neill and others, had assumed a very disagreeable attitude, and that "among them all there is not a more cancred or malicious person than sir Randall M'Donnell, who from a beggar is made great and yet rests unthankful." In this letter Chichester enclosed the depositions of several spies, who had been employed to watch the slightest movement of O'Neill and O'Donnell. The latter had been created earl of Tirconnell, and was envied his title and his estate by his kinsman, sir Neale Garve O'Donnell, whom the government encouraged in opposition to the discontented earl. Although the two northern earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell had been nominally

restored to their estates on the accession of James I. to the English throne, they soon found that the terms of their title-deeds could be disputed in law, and were in fact no protection against schemes for the plantation of Ulster so ardently cherished by Chichester and other greedy adventurers. The king continued to stand firmly in favour of sir Randal Macdonnell against their machinations, yet they more than once endeavoured to include him in the number of their distinguished victims. Sir Neale O'Donnell's famous, or rather infamous depositions, made on the 7th of August, 1606, "at the camp near Devenish," contain the following account of sir Randal :—"It is a common opinion among them in all the North, that Sir Randall Macdonnell is a party with them (O'Neill and O'Donnell) in all plots and devices ; and that he hath given out that he cares not for Sir Arthur Chichester more than for any ordinary person, knowing the king will hear him and further his desires ; and that if he would not, he would show him (the king) another trick." In reference to this passage, Chichester remarks on the margin :—"It may please you to observe that Sir Neale O'Donnell is an apparent opposite to the earl of Tirconnell, yet out of sundry collections from other advertisements, I conceive he hath informed no more herein than he hath observed." In other words, although the earl of Tirconnell had exculpated sir Randal from the use of any such expression in reference to the king, yet Chichester would much prefer that the statement of his own creature, sir Neale O'Donnell might be accepted by the king and cabinet as the true version of the story. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, pp. 566, 569.

It was not surprising that sir Randal, whose wife was daughter of Tyrone and niece of Tirconnell, should sympathise with these nobles in their unhappy and dangerous position. It was no longer to be doubted that their estates were wanted, that the king declined to issue any orders for their protection, and that the slightest pretext would be used for the purpose of denouncing them as traitors. These proud chiefs could hardly brook the idea of craving help from any hand, however exalted, but yet they consented more than once to do so, and their occasional letters of remonstrance to Salisbury and the king may have been, probably enough, inspired by suggestions from sir Randal Macdonnell. On the 17th of June, 1606, the earl of Tyrone addressed one such letter from Dungannon to his majesty, the substance of which is as follows :—"He (Tyrone) had presumed by his letters written in December last, to complain of the hard courses held against him before the present Lord Deputy's time, by sundry persons that have pryed so nicely into his late patent, that, unless it please his Majesty to explain his royal meaning in expounding his patent, those courses would work to the overthrow of his estate. For divers offices (inquisitions) had been found and returned, without the privity of the Lord Deputy then governing, by juries impannelled unawares of him (Tyrone). But having received no answers to his letters, and finding the now Lord Deputy very upright, (28) he renews his most humble suit. And inasmuch as the chief ground of such as sought to take his chief living from him, rose upon colour of terming divers parcels of his inheritance to be monasteries, friaries, and of abbey land ; and as the Bishops of Clogher and Derry, where their predecessors had only chief rent, would now have the land itself ; he besought

(28) *Very upright.*—This account of Chichester's character, if sincerely given by O'Neill, is proof that he knew little of the deputy's real nature. The fact stated in the same sentence that "he (Tyrone) had received no answers to his letters," was owing entirely to Chichester's unworthy insinuations against him.

the king to stop any such mean courses, and force them to be contented with that their predecessors had formerly enjoyed these many years past." (Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 503). On the 26th of May, 1607, Tyrone addressed from Mellifont near Drogheda, another letter to the king, referring pointedly to the bishop's doings against him. The following is the substance of this letter:—"His Majesty had restored him to such lands as he (Tyrone) and his ancestors had enjoyed in the reigns of her late Majesty and her predecessors, excepting Sir Henry Oge O'Neill's country, (29) and Sir Tirlough M'Henry O'Neill's country, (30) and certain other parcels of land reserved to his Highness. (31) But now there are many that seek to deprive him of the greatest part of the residue; for the Lord Bishop of Derry not only claims for himself lands whereunto none of his predecessors ever made claim, but also sets on others to call into question that which never heretofore was doubted to be his (Tyrone's) and his ancestors. (32) His Majesty's counsel-at-law likewise calls in question, namely, Killitragh, Glanconkene, Slieveshiose, Slught-Art, and Iraght-I-Cahan, as not being specially named in his letters patent, whereas, in truth there is not one parcel particularly named in them; and by the like reason they may take from him all the lands he holds. (33) Prays therefore, for new letters patent to him and his heirs, of the parcels before recited by special name, in the form usually granted to his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom,

(29) *Henry Oge O'Neill's country.*—This 'country' consisted of "two ballibetoes in Tyrone, adjoining to the river of Blackwater on the north side, called Mointerbirne, and three ballibetoes in Tourannie, on the south side of that river." (See Russell and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 318.) The district, now known as Caledon was, granted from the crown to sir Henry Oge O'Neill, knight, of Drommorry, in Tyrone, on the 12th of June, 1606. Rent one horse and two spurs, or 40s. at his option, payable yearly at Michaelmas, besides all other rents and services formerly due. To hold in fee-farm, *in capite*, by the service of a knight's fee. From this grant were reserved all monasteries, churches, tithes, and spiritual hereditaments. (See *Patent Rolls* of James I., p. 75.) There existed an old and fierce dispute between sir Henry Oge O'Neill and Hugh, earl of Tyrone. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 409.

(30) *Sir Tirlough M'Henry's country.*—This district in the county of Armagh is now known as the *Fews* (see p. 135, *supra*), and was granted by the crown in September, 1603, to sir Turlough M'Henry O'Neill. The rent was a horse and two pair of spurs, yearly, or 40s. at the grantee's option. To be held for ever, *in capite*, by the service of a knight's fee. (See *Patent Rolls* of James I., p. 67; Erck's *Repertory*, *Patent Rolls*, i., p. 171.) The countess of Tyrone stated, in 1606, that her husband and sir Turlough M'Henry of the Fews were then very good friends. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 409.

(31) *To his Highness.*—These portions of Tyrone's estates were reserved arbitrarily by the crown when regranting in 1603. In the county of Armagh, 300 acres were thus withheld and allotted to the fort of Mountnorris, and 300 acres allotted to the fort of Charlemount, with competent houseboote, hedgeboote, ploughboote, fireboote, and turbarie for the garrison, growing upon the land. In the county of Tyrone, 300 acres were allocated from the earl's lands to the fort of Mountjoy, with the same perquisites; and the town of Liffer (now Lifford) with four quarters of land, and a meadow of 60 acres called Stramoore, were absolutely reserved by Chichester from the adjoining estates of the two earls, Tyrone and Tyrconnell. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, pp. 318, 320.

(32) *Ancestors.*—This bishop of Derry was George Montgomery, a son of the fifth laird of Braidstane in Ayrshire, and brother of sir Hugh Montgomery, of the Ards in county of Down. The bishop was originally dean of Norwich. For an account of his appointments as privy councillor, commissioner to Ireland, and also of his career as bishop of Derry, Raphoe, Clogher, and finally of Meath, see new edition of *Montgomery Manuscripts*, pp. 21, 73, 97, 98, 101—109.

(33) *He holds.*—The commencement of the seventeenth century was an age of adventurers and discoverers, when so many were at work to find out flaws in the title-deeds of old catholic proprietors. It was not to be expected that the estates of O'Neill and O'Donnell would long escape the notice of such people. Their claims to their own estates, or great portions of them, were soon disputed under English laws; they were harassed by legal inquiries into title, and by processes calling on them to appear and answer in the cause of this, that, and the other greedy adventurer, who had discovered some point on which to commence litigation. Bishop Montgomery and sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan, a son-in-law of Tyrone, so effectually laid their heads together as to drive the unfortunate earl from the country altogether. Montgomery undertook to procure a grant from the crown for O'Cahan, thus rendering him wholly independent of O'Neill, and O'Cahan in return, pointed out to Montgomery all the church lands throughout his vast territory, which were immediately claimed by the latter in the name of the church. O'Cahan's defection rendered Tyrone more anxious than he had previously felt to escape altogether from the "sea of troubles," in which he was involved. The following

amongst whom he will, during life, endeavour to deserve to be in the number of the most faithful. (34) Begs his Majesty also to direct the Lord Deputy and Council, and his other officers and ministers, that he may be permitted to continue in such possession as he enjoyed before the last general troubles in her late Majesty's time, until by ordinary course of law he shall be evicted." *State Papers, Ireland*, vol. ccxxi., p. 56.

The foregoing is only one illustration of the aggressions practised against both the northern earls, and calculated to render them discontented. Their disquieted bearing and querulous expressions were vigilantly noted by spies, and as regularly reported to the authorities in Dublin castle. Whilst they hesitated whether they should visit London and appeal personally to the king, they received intelligence that, should they venture on this course, they would certainly be shut up in the Tower for their pains. This intelligence, which was brought from a trustworthy quarter, determined the two earls and their immediate family connexions to leave the country altogether. Accordingly, the whole party sailed away from Lough Swilly, in captain Bath's ship, at midnight on the 14th of September, 1607. There were, in all, ninty-nine on board, and as they had departed so hastily their accommodation was but scant, and their sea-store of the simplest description. Of these unhappy voyagers, the most distinguished were the earl of Tyrone and his countess, with their three sons, Hugh, John, and Brian ; Art Oge O'Neill, son of Cormack, Tyrone's brother ; Ferdoragh, son of Con, the earl's nephew ; Hugh Oge, son of Brian, brother of Tyrone ; and several other kinsmen bearing the surname of O'Neill. Of the O'Donnells, Rory earl of Tirconnell was accompanied by Cathbar or Caffar, his brother ; Nuala his sister, wife of the traitor sir Neale O'Donnell (see p. 208, *supra)* ; Hugh, the earl's son, not then twelve months old ; Rosa, wife of Cathbar O'Donnell, and sister of sir Cahir O'Dogherty, with her infant son ; a son of the earl's brother, Donnell Oge ; Naghtan, son of Calvagh O'Donnell, with many other kinsmen of the same surname. (See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, first edition, p. 120.) "A distinguished crew," say the Four Masters, "was this for one ship ; for it is certain that the sea never carried, and that the winds never wafted, from the Irish shores, individuals more illustrious or noble in genealogy, or more renowned for deeds of valour, prowess, and high achievements."

Both the earls, soon after their departure, forwarded to the king detailed statements of their

account of O'Cahan's country, as given by bishop Montgomery, will show how very attractive it must have appeared to the swarming settlers :—"The country (now the county of Derry) is large, pleasant, and fruitful, being 24 miles in length, between Loughfoyle and the Banne, and in breadth from the coast towards the lower part of Tirone 14 miles; the only country besides Glenconken and Killetro left in his Majesty's hands to be disposed in Ulster, the settling whereof concerns the good and quiet of these parts in the highest degree. . . . The Earl (Tyrone) has heretofore confessed to some that now brook the highest place in this kingdom, that O'Cahan's coming in (submission) had undone him, and that as long as he had his country sure behind him (Tyrone), he little cared for anything they could do to him before." *State Papers, Ireland*, vol. ccxxii., p. 97, *et seq.*

(34) *Most faithful.*—In the re-grant of his estates to Tyrone, only his two sons Hugh and Henry were included. Their mother was Judith O'Donnell, and they had several sisters, of whom sir Randal Macdonnell's wife was one. Tyrone had a second family, including several sons, by his last wife Catherine Magennis. He had arranged to provide for his three little boys by the last countess, by bequeathing them lands in the county Armagh, and for the second son of the first family by a liberal grant in the county Tyrone. The Irish deputy and council refer to this contemplated settlement as follows:—"He (Tyrone) has also laid down in writing before us his plot and purpose to make his three young sons by the now (1605) countess, his wife, freeholders in the county of Ardmagh, near to the State (convenient to the Pale), and his second son (by his first wife), named Henry, who is now in Spain, or in the Low Countries, in the barony of Strabane, in the county of Tyrone, allotting to every of them a good quantity of land, distinguished from the lands of the earldom." His eldest son, the baron of Dungannon, was yet in his minority. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, pp. 318, 319.

grievous wrongs, sustained at the hands of the Irish government, and of the many positive outrages and robberies which had been inflicted on their people by government officials. O'Neill's statement, which enumerates twenty distinct charges, is headed—*Articles exhibited by the Earl of Tyrone to the king's most excellent Majesty, declaring certain causes of Discontent offered him, by which he took occasion to depart his country.* O'Donnell's statement, which enumerates forty-four distinct charges, is headed—*A Note or brief Collection of the several Exactions, Wrongs, and Grievances, as well spiritual as temporal, wherewith the Earl of Tyrconnell particularly doth find himself grieved and abused by the king's Law Ministers in Ireland, from the first year of his Majesty's reign until this present year of* 1607. For copies of the abovenamed important documents, see Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 192—225; also Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 364—380.

It would appear that Tyrone's countess, Catherina Maginnis, went with him, in his final departure from Ireland, reluctantly. Some disturbing causes had interrupted the harmony which ought then, especially, to have existed between them. The dispute, whatever had really been its origin, was well known to the government, and even the private feelings of the countess were not overlooked in the universal espionage then practised by Chichester's agents. To turn this delicate question to account required the manipulation of a delicate and experienced hand. Sir Toby Caulfield was specially set apart to approach the countess with the dastardly object of stealthily obtaining some admissions from her, in conversation, which might prove damaging, or even fatal to her husband. Obdurate and treacherous as Chichester was, he admitted that here, indeed, was a base proceeding. Writing to Mountjoy, duke of Devonshire, on the 26th of February, 1606, he informs the latter that "at his being in the north the last summer, he found the countess of Tyrone much discontented with her Lord. He made some use thereof at that time, by directing Sir Toby Calefield to sound her, touching some points which he delivered to him. He well conceived it to be a very uncivil and uncommendable part to feed the humour of a woman to learn the secrets of her husband; but his zeal to the King's safety and the charge committed to him would, he hoped, minister excuse to his unaccustomed carriage in that kind." Caulfield reported that, having found the countess in a querulous and complaining humour, he advised her to purchase protection from her husband's drunken tyranny, "and to be revenged on him for all his injuries at once." "On asking him in what way, he told her by giving secret notice, if she knew of any practice the Earl had in hand against the peace of that kingdom. She answered, that if she knew any such, she would not, for all the world, however much she hated him, be known to accuse him in anything that should endanger his life. Upon his (Caulfield's) assuring her of his secresy and discretion, she sware upon a book, that she knew nothing of certainty (for of all others he would impart no such secret to her), but she did think in her own mind, and so did many others of the country, to use her own phrase, that Henry Haggan was sent over about some business that he dare not commit to writing, and that Morrough O'Quin, the Earl's attending servant, was to have gone over to bring news from his son and H. Haggan, for he will have no secrets put in letters. . . . She had promised, if she could learn anything thereof, he should know, and he had sworn it should never be known. Thereupon he had engaged, if she should be driven to complain of her husband, he (Chichester) would do her justice, with much favour."

This interview took place some time before January, 1605, and it would seem that the state of affairs between Tyrone and his countess became worse and worse. Sir Neale Garve O'Donnell's depositions, taken in August, 1606, contain the following statement in reference to this subject:—"He saith further that O'Cayne and his wife (base daughter of the Earl of Tirone) told him about Christmas last that the Earl of Tirone, being determined to put away his Countess, and for that purpose having gotten together all the priests of the country, the Countess told him plainly that, if he desisted not from such courses against her, she would discover him so far as to infer again to rebellion or to lose his head; whereupon the Earl dismissed his priests and left his purpose." (Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, pp. 408, 410, 568.) The latest reference to the countess, at least as yet discovered, is found in sir John Davys's account of the flight of the earls, as follows:—"From thence (Mellifont), on Sunday he went to Dundalk; on Monday he went to Dungannon, where he rested two whole days; on Wednesday night, they say, he travelled all night with his impediments, I mean his women and children; and it is likewise reported that the Countess his wife, being exceedingly weary, slipped down from her horse, and weeping, said she could go no farther; whereupon the Earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath that he would kill her in the place, if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance withal." (Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, p. 269.) One or other of these stories told by sir Neale Garve O'Donnell and sir John Davys is false, and probably both. If Tyrone had wished to have done with his countess, as the former of the two knights tells us, it is not likely that he would have threatened to slay her rather than that they should part company, as the other knight is pleased to represent! It is not known what became of the poor Countess afterwards. If she had died in Rome there would, probably, have been some trace of her grave there, but none has been found. It may be that she survived her lord, who died in 1616, as she was much younger than he; and if so, she may have returned to lay down her weary head in the grave of her own people. Tyrone was in his seventy-sixth year when he died. "The prince," say the Four Masters, "who died there in Rome, far away from Armagh, was a powerful lord, mild and gentle with his friends, pious and charitable, but stern and fierce to his enemies; and it was a token that God was pleased with his life, that he allowed him to breathe his last in Rome, the metropolis of Christendom." (35)

(35) *Christendom.*—Tyrone had been married four times, but he appears to have had families only by two of his wives. His first lady was a daughter of sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill, from whom he was separated by order of the church, on account of some impediment, soon after their marriage. "The sentence invalidating this connexion was duly registered by the officials of Armagh cathedral, who, when afterwards examined by the deputy Fitzwilliam, produced the instrument signed, sealed and delivered, and furthermore declared, that, by reason of said impediment, the church never could have sanctioned the sacramental union of the parties." There were no children, so far as we can discover, from this marriage. Some years afterwards O'Neill was married to Judith O'Donnell, a sister of the celebrated Hugh Roe, and by this lady, who died in 1590, he had a large family of sons and daughters. Soon after her death, he met Mabel Bagenall, by whose youth, and beauty, and graceful manners he was willingly captivated. His admiration or love was fully reciprocated, but when Tyrone proposed for her, sir Henry Bagenall, her brother, declined to sanction the marriage, ostensibly on the grounds of the *uncivilised condition* of the earl's country, but really because he was unable to part with his sister's dowry, which he held in trust. He also removed her from his own residence at Newry, to the house of his sister, lady Barnwell, of Turvey, nine miles north of Dublin. Here, however, the earl was made very welcome to visit her, and they were formally betrothed in July, 1591. At the end of that month, Tyrone and his affianced suddenly disappeared during a festive evening at Turvey and rode to Drumcondra, within a mile of Dublin, where they were married at the house of a friend named Warren. The bishop of Meath, who performed the ceremony, hesitated until he should first speak with the bride apart. Having asked her whether she had really

It is curious that whilst the countess of Tyrone was thus forced to accompany her lord in his flight, the countess of Tyrconnell was fated to remain behind, although she would have gladly been an exile with her husband. This lady was Bridget Fitzgerald, a daughter of Henry twelfth earl of Kildare, by his wife the lady Frances Howard, second daughter of Charles earl of Nottingham. Lady Bridget's husband, Rory O'Donnell, was created earl of Tyrconnell in 1603, and she could not have been married to him later than 1604—when she was about fourteen years of age. (See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i. p 99). The stories told by her cousin, the youthful lord Delvin, respecting a plot then said to be in progress against the government, led Chichester to believe that the countess of Tyrconnell, who resided with her grandmother, Mabel countess of Kildare, at Maynooth, must have known something of the affair. After the flight of her husband from Loughswilly, Chichester wrote to the former on the subject, and received in due course the following reply, on the 1st of October, 1607:—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I have received your lordship's letter by my cousin Bowrcher, and to satisfy your lordship's request concerning my knowledge of my lord's sudden departure, which I vow to your lordship upon my honour I never had the least notion of his intent in that unfortunate journey; but, as near as I can remember, on the 16th of September last, one Owen Groome Maccrâ sent to me to speak with him; unto whom I came, finding him accompanied with one Denis O'Morcan (I think), a priest, from whence we walked into Moyglare garden. I sent for Mr. Brian to come thither, but a little before Bryan came, Denis O'Morcan went from us, and left the friar and me, who (when he came, or soon after) delivered me the gold. Owen Maccrâ used these speeches at our first meeting, which Denis O'Morcan did interpret to me:—that my lord had sent that gold as a token, and wished me not to be grieved at anything; but the friar, seeing me lament, for that my Lord did leave me behind him, which I thought was for want of love, thereupon used these speeches; he thought if my Lord had known sooner of his going, he would have taken me with him. Upon Mr. Bryan's coming to me, the friar uttered some words (which as near as Bryan in his broken English could interpret) was to wish me not to be grieved, but if I had a mind to go to my Lord, wished me to take counsel of my nearest friends; and for my Lord's return, I vow to God I have no knowledge thereof, but I pray God send him a fair death before he undergo so wicked an enterprise as to rebel against the prince. And for my conversing with priests, I would not willingly restrain myself from them; but if there shall any notice come to me of my Lord's intent, I do protest I will acquaint your Lordship thereof, for they shall never make me to conceal anything that should tend unto his Majesty's service. I hold myself much bound unto your Lordship for your honourable advice, which I do kindly embrace, and do ever intend to observe it, and will ever remain, though unfortunate yet, your Lordship's truly thankful, "BRIDGET TYRCONNELL."

Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, 2nd series, pp. 296, 297.

plighted her troth to O'Neill, Mabel very distinctly replied in the affirmative, that she had received from him a gold chain as a token, and that she had come away from Turvey freely and of her own entire consent. "I beseech you, my lord," she added, "perfect the marriage between us, the sooner the better." And they were forthwith united according to the forms of the English church. Mabel became a catholic, and no doubt lived happily as Tyrone's wife. Her married life, however, was brief as she died in 1596, leaving no children. He finally married Catharina Magennis, by whom he had at least three sons, who were all young at the time of their parents' hasty departure from Ireland. For an account of Tyrone's marriage with Mabel Bagenall, see *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, new series, vol. i., pp. 298—309; Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 30—32.

This simple letter excites our pity for the poor young countess, who was then only seventeen years of age, and who was destined never again to see the husband of her youth. (36) That purse of gold, containing eighty-one pieces, was the last token she, and her three little infants, received of his love. He died at Rome, on the 28th of July, 1608, "and sorrowful it was," say the Four Masters, "to contemplate his early eclipse, for he was a generous and hospitable lord, to whom the patrimony of his ancestors seemed nothing for his feasting and spending." (37) His young wife was brought to England by her grandfather, the earl of Nottingham, a member of the English Privy Council, and Lord Admiral. The youthful Irish countess was graciously received at the court of James I., "where, when she came," says sir Roland White, in a letter to lord Shrewsbury, "she kissed his Majesty's hand, and a sweeter face you never saw. Indeed, the King wondered her husband left so fair a face behind him." She received a pension of £300 a-year from her husband Tyrconnell's forfeited estates. (See Meehan's *Earls*, p. 252.) Lady Tyrconnell had a son and two daughters by the earl. Her son, named Hugh, after his celebrated uncle, Hugh Roe, was page to the Infanta in Flanders. Her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, became the wife of the first earl of Fingall; and her younger daughter, Mary, was the heroine of a romantic story. (38) Their mother re-married with Nicholas

(36) *Of her youth.*—The earl of Tyrconnell was affectionately tended during his last illness, in 1608, by Rosa O'Doherty, the noble-hearted wife of his brother Cathbar, and sister of sir Cahir O'Doherty, who was slain in the same year. This lady, one of the illustrious exiles from Loughswilly, lived many years afterwards, and probably died abroad, although she had determined, in 1642, to return to her dear native Inishowen. She was grand-daughter by her mother of Shane O'Neill. The following letter from her to father Hugh Burke (1642), was originally written in Irish:—

"MOST HONOURED FATHER,—I received yours, for which I am thankful. I am rejoiced to hear that the camp-master reached Ireland safely. Withal, your letter is so short that I merely collect from it that one fact. I beseech you to inform me of all that pertains to the war of Uladh. Pray tell me who are alive, and who of our gentry are dead. Let me know what is the state of Tyrconnell, and where the munitions were left; for it is not likely that he (Owen Roe O'Neill) went through that country if Saxons or Scots are in it. My son Henry, and I, desire to proceed to England, if you could procure us a passage thither; we would require a month or six weeks to make arrangements before setting out. Doubtless you heard of the death of the earl of Tyrconnell.

"D. ROSA O'DOCHARTY."

"From Louvain, 16th September, 1642."—Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 392.

(37) *Feasting and Spending.*—Among the company of exiles who went with the earl of Tyrconnell, was his sister Nuala, leaving her recreant and brutal husband, sir Neale Garve O'Donnell, who was afterwards imprisoned in the tower, where he ended his miserable days. Soon after Nuala's departure from Ireland, she was destined to mourn by the grave of her excellent brother. In the little band of Irish refugees who finally took up their abode at Rome, was O'Donnell's Bard, known as *Owen Roe Mac-an-Bhaird*. This genuine poet has immortalised their exile by a thrilling elegy, written on seeing the lady Nuala bewailing the deaths of the earl and others her kindred—at their grave on St. Peter's Hill, near Rome. His wild and pathetic lament is introduced by the following reference to the *loneliness* of Nuala in her grief, followed by the assurance that had they died in Ulster, she would have been joined by all its people as her fellow-mourners:—

"O Woman of the Piercing Wail,
Who mourn'st o'er yon mound of clay
With sigh and groan,
Would God thou wert among the Gael!
Thou would'st not then from day to day
Weep thus alone.
'Twere long before, around a grave
In green Tyrconnell, one could find
This loneliness.
Near where Beann-Borche's banners wave
Such grief as thine could ne'er have pined
Companionless.

"Beside the wave, in Donegal,
In Antrim's glens, or fair Dromore,
Or Killilea,
Or where the sunny waters fall
At Assaroe, near Erna's shore,
This could not be!
On Derry's plains,—in rich Drumcleiff,—
Throughout Armagh, the great, renowned
In olden years,
No day could pass but woman's grief
Would rain upon their burial-ground
Fresh floods of tears!

"Oh no! from Shannon, Boyne, and Suir,
From high Dunluce's castle walls,
From Lissadill.—
Would flock alike both rich and poor.
One wail would rise from Cruachan's halls
To Tara's hill!
And some would come from Barrow's side,—
And many a maid would leave her home
On Leitrim's plains,
And by melodious Banna's tide,
And by the Mourne and Erne, to come
And swell thy strains!"

(38) *Romantic story.*—For an account of the romantic

Barnewell, baron of Turvey and first viscount Kingsland. See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. v. pp. 49, 50.

The flight of the earls was just the very act, which, of all others, answered the purposes of Chichester and his associates. They were thus freed from the invidious and difficult task of dealing more stringently with these unhappy noblemen, and they had thus peaceable and immediate possession of the vast territories they so eagerly coveted for a plantation. The rivers and lochs of Ulster, teeming with wealth, were now theirs without even having to await the result of the formal or farcical law proceedings then in progress against the earls; the vast woods bowed their heads in submission, but received no quarter; (39) and the green fields, having had time to rest, were prepared to yield their golden stores to the hands of strangers. Chichester, when writing of the flight to the privy council in London, suggests that the several occurrences connected therewith "are providential, to enable his Majesty to repair the error committed in making these men proprietary lords of so large territories without regard of the poor freeholders' rights." But whilst the deputy thus considered the event 'providential,' he was very active in making arrangements that it might be complete, or not likely to be followed by any return of the fugitives. A letter, previously written to Salisbury, was followed the next day with a plan for seizing the lands of the fugitives, and distributing them to English settlers, reserving of course ample fragments for some

career of Mary O'Donnell, see sir J. B. Burke's *Vicissitudes of Families*, second series, pp. 139—143.

(39) *No quarter.*—The woods of Ulster appear to have been among the most attractive features of the land in stimulating the ingenuity and strength of the despoilers. Among the treasures which sir John Davys' legal acumen was securing for the king were the noble old trees of Glanconkeen. Writing to Salisbury, on the 1st of July, 1607, Davys says:—"The state of this cause (meaning the celebrated lawsuit between the earl of Tyrone and sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan) he signified to his Lordship before Christmas last; but he has now drawn the case more exactly out of the records themselves, whereby his Majesty's title not only to all O'Chane's country, but also to the great wood or forest of Glanconkeyn (which is well nigh as large as the New Forest in Hampshire, and stored with the best timber in Ireland), and likewise to the territory of Killetragh and other good scopes of land in Tyrone, appears so evidently that there is no colour or shadow of doubt in the case. . . . . As for the great wood of Glanconkeyn, if his Majesty, having neither park nor forest in this kingdom, will be pleased to reserve the same and make it a forest, besides the pleasure of the game wherewith it may be stored, it lies so commodiously upon the river of the Banne that the timber thereof may be easily transported for building of ships or other public uses." (Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 211, 213.) Chichester wanted no parks for game in that quarter—which might form also a convenient cover for rebels, of which he very naturally had a deep horror and suspicion. He, therefore, strenuously recommended the felling of all Ulster woods, and how it fared with this ancient and celebrated forest of Glenconkeyn will appear by the following extract from a report on the progress of the plantation in and around Coleraine, signed by Chichester himself, in Sept., 1611:—"*A Declaration of what is don in the woods of Glanconkeyne, in the Barony of Lough-Enish-of-Lyne* (Loughinshollin) *granted to the Londoners.* There is 400 load of tymber feld and squard, and most of it drawn to the Bann syde; 400 trees which lye ready felled. About 20 Irish houses, thatched, with chimneys buylte at the woods for dwellings for workmen. A House wherein Mr. Hilliocke dwelleth, being of foure bayes, a storie and half high, with a floure, two chimneys covered with borde. About 200 duzen of Birtch poles, felled for buyldinge of scaffalinge, and burning of brick and tyle. Aboute 100,000 lathes already riven in the woodes. By estimation there have been digged upwards of 40 sawepitts in such places from whence tymber could not be drawn. Ffoure men contynually employed aboute makinge Cashes to drawe of the woodes to the Bann. Aboute 300 horseload of wattles lying ready in the woodes. Two frames of houses of six bayes a pice in hand, and neer finished, by Moore & Wilson. Tymber for one ship ready squard and sawen, for another tymber feld and squard. Greate store of firewood for burning of bricks and tyles, ready cutt, and at the water side. Ffoure and twentie oxen contynually imployed in the woods for drawing of tymber to the water side." (*Lambeth MS.*) The above, however, was only the commencement. The woods in O'Cahan's country, like its people, were soon swept away, and a general regret prevailed at last, that the whole region owned by the London Corporation had been so completely denuded of trees. In 1803, an agent reporting on this subject winds up as follows:—"On the whole, I may venture to say, that the county of Londonderry is perhaps the worst wooded county in the king's dominions." *View of the Irish Society*, Appendix, p. ccxxii.

good servitors and other faithful English in every barony. "If his Majesty," says Chichester, in a letter written on the 17th of December, "will, during their (the earl's) absence, assume the countries into his possession, divide the lands among the inhabitants, to every man of note or good desert so much as he can conveniently stock or manure by himself and his tenants and followers, and so much more as by conjecture he shall be able to stock and manure for five years to come, and bestow the rest upon servitors and men of worth here, and withal bring in colonies of civil people of England and Scotland at his Majesty's pleasure, with condition to build castles or store-houses upon their lands; and if he will bestow £10,000 or £12,000 to repair the forts already built, and to build some small forts from the ground in fit places, . . . then there shall be no need to spend revenues in the reducing and defence of this realm from time to time, as has been customary for many hundred years heretofore. But if his Majesty shall not like of that course, then ought they of necessity to descend to this other, and that is to drive out all the inhabitants of Tirone, Tirconnell, and Fermanaghe, as near as they may, with all their goods and cattle, into the countries adjoining, over the rivers of the Bande, Blackwater, and Loch Erne, there to inhabit the waste lands, more than is sufficient to contain them, leaving only such people behind as will dwell under the protection of the garrison and forts which would be made strong and defensible. He holds this an honest and laudable act, void of iniquity or cruelty, and though it were touched with some, yet, in this case, it is prudence, and like to be recompensed with a public benefit to his Majesty and the whole realm, both for the present and future time." *State Papers, Ireland*, vol. ccxxii., pp. 126, 128, 137.

Sir John Davys concludes a long letter to Salisbury on the subject of the earls' flight, as follows:—"As for us that are here, we are glad to see the day wherein the countenance and majesty of the law and civil government hath banished Tyrone out of Ireland, which the best army in Europe and the expense of two millions of sterling pounds did not bring to pass. And we hope his Majesty's happy government will work a greater miracle in this kingdom than ever St. Patrick did, for St. Patrick did only banish the poisonous worms; but his Majesty's blessed genius will banish all those generations of vipers out of it, and make it, ere it be long, a right fortunate island. This is my poor and weak conjecture touching this accident, which I humbly submit to your Lordship's judgment." *(Ibid.* p. 233.) This concluding remark of the attorney-general was just such as would captivate the king; the touch about his "blessed genius," and his being able to outrival St. Patrick, had probably more influence in securing his enthusiasm for the plantation than all Chichester's plausible arguments. Davys had a worthy colleague and coadjutor in Fenton, who also wrote, as follows, on this great theme, to Salisbury:—"And now, he (Fenton) has only to put Salisbury in mind what a door is opened to the King, not only to pull down for ever these two proud houses of O'Neill and O'Donnell, but also to bring in colonies of the English to plant both countries, to a great increase of his Majesty's revenues, and to settle the countries perpetually in the Crown; besides, that many well-deserving servitors may be recompensed in the distribution without charge to his Majesty. If such be his Majesty's pleasure, the sooner they shall enter into the business the better, to work it to his Majesty's avail by a due course of proceeding prescribed by the laws and customs of this realm." *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxii. p. 130.

Sir Thomas Phillips, who had always a very decided wish for an estate somewhere adjoining Portrush, (see pp. 202, 203, *supra*,) now believed that he had a good opportunity for pressing the authorities still further on the subject. He went to Dublin instantly on hearing of the earls' flight, to urge his suit with Chichester, and from thence to enlighten the English government on the necessity of taking special care of Portrush, and of recognising his own long and efficient services, in some tangible manner. The following is the substance of his letter on that occasion, which is here submitted because of its interesting references to the northern coast. It was dated from Dublin on the 22nd of September, and addressed to Salisbury :—"Heard they (the earls) were gone the day after. Advertised into Scotland that there should be care taken if any such ship should be driven upon that coast, for the wind was then contrary to go any other way. Thought good for the securing of the people, to go from Coleraine as far as Dungannon, and going through the country the people met him and were all amazed and ready to forsake their houses. Gave them the best counsel he could, which they promised to take, but there is no trust in them. They now begin to grow rich, so that for the most part during peace they increase very fast in cattle, and for corn this year they have great plenty. He passed through the fastest country in Tirone, where he did not expect to have seen so much corn. (40) Is of opinion that his Majesty should fortify and maintain Knockfergus, Portrush, and Loughfoill, and then draw all the cows and other provisions out of the woods into the plains near those strong garrisons, where they may be fetched in upon the first news of any forces landing. This will not only be a means to starve them, but save his majesty a great sum of money in provisions for his army. In this manner most of the provisions in the north may be saved from them. Whilst the churls be attending upon their cows they may be made work upon the fortifications ; for Knockfergus and Loughfoill there are some few men to guard them ; for Portrush there is no man, it lying open, but a place ——. Gives a scheme for fortifying Portrush and making it almost an island, so that 6000 men might be embattled there. Fears the Spaniards will not omit the fortifying of it, if they chance to see it. The Earl of Tirone, to his knowledge, held it to be a place of importance. (41) The lands of Tirone and Tirconnell falling into his Majesty's hands, if

(40) *So much corn.*—At the period to which this letter refers, the Irish inhabitants of Ulster had been almost literally swept away by the war, and the pestilence that followed in its path. Their fields and houses had also been robbed of all their stores by hungry and ferocious English soldiers ; yet in the space of three years, the comparatively few inhabitants that remained had covered the fields once more with corn and cattle, to the astonishment even of their remorseless enemies and traducers. Chichester and others exulted in the desolation they had wrought, and which they were in the habit of designating as a just punishment for the sins of their hapless victims. "This country is so corrupt," says he, in 1604, "and so far from happiness, that he may liken it to Pharoah's lean oxen, which consumes the fat of his Majesty's other kingdoms, and is ever lean itself." (Russell's and Pendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 149.) This is the very reverse of the truth. The Irish could have had abundance, had they not been so persistently and cruelly robbed by Chichester, and such as he. At Dungannon, in 1605, he writes :—"Round this place there is a general desolation, by reason of which it happeneth that merchants, and other passengers weakly guarded, travelling to or from the Derrie or Liffer to the Pale, are usually in their passage cut off and murdered." (*Ibid.*, p. 322.) Yet in two years afterwards, when the people had got even so short a breathing time from war, Phillips could testify that even "the fastest country in Tirone"—literally the most inaccessible for their troops—was covered abundantly with crops.

(41) *Of importance.*—It is to be regretted that Phillips did not tell us when, or where Tyrone had spoken thus of the importance of Portrush as a military position. With the exception of Phillips himself, perhaps no other authority has noticed it as such. There is no record, at least yet known, that invaders from the Scottish isles, or indeed any where else, ever affected Portrush as a landing-place. The Skerries opposite to it, and the tremendous force with which the waves from the open Atlantic sweep that part of the coast during at least nine months of the year, have effectually preserved it from the visits of incursionists. If the Scots' galleys did not glide in at

towns be planted in convenient places they may keep the country in awe. He bought the abbey of Coleraine, and employed all he had in the world on it. The land belonging to it is but four towns, and most part scattered abroad some five miles distance, but if he had a good scope of land of the Earl of Tirone's next adjoining, he should have in short time a company of honest Englishmen to serve his Majesty upon all occasions. In times past when it was a corporation, it yielded his Majesty £55 yearly. It was a strong town in those days, and may be made so now, which he will undertake with no charge to the king, if he only be pleased to bestow upon him a competent quantity of land for the performance of it. (42) He has already bestowed all he could get in building, and made himself a poor man. Never had one foot of land in gift from his Majesty, having lost his blood here, and done main good service, which are unknown to him; but, howsoever, counts himself rich so long as he shall deserve his favour." *State Papers, Ireland*, vol. ccxxii., p. 140; Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 279, 280.

For a time after the flight of the earls, sir Randall Macdonnell's position was one of uncertainty, if not of peril. He, in common with all his family and marriage connexions, deeply sympathised with the wrongs of the distinguished exiles, but few of his friends had so much at stake as he, or were watched with so keen an eye by Chichester's spies. To complete the grand programme of the plantation, there were yet several obstacles in the way. Sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan still claimed Iraght-O'Cahan as his own; sir Neale Garve O'Donnell hoped to stand in the place of the fugitive earl of Tyrconnell; sir Cahir O'Doherty, occupying broad lands, stood prominently in the

Cushindun or Ballycastle, they invariably passed on westward to Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly. Phillips here expresses very naively his ideas—and indeed the ideas of all the government officials of that time—respecting the treatment which might be most usefully adopted towards the native inhabitants of Ulster. The "churls" could be employed in gathering in all the grain and cattle of the country around the several fortified positions occupied by the English forces, such as Portrush, Coleraine, Toome, &c., and these 'churls' whilst herding the cattle, might be compelled to work at repairing and extending the fortifications. Then, should the earl of Tyrone venture to return to his estates, the cattle and corn could be hastily carried inside the fortifications, so that the remnant of the people, including the 'churls,' would be thus starved to death, and his majesty by this means would be saved very great expenses in providing for his soldiers! When all this, and even worse treatment had been inflicted on the Irish in many places, Ellesmere, the English lord-chancellor, writing to Davys, in September, 1604, could nevertheless express himself thus:—"May God stay his hand from further afflicting them. They have already felt the scourge of war and oppression, and now are under the grievous scourge of famine and pestilence. May God give them his grace to make the use thereof as true Christians ought, to become truly religious, truly good, loyal, and faithful to their Sovereign, obedient to his laws, and to the effecting thereof!" See Russell and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, pp. 195, 196.

(42) *Performance of it.*—Phillips evidently now felt that he need not expect the king would order "a settled estate" to be cut for him from the lands of sir Randal Macdonnell around Portrush; and, therefore, two or three days after he had heard of Tyrone's departure, he asks for "a good scope" of that nobleman's estate, on the western side of the Bann, adjoining Coleraine. Phillips had got all the abbey-lands there,—only four townlands, however, scattered uncomfortably about, and not remunerative enough. All at once, therefore, Coleraine becomes in Phillips' estimation *the* position of greatest importance in the north. It had been great in former times, yielding a goodly revenue to the crown, why should it not be so again; and why should not Phillips get a goodly estate in that beautiful neighbourhood, from the earl of Tyrone's land? He *did* secure a portion of the earl's lands in the vicinity of Coleraine, on the western bank of the Bann, which lands he exchanged to advantage, with the Irish Society, for others at Newtownlimavady, where he eventually took up his abode. He made himself, however, as obnoxious to the Londoners as he had been to sir Randal Macdonnell. Under date of the 14th April, 1611, the following entry occurs in the Society's *Proceedings* respecting this point:—"The new settlers soon after recovering possession of the estates, made an exchange with Sir Thomas Philips, then governor of the county of Coleraine, of the Castle of Lymavaddy, and three thousand acres of ground adjoining it, being part of their division, for other lands belonging to him. Sir Thomas Phillips afterwards made himself very obnoxious to the Irish Society, by intermeddling in their concerns with regard to the Plantation; and the governor and assistants remonstrated with him by correspondence on the occasion." See *Concise View of the Irish Society*, p. 29.

settlers' path; and last, though not least, sir Randal Macdonnell's immense territory by some contingency might be made available in the general scheme of spoliation or settlement. The two first-mentioned were carried off to the Tower, and ended their days as miserable captives, the one in 1626, and the other in 1627. (43) The third was driven into rebellion and slain in 1608; (44) but the fourth, sir Randal, was able, by watching Chichester on the one hand, and repressing the insurrectionary tendencies of his own connexions on the other, to hold on by the old faith, and to live in the enjoyment of his broad lands. His example exercised a sedative influence on three of his brothers-in-law, namely, viscount Mountgarrett, sir Brian MacMahon, and sir Arthur Maginnis; but as for the fourth, sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan, (45) no influence or diplomacy could redeem *him* from the hands of his enemies. The following is Chichester's account of the spirited demeanour of the others in showing their sympathy with sir Cahir O'Doherty:—"The Viscount Mountgarret (46) and Sir Randall M'Donnell (two of Tirone's sons-in-law), have been here with him, notwithstanding the counsels or advices they (the government) had given them to the contrary. Sir Brian M'Mahowne and Sir Arthur Magneisse (Maginnis) are ready to do the same if they have occasions or be required. Though there is reason to be jealous of some of these, yet he (Chichester) lets them come and go at their pleasures—thereby to secure others who are very apt to conceive this thought generally, that they should be committed without respect. Such is the state of their consciences; but if they (the government) were to restrain all such as are suspected fautors

(43) *In* 1627.—In the year 1617, these unhappy prisoners made an attempt to escape through the agency of a person named Donnelly, who is described by one King, a keeper, as "visiting the Tower at times to confer with the Irish knights that lie prisoners there, viz., Sir Nial O'Donel, Sir Cormac MacBaron (brother of Tyrone), and Sir Donald O'Cahan, which he thinketh can be of no good intent to the crown of England." This attempt, however, did not succeed, for in 1623, sir Allen Apsley, in reporting on the prisoners then in custody, says:—"There is here Sir Nial Garve O'Donel, a man that was a *good subject* during the late Queen's time, and did as great service to the state as any man of his nation. He hath been prisoner here about thirteen years. His offence is known specially to the lord Chichester." See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, first edition, p. 320.

(44) *Slain in* 1608.—This ill-fated young chieftain was driven into his headlong rebellion principally by the brutal violence of sir George Paulet, governor of Derry, who, during an altercation, struck O'Doherty a blow with his clenched fist. Sir Cahir unfortunately took counsel with sir Nial Garve O'Donnell, who advised him to seize Culmore and Castle Doe, and then march on Derry. This programme sir Cahir carried out, concluding his wild raid by burning Derry and slaying his insulter, Paulet. Before entering on this course, he wrote letters of remonstrance to both Paulet and Chichester, complaining that they had taken up false reports against him. The letters were expressed in very moderate terms, and dated from O'Doherty's then residence of Caragbraughy, on the 4th November, 1607. Paulet added to his previous insult by replying to sir Cahir as follows:—"Howsoever you stand upon your justification, if you do not presently disperse your men, and lay down your arms (the which in his Majesty's name I order you to do, and in the duty of your allegiance), I will forthwith denounce and proclaim you a disloyal subject to the king, a false and treacherous traitor of his quiet government, his crown and dignity; and if you persist in this your folly, if it be my fortune to meet you in the field on horseback or on foot, I doubt not but to make your proud spirit know the difference between a good subject and a disloyal false-hearted traitor; and so wishing confusion to your actions, I leave you to a [provost marshal] and his halter. Derry, 5 November, 1607." For an account of the events connected with sir Cahir's rebellion, see Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 316, 457; see also Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyconnell*, pp. 295—301.

(45) *O'Cahan.*—Sir Donnell Ballagh O'Cahan was a fifth son-in-law of Tyrone. Sir Nial Garve O'Donnell, in his examinations, stated that "O'Cayne" was married to "a base daughter of the Earl of Tyrone," but whether this lady O'Cayne was base born is doubtful. In Tyrone's statement of his grievances (see p. 211, *supra*), he refers to the base conduct of O'Cahan in putting away his wife after being married eight years, and withholding from her the dowry, which he, the earl, had originally given her. O'Cahan afterwards married again, and was influenced in these base proceedings, as the earl states, by bishop Montgomery. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, p. 376.

(46) *Mountgarret.*—This was Richard Butler, the third viscount Mountgarret, who married Margaret, the eldest daughter of Tyrone, by whom he left three sons and five daughters. See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, vol. iv., pp. 49, 66.

(favourers) of the fugitives, if they should come again in arms, all the prisons in the realm would not contain them." Russell and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, p. 327.

Of the general state of Ulster at the time of sir Cahir O'Doherty's revolt in 1608, we have the following candid and interesting sketch, in a letter from sir Henry Dillon to Salisbury, dated April 25:— "One thing he fears that there hath not been hitherto sufficient care taken of the great men of the north, who are in their hearts haters of all Englishmen and English laws, and who, by their sudden revolt, may disturb the State exceedingly. First, Sir Arthur Magenis, who is married to the Lady Sara, daughter of Tyrone, a great man, and a malicious man in his heart to the English, and now of late he hath possession of the Castle of Narrow Water. (47) And albeit he had a right to it, yet in his (Dillon's) judgment, it is a place more fit to be in his Majesty's hands, and Sir Arthur might have been otherwise satisfied by remission of some parts of his rents or otherwise. This man is not unlike to deal with Newry as the Grecians did with Troy. Against this man is there one Glasney M'Agholy Magenis in faction, who, he fears, is not sufficiently countenanced, and if it shall please the State to grace him, he shall surely keep Sir Arthur M'Genis in order. (48) Next, Con M'Neyle M'Brian Fertaghe O'Neyle, commonly reputed Lord of the Clanneboyes, who is discontented, and has a great many knaves at his command. (49) Next to him is Ultoghe M'Saverly, (50) brother to Sir

(47) *Narrow Water.*—The waters of Carlingford Lough become contracted at *Caol* ('narrow' in the same sense in which the Scotch use the word *Kyles*), now Narrow Water.

(48) *In order.*—In the month of February, 1611, this Glasney MacAgholy Magennis of *Clare*, in the county of Down, Esq., received a grant from the crown of the lordship of Clanconnell, including thirteen townlands, each containing two hamlets, the yearly rent being £13 Irish, with power to hold a court baron every three weeks at Ballenclare. These lands are situated in the parishes of Tullylish and Donaclony. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 306, *note*.

(49) *His command.*—This chieftain was better known as Con of Belfast. For minute accounts of his territory, which now comprises the baronies of Upper and Lower Castlereagh, in the county of Down, see the new edition of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*. This Con O'Neill was the son of Niall; son of Brian surnamed *Fagartach*, slain in 1548; son of Niall Oge, lord of Trian Congail, who died in 1537; son of Niall Mor, who died in 1512; son of Con, who resided in Edenduffcarrick, now Shane's Castle, and died in 1482; son of Aodh Buidhe, 'yellow Hugh' II., who was slain in 1444. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 14.

(50) *Ultoghe M'Saverly.*—More correctly, *Ultagh Mac Sorley*. This was Angus Macdonnell, son of Sorley Boy, and brother of sir Randal. His christian name, Angus, was commonly written *Neece;* and, strangely enough, Neece Ultagh was manufactured into the christian name of *Nicholas*, so written in several of the Antrim patents! Angus Macdonnell was surnamed *Ultagh* 'of Ulster,' to distinguish him from his cousin, Angus of Isla. Angus Ultagh, or Ultagh MacSorley, was a brave and distinguished officer in Tyrone's army. He was one of a very few of the Macdonnells of Antrim who escaped after the battle of Kinsale, and who were never reconciled to accept even that most signal overthrow of the Irish cause. He, with others of his kinsmen, warmly opposed his brother sir Randal's negotiations with James I., which resulted, as they feared, in the grant to sir Randal of all the family estates. Angus had even made up his mind to dispute his elder brother's right by force. A local tradition states that, on one occasion, the two brothers with their several adherents confronted each other, and were about to engage in mortal combat about the property, when the prior of Bunnamairge, named O'Dornan, stood forward and rung a bell, denouncing the curse of St. Patrick against the unjust or wrongful claimant, and that Angus thereupon shrunk from further contesting his brother's right. Probably the monk's act led to some compromise between the brothers. King James, however, had somehow got an unfavourable opinion of the party opposed to sir Randal in this business, for his majesty, when writing to lord Mountjoy from 'Grenewich,' on the 27th of May, 1603, says: "The bearer hereof, Sir Randall M'donnell our servitor, hath been a sutor unto us for an estate in fee-farm of the whole lands of the Route and Glynnes, which we have been pleased to grant unto him, desiring you to recommend him to the Lord Deputy for his better expedition, whom we have thought good to dismiss for the furtherance of our service, and for the preservation of his own from the violence of *his bad kinsmen.*" (Erck's *Patent Rolls of Chancery*, p. 52.) This 'violence' referred to by the king had occurred, probably, between the 11th and 27th of May, as at the former date James wrote his *first* letter in favour of the grant to sir Randal. Angus must have died soon after 1607, as his name does not appear in any of the subsequent patents of the estate as a remainder man. Angus or Neece Ultagh had a younger brother called Ludar (see p. 182, *supra,*), or *Lother*, as the name is written in 'depositions,' who appears to have engaged in the insurrection of 1614, afterwards to be noticed.

Randall. There is not in this kingdom a more desperate fellow, or a more rash man than Sir Neyle O'Donnell, otherwise called Neyle Garve; if it be possible by any means to content him, and to retain him within the compass of his duty, it were a good piece of service, for as now he stands, he is the most discontented person in this land; yet of him my Lord-Deputy hath taken good heed, for he has his eldest son, and causes him to be brought up at the college. (51) Sir Mulmurry M'Sweine-na-Doe, of all other men, is fit to be committed, for when the army first came to Loughfoyle, albeit he was trusted, and well rewarded, yet did he practise to betray the forces, which he had like to have effected, but that Sir Henry Dockwra had intelligence thereof. (52) Bryen M'Savaghe M'Mahowne is in rebellion as he hears, which might well have been prevented if Sir Edward Blaney had been careful as the importance of his charge did require, for he being governor of Monahan, and being in the heart of Ulster, it behoves him to take a more precise account of the actions of his neighbours than any other, his fellow-governor. (53) There are also two others of whom caution should be taken, that is, Bryen Oge Maguire (54) and Mulmore Backaghe M'Phillip

(51) *At the college.*—Nial Garve's eldest son was Naghtan, who, with his father and two brothers were arrested by sir Richard Wingfield, on informations to bishop Montgomery from *Ineenduv*, Nial Garve's mother-in-law, accusing the latter of complicity in sir Cahir O'Doherty's revolt. Naghtan O'Donnell had been originally sent to Oxford college, but was soon taken from it, and shut up in the Tower with his father. "I never heard," says sir Allen Apsley, "any offence he did." (See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell* pp. 308—320.) Sir Nial Garve betrayed his chief, and was deserted by his own connexions.

(52) *Intelligence thereof.*—This chieftain was called by the Irish *Maelmuire Mac Suibhne na d Tuath.* He was lord of the territory know as *Tuatha Toraighe*, and was also the principal leader of O'Donnell's gallowglass. The attempted betrayal to which Dillon above refers is explained in sir Henry Docwra's *Narrative* thus:—"Then did I alsoe manifestlie discover the Trechery of the said Moyle Morrough M'Swynedoe, having intercepted the Messenger that hee imployed to O'Donnell in all his Busines, out of whose mouth I gott a full Confession of all his Practices; and especiallie that it was hee that caused his men of purpose to drive forth our horses, which hee was soe manifestlie convinced of as hee had not the face to denie it, whereupon I delivered him to Captaine Flemminge, who was then going to Dublin, to carie to my Lord Deputye, there to receave by tryall punishment for his Trechery, who puttinge him under hatches in his schippe, and himselfe comeinge to shoore with his Boat, the hatche being open to sett Beere, he stept up upon the Decke, and threwe himselfe into the Rivere, and soe swam awaye to O'Cane's side which was hard bye; they in the schippe amazed with the soddaynenesse of the fact, and doeinge nothing that took effecte to prevent it." Had this chief failed in his attempt he would have never seen Castle-Doe again, as he had been pensioned by queen Elizabeth during his life at the rate of of 6s per day, but yet wished to appropriate some cavalry-horses for the use of his Irish friends. See *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, pp. 242, 243.

(53) *Fellow-governor.*—Blaney's gallant conduct in the wars against Tyrone, and particularly at the battle of Kinsale, was the cause of his future rapid success in life. He was knighted at Dublin in 1602, and sent northward by the lord-deputy Mountjoy with a commission to govern the garrisons of Ruske and Monaghan; to know from sir Brian MacMahon his final answer as to whether he would submit upon the conditions sent him, and if not to compel him; to render assistance to Connor Roe Maguire, and to induce as many as possible of Tyrone's officers to desert that chief, and take service in the English army. Two years afterwards Blaney was appointed seneschal of Monaghan, an office instituted because of the disturbed nature of that country bordering upon the English Pale, and very much haunted by thieves, robbers, and loose people, who were more stubborn and rebellious than those of other districts in the north. (See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol vi., pp. 306, 307) In 1606, Chichester reports to the English cabinet that having recommended certain native chiefs throughout Monaghan "to build some castles upon the lands," sir Edward Blaney had, for his good services, received a grant of "two ballibetoes, containing well-nigh 2000 acres in the midway between the Newrie and other parts of the Pale and Monaghan, upon condition that on these lands he would build a castle of good strength and receipt, not only for a refuge for all subjects in their travels, but a sure means in all times of danger to victual and relieve the castle of Monaghan, which is now near the height of one story above the vault, and is a place of great importance to continue this wavering and uncertain people in their duties." Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 559.

(54) *Bryen Oge Maguire.*—This gentleman was discontented, and justly so, in consequence of an arbitrary arrangement made among the numerous families of this surname in Fermanagh, by which the lands originally belonging to all the clan were handed over to two leading men, by sir George Carew, the lord-deputy who preceded Chichester. This arbitrary arrangement had produced its natural fruits of feud and incipient rebellion. Chichester, in writing to the English council, states that if that arrangement be carried out "they can conceive little good hope that ever that country shall come to civility and obedience, being left in a manner wholly to

O'Rely. (55) As for Sir Bryen M'Mahowne, who has been an ancient rebel, he is grown to be every day heavy with surfeit, and albeit he be married to the Lady Mary, daughter of Tyrone, yet if his son Fert Oge M'Mahowne be still restrained, he will not stir unless there be a general revolt. (56) It were fit that the abbey of Cloneese (Clones) were continued still in Sir Bryen's hands, and Sir Francis Rushe otherwise recompensed for it, for he assures him that it will grieve Sir Bryen very much to lose that thing. (57) He is best followed of any man in the country, and it were well he were not discontented. If he understands the affairs of Ulster, let these men he has named be forced to put in good pledges for their good behaviour, and he shall see the North will be quiet. But for the full settling of that province, his Majesty ought to establish a president and council there, for now there are so many petty governors, and some of them so desirous to enrich themselves, as they oppress the country much and withdraw the hearts of the people from the love of civility." (58) Russell and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 462, 463.

Sir Randal Macdonnell was married about the year 1604 to Ellis or Alice O'Neill, the third daughter of Hugh earl of Tyrone. This lady, who was born in 1583, was in her twenty-first year at the time of her marriage, and was younger than either of her sisters, lady Macmahon or lady Maginnis. She was older than her brother Hugh, the baron of Dungannon. We have met with no reference to her personal appearance, but she probably resembled her brothers Hugh and Henry, who were nearly of her own age, and who are described by sir John Harrington, in 1599, as "of

the self-willed government of those two men"—namely, Couconagh Maguire, and Connor Roe Maguire. Brian Maguire, one of the discontented party, was brother to Couconagh. Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 561.

(55) *O'Rely.*—The O'Reillys of Cavan were discontented for the same reason as the Maguires, no less than four baronies being handed over to sir John O'Reilly, whilst many other respectable people of the clan were left landless. The Plantation, however, which was approaching, soon swept them all aside.

(56) *General revolt.*—Sir Brian MacMahon's son, Art Oge (not Fert Oge), was kept in bounds by the Plantation arrangements, but he afterwards broke wildly loose at the outbreak of 1641. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 310.

(57) *That thing.*—Sir Francis Rush, on the 14th of September, 1603, obtained a grant of "the late monastery of Clonies, in the Dartrie, in Macmahounes countrie, conteyninge half an acre, wherein standeth one churche, half covered with strawe, the stone walls of one cloyster, a hall, kitchen, and divers other ruinous edifices, with one garden and orchard, and 22 small parcells, commonly called tates, of land, to said monasterie belonginge, each tate conteyinge 10 acres." (See Erck's *Patent Rolls of Chancery*, p. 51.) Sir Francis Rushe had got these lands with his wife Marie Duke, daughter of sir Henie Duke, to whom they had been granted in the 29th of Elizabeth. Sir Brian MacMahon, lord of Dartrey, was living in 1615.

(58) *Love of civility.*—The "petty governors" of whom Dillon speaks as then placed over Ulster were—1. Sir Henry Docwra, who had the government of Loughfoyle, comprehending the greater part of Tirconnell lying eastward from Barnes Moor, the superintendence of this tract being committed to the care of sir Richard Hansarde and sir George Pawlett. 2. Sir Tobie Caulfield and sir Francis Roe had the government of the upper portion of Tyrone with the county of Armagh. 3. Captain Leigh had charge of the lower part of Tyrone, towards the Liffer (now Lifford). 4. Sir Thomas Phillips had the superintendence of the county of Colrane (now county of Derry), otherwise called O'Cahan's country; and of Glanconcayne, then parcel of Tyrone. "There was a sheriff there for this year (1607), as it hath been sometimes heretofore accustomed, though since discontinued of late years, through the earl of Tyrone's opposition and greatness, and who would have it reputed and taken but as part of Tyrone." 5. "I, the Deputy (Chichester) have the Government of Carrickfergus by letters patent during life, with the fee of 13s 4d by the day, which is likewise continued in the establishment. Sir Foulke Conway is Lieutenant-Governor there during my absence. Within this government is comprehended the county of Antrim, and some part of the county of Down. 6. Sir Gregory Crumwell hath the superintendency of Lecale, and of M'Cartan's country, being on either side of the county of Downe. 7. Captain Edward Trever hath the superintendency of Evaghe (Iveagh), Newrie, and Mourne, parcels likewise of the county of Downe. 8. Sir Garrett Moore hath the government of the county of Cavan by letters patent without fee. 9. Sir Edward Blaney hath the government of Monaghan, by name of seneschal, by letters patent, during good behaviour, with a fee of 20s by the day. 10. Sir Henry Folliot hath the government of Ballieshannon, by letters patent. There is under this government the whole county of Fermanagh, together with that part of the county of Tirconnel which lies beyond Barnes Moor, westward." Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, second series, pp. 399, 400.

good cheerful aspect, freckled, not tall, but strong, well-set, and acquainted with the English tongue." (59.) It is unaccountable that there should have existed so much confusion, or difficulty, as to the identity of sir Randal's lady, some writers stating that she was Tyrone's sister, and others his niece. Chichester states distinctly that sir Randal was son-in-law to Tyrone (see p. 219, *supra*); and sir John Davys, when describing the flight of the earls, or rather stating one of the many conjectures then afloat as to their probable destination, says:—"It hath been confidently reported all this summer that Sir Randal M'Sorley, who hath married the Earl of Tyrone's daughter, and hath good alliance and acquaintance in Scotland, hath, for the space of four or five months past, been treating with the Earl of Argyle for a marriage between the Baron of Dungannon and the Earl of Argyle's daughter; that they descended to articles of agreement, which were transmitted to the Earl of Tyrone, and he liked well thereof. It was likewise said that the earl intended this summer to see the consummation of the marriage. There is not any Irishman in the north that hath not heard of this intended match, for the common news amongst them was, that Mac O'Neale should marry the daughter of M'Kallym, for so the Scottish-Irish call the Earl of Argyle." (60) (Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, 2nd series, p. 271). It is true that this evidence as to the identity of the first lady Antrim, furnished in the letters of Chichester and Davys, was unknown, at least comparatively, until a late period; but Strafford's *Letters and Despatches* have been many years published, and they state clearly enough the fact that the mother of the second earl of Antrim must have been a *daughter* of the earl of Tyrone. (61)

(59) *English tongue.*—See Harrinton's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, as quoted by Meehan, *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 39. Harrinton, after the conclusion of the war with Tyrone, was appointed (2 Jac. I.) seneschal of the O'Byrnes' country. On hearing that O'Neill had been received graciously at court, he seems to have felt very angry, indeed, if we may judge from the following extract of a letter he addressed to a friend in England:—"I have lived to see that damnable rebel, Tyrone, brought to England, honoured, and well liked. Oh, what is there that does not prove the inconstancy of worldly matters! How I did labour after that knave's destruction! I adventured perils by sea and land, was near starving, eat horse-flesh in Munster, and all to quell that man who now smileth in peace at those who did hazard their lives to destroy him. And now doth Tyrone dare us old commanders with his presence and protection." *Ibid*, p, 39.

(60) *Argyle.*—The earls, and later, the dukes of Argyle, had always among the Highlanders the title of *MacColin Mor*, corruptly written *Maccallummore*, but never *M'Kallym*, as sir John Davys writes it. See p. 74, *supra*.

(61) *Of Tyrone.*—Sir Randal, prior to his marriage with Tyrone's daughter, was the father of three sons, all of whom, probably, were illegitimate. One was well known as captain Morrishe or Maurice Macdonnell, for whom his father made provision in his will (dated 1621), and who was hanged in Coleraine in 1643 because of his prominence in the outbreak of 1641. In the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1623—1625, *Domestic Series*, James I., edited by Mary A. E. Green, p. 302, there is the following reference to another son of the first earl:—"July 15, 1624. Secretary Conway, writing to the Lord President Mandeville, forwards the person and examination of M'Donnell sent up from Dover by Lord Zouch. Examination of James M'Donnell. Is second son of the earl of Antrim, and was brought up till the age of 13 years at his father's house in Antrim; then travelled and studied in foreign countries three or four years, and returned two years ago to his father; travelled again into Spain, France, and Flanders, and sailed from Calais in the same ship which brought over sir Edward Herbert. Hoped to find his father and friends in London. Is not a priest, but refuses the oath of allegiance. Dover, July 12." Another son was a distinguished ecclesiastic, and in 1632 a petition, signed by four bishops and the primate, was forwarded to the Pope, asking him to appoint father Francis M'Donnell, O.S.F., to the vacant See of Clogher, The following is a translation of this document, which refers to Macdonnell's family:—"Most blessed father,— . . . A few years ago this island had hardly any one to break bread to her children; but now, by God's favour, and your clemency, she has a fair number of bishops, and very many energetic priests; so much so that in a short time hence we may hope to see realised the prophetic vision of St. Patrick, who, in a dream, beheld all the fires in this land nearly quenched, and then suddenly flaring into a magnificent conflagration. Hence it is that we bishops of the province of Armagh, relying on your wonted clemency, and desiring to have a partner in our pastoral charge, have not hesitated to supplicate your holiness to advance the reverend father Francis M'Donnell to the see of Clogher. We have been moved by good reasons to make this request. He for whom we postulate derives from father and mother the best blood of the ancient Irish princes. Again his fitness and desir-

For a very few years after sir Randal's marriage to Alice O'Neill, it appeared as if their union was not to be blessed with children to share in the wealth and honours which his immense estate was reasonably supposed to have in store for its owners. Under these rather discouraging impressions, a pilgrimage to the celebrated well of St. Bridget, in Roscommon, was recommended, and forthwith undertaken by sir Randal and his lady. Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturgus*, page 534, mentions three wells, which were the most celebrated in his time for the efficacy of their waters, the one in question being specially referred to. In the *Cambrensis Eversus* of John Lynch, translated and edited by M. Kelly, this particular well, and the pilgrimage thither by the Macdonnells, are mentioned, vol. i., p. 132, *note*, as follows :—"One (well) in the county of Roscommon, not far from Athlone, was frequented from all quarters, not only by Catholics but Protestants also, on account of the wonderful things said to have been performed there. So great was its fame that Randal M'Donald, earl of Antrim, surrounded it with a strong wall of hammered stone." The following passage in Wild's *Statistical Survey of Roscommon*, p. 517, represents the building of the wall as having been done at a much later period than the pilgrimage :—"Over the door-way leading into the Bath-Enclosure, appears a Coat of Arms neatly carved on stone, with the following inscription:—'Built by the Right Honourable Randall M'Donnell, first Earl of Antrim, 1625.' The arms are quarterly; third a Lymphad or galley; fourth a Dolphin nayant. The minutiæ of heraldic distinctions have not been nicely preserved, otherwise the arms are the same as at present borne by the family." (62)

ings will be the more apparent when we state that he, although the son of the Earl of Antrim—a personage of vast influence in England, Scotland, and Ireland—left all things for Christ, and while yet a stripling, took the habit of St. Francis in a convent of the Strict Observance. His virtues and learning are appreciated by his country and order, to both of which he is an ornament. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the diocese of Clogher, the nobility and gentry especially, who are allied to him, either by consanguinity or affinity, love him, and long to have him appointed their spiritual chief. We may add that his noble father, who is a zealous protector of religion, and has deserved well of the Church, ardently desires to be able to glorify the Lord for having given him a son worthy such a grand office. The sage earl knows that the merits of the children incline God to deal mercifully with the parents. Another consideration—and in our opinion one of great moment—can be urged in this man's behalf. Should persecution—may heaven avert it—come more fiercely upon us, he, owing to his sire's connexions with many of the principal families of Scotland and England, will be comparatively free in the exercise of his sacred calling. . . . . From the place of our refuge in Ireland, 22nd July, 1632. Hugh Reilly, Armagh. Thomas, Meath. John Cullinan, Raphoe. Eugene Sweeny, Kilmore. Bonaventure, Down and Connor." It is not stated whether this petition was granted, or how Clogher was tended from 1632 to 1637, but from the latter date to 1640, Heber MacMahon acted as vicar-apostolic of that diocese, and in 1642 was advanced to the ancient bishoprick. See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 364, 365.

(62) *The family.*—See pp. 164, 165, *supra.* The writer of the foregoing extract may have been somewhat confused by "the minutiæ of heraldic distinction" on this occasion. The Macdonnell arms were undoubtedly associated with those of O'Neill in honour of the countess on the front of that auspicious enclosure near Athlone. The O'Neill arms were very simple, consisting of the red hand and a salmon in water. Lodge, as edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 214, gives the Antrim arms thus:—"Quarterly (1) Topaz, a Lion Rampant, Ruby, for MacDonnell. (2) Topaz, a Dexter Arm issuant from the Sinister Fess-point, out of a Cloud, Proper, holding a crosslet fitchee, Sapphire, said to be assumed from one of the families assisting St. Patrick to reduce the Irish to civility, and to propagate the Christian faith*. (3) Pearl, a Ship with the Sails furled up, Diamond. (4) Parti per fess, Sapphire and Emerald, the under part wavey, a Dolphin naiant in fess, Pearl. Crest—On a wreath a Dexter Arm coupled at the shoulder, attired, Topaz, turned down, Pearl, the Hand, Proper, holding the like crosslet as in the coat. Supporters—The Dexter, a Savage,† Proper, wreathed about the temples and middle, Emerald: the Sinister, a Falcon, Proper, with beak, members, and bells, Topaz. Motto--Tout Jour Pret.

* This assistant of St. Patrick was no doubt Fergus Mor MacErck, who granted lands to the saint at Armoy on which to build and support the first Christian church there, and who obtained the saint's benediction in return. See p. 3, *supra.*

† *A Savage.*—This supporter was really not a savage, but simply a clansman, a device generally adopted by the leading Celtic families in preference to any other.

At the close of the fierce and protracted struggle between Hugh O'Neill and the English—succeeding, as it did, the more lengthened one sustained by Sorley Boy—sir Randal Macdonnell appears to have come to the wise and decided conclusion that he had had enough of war for his time. This truth was deeply impressed on his mind—so deeply, indeed, that no treatment, however provoking or oppressive, could induce him to forget it, even for an hour. Although pitying the fate of his Irish friends and kinsmen, he stood firmly by his allegiance to the State, an attitude, however, which was undoubtedly assumed by him from the conviction that any further struggle was hopeless. From the time of his marriage, he gave himself entirely to the consolidation and improvement of his estates—one day on the sea coast, superintending his coal works and salt works; the next, on the banks of the Bann consulting with his agents about the laying out and letting of farms; now at Coleraine, endeavouring to arrange the many difficulties among his tenants consequent on the surrender there of certain lands to the government; and then at Larne engaged in a controversy about the Corran, which he firmly and fairly believed ought to have formed a portion of his property. His movements at length ceased to excite any suspicion on the part of the authorities, and when he went to London to complain of Hamilton's intermeddling with his rights, he was cordially received by the king, who recommended him to Salisbury's consideration on the grounds that even bishop Montgomery had been speaking favourably of him. Sir Thomas Lake writes to Salisbury from the Court at Thetford, in April, 1608, as follows:—"Sir Randal M'Donnell the bearer hath been here and shows no other cause of his coming, but to beseech Salisbury's favour in some particular case of his own inheritance; he pretends to be wronged by Mr. Hamilton, who has, as he alleges, by untrue information obtained letters from his Majesty in his prejudice. Forasmuch as the King has not heard ill of him from any; and from the bishop of Derry, Montgomery, who is his neighbour, has received great commendation of his civil behaviour, he thinks good he be encouraged with any reasonable favour that may maintain him in his good disposition." The king and his English council evinced a like friendly disposition to protect sir Randal's estate against threats of disturbance from another quarter. The following State documents will explain the subject to which we refer:—"Feb. 28, 1609. Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester. Enclosing the petition of Sir Awla M'Awla of Ardincaple in Scotland, concerning two tuoghs of land in the Glyns in the Province of Ulster, together with the castle of Glenarme and the land thereto belonging, which the said Sir Awla informs are for good considerations made over to him and his heirs for ever, out of an estate settled upon Sir James M'Donell from his father Sir Randal M'Donell. (63) He desires a grant from his Majesty under the great seal. But as the matter may be of importance to Sir Randal, it is his Majesty's desire that Sir Randal shall be informed of the purport of Sir Awla's petition, and that nothing further be done till Sir Randal shall have come over as to this demand." This letter is signed at Whitehall, on the date abovenamed, by several members of the Council, and it was received by Sir Arthur Chichester on the 5th of April, 1610. It enclosed the petition of Sir Awla M'Awla of Ardincaple, in Scotland, Knight, "That by agreement of Sir Randal M'Donell and Niece M'Donell his brother of the one

(63) *Sir Randal M'Donell.*—The council were quite at fault in supposing that sir Randal was father of the sir James here mentioned, the latter being the only legitimate son of Angus of Isla.

part, and Angus M'Donell and Sir James his son of the other part, that the said Angus and Sir James, and their heirs, should have two Tuoghs of land within the Glyns of Ulster—viz., the Tuogh of the Parke, and the Tuogh of Laharne, (64) together with the castle of Glenarme, and so much land as belonged thereto, with all customs and privileges pertaining to said castle, as by certain writings under the hand of the said Sir Randal M'Donell and Niece M'Donell may appear. And afterwards for good considerations the said Sir James M'Donell transferred his interest in the premises to Petitioner and his heirs male for ever, as by writing under the hand of said James may appear. Prays the King to confirm the same to Petitioner and his heirs for ever by Letters Patent under the great seal of England, and to grant him all such rights as his Majesty can claim in the premises." This petition is not signed, nor endorsed; and probably appeared a suspicious document in the eyes of the Council. At all events, we hear nothing more of this claim on the part of sir Awla, and the probability is that it had no real foundation. See *Philadelphia Collection*, iii., p. 448.

But although sir Randal was thus settling down into peaceable, and even friendly relations with government officials, he was becoming in the same ratio unpopular among his kinsmen and co-religionists. The latter envied him the possession of all, or nearly all, the property that had originally belonged to the clan, and taunted him with the sin, in their eyes at least, of forgetting the traditional policy of his family. But what was sir Randal to do? He had made up his mind neither to throw away the grant from the crown, nor place himself at the head of a new insurrectionary struggle. Others, who were not so fortunate in worldly matters as he, or who had not yet learned his experience in the hazardous game of civil war, were busily planning further resistance to the government. As the Plantation proceeded, the cruel pressure on the native inhabitants became more and more grievous and intolerable. Many had become outcasts and homeless in their own land, and the multitude were doomed to the bogs and morasses of Ulster, whilst they beheld strangers occupying the green fields, and fertile straths, and sheltered valleys that had belonged to their fathers and themselves. The northern cause, however, had dropped from the hands of the nobles, and was now taken up by the minor gentry, who were utterly unable to sustain it, but who, nevertheless, determined to strike another blow, however feeble, before sinking into the condition of serfs or wood-kern. Their plot for this purpose was slowly maturing from 1610 to 1614, but the scattered elements of insurrection had no leading mind to combine them. Sir Randal Macdonnell stood aloof—indeed in opposition—and for so doing, it was resolved that should the contemplated outbreak succeed, Alexander Macdonnell, the son of Randal's elder brother James, would be the future lord of the Route and Glynns. The plot was extensively cherished, and included very many families of distinction, among whom may be mentioned the Macdonnells, still powerful though

(64) *Laharne.*—It thus appears that Angus or Neece Ultagh, sir Randal's brother, was alive in 1610, and had no doubt obtained the barony of Glenarm as his portion of the estate. (See pp. 182, 220, *supra*). The lands comprised in the two subdivisions here mentioned would have formed a valuable property. The tuogh of Parke, so called from the demesne attached to the castle of Glenarm, included the parishes of Tickmacrevan, Templeoughter, and Solar. The large deer park contains about 1800 acres, and the little deer park 170 acres. The tuogh then called Laharne (now Larne), comprised the parishes of Cairncastle, Killyglen, Kilwaughter, and Larne. It does not appear that the Macaulays of Ardincaple, Dumbartonshire, had ever got possession of lands in either of these districts. The first comers of that surname settled in the Middle Glynns near Cushindall, and there their descendants hold a small landed property at the present day.

wanting their head; the Macquillins, scattered throughout various places in the Route and Glynns; the two great branches of the O'Neills of lower Clannaboy, descendants of Brian MacFelim and his brother Hugh MacFelim; the O'Cahans of Dunseverick, Coleraine, and Dungiven; the MacHenrys of the Bann; the O'Haras of the Brade; the O'Neills of Tyrone; the Macguires of Fermanagh, and many others. They were soon betrayed, almost as a matter of course, by traitors among themselves, and when the leaders were seized and hanged, the movement suddenly collapsed. (65)

For any information that has reached us on the subject of this conspiracy, we are dependent unfortunately on the stories of spies, and the concocted statements of government officials. The principal story is supplied by a person named Teigue O'Lennan, who was himself a leading conspirator, bribed, it is said, to assist at entrapping the others. The reader may see his 'depositions' printed at full length from the State Papers in Meehan's *Fate of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, second edition, pp. 435—440. The historian, O'Sullivan Bere, states that Brian O'Neill, Art O'Neill, Rorie O'Cahan, Jeoffry O'Cahan, Alexander M'Surley, Patrick O'Moore, Con O'Cahan, and two priests, were executed. This statement, which is endorsed by Cox in his *History of Ireland*, *Reign of James I.*, p. 33, is incorrect in more than one point. Instead of nine persons, as here stated, only five were executed, namely Bryan Crossagh O'Neill, Art O'Neill, Rorie O'Cahan, and two priests, O'Laverty and O'Mullarky. The last named ecclesiastic was specially concerned in an attempt to rescue Con O'Neill, the youngest son of the earl of Tyrone, from the hands of sir Toby Caulfield—an offence, which even of itself, would have been likely to incur, at that time, the very heaviest penalty. In the hurry and confusion of the earl's departure, his youngest child, Con, then six years old, was left behind under the care of his foster parents. From the latter the boy was kidnapped and carried off by sir Toby Caulfield, who kept him in the fort of Charlemont until it was known that one object of the Ulster conspiracy was the forcible removal of this boy from the custody of his family's ruthless enemies. It was feared that the boy might one day become his father's representative in Ulster, and he was forthwith removed to England, ostensibly with the object of placing him at Eton, but really to put him beyond the reach of any parties who might be commissioned by his father to have him forwarded to the family abroad. For still more secure custody than even the masters at Eton were able to undertake, young Con was shut up in the Tower. Sir Allen Apsley, constable of the Tower, referring to the fate of this youthful captive, says :—"Con O'Neille, a sonne of the Erle of Tyrone's, being at Eaghton College, at Schoole, was taken thence and committed by warrant of your Lordships, the xii of August, 1622. He is of a civill and good condicon." (See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 454.) Among the MS. Collection of the Rev. P. Hopkinson, Malvern Wells, county of Worcester, is a paper mentioning the expenses of this Con O'Neill and his attendants, from Christmas to Annunciation Day, 1617, and signed by Matthew Brest. Below his signature is Fulke Greville's order for payment. Among the items are

(65) *Collapsed.*—The names of the most conspicuous persons engaged, were Alexander Macdonnell, Lother Macdonnell (see p. 182, *supra*), Rorie Oge O'Cahan, Gorie Macmanus O'Cahan, Shane Macmanus O'Cahan, Sorley MacJames Oge Macdonnell, Shane Oge MacShane MacBrian O'Neill, Neal Oge MacNeale MacHugh O'Neill, Hugh Mergagh MacNeale MacHugh O'Neill, Hugh Oge MacQuinn MacBrian O'Neill, Donnell MacCon O'Donnell, and Hugh Boy MacCon O'Donnell. See Teigue O'Lennan's *Depositions*, taken 9th April, 1615, and printed in Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 435—440.

the following :—"Given to him upon Salting Day, 12d., A Bible, 6s 8d., Latin Grammer, 12d., Epistolae per Sturmium, 5d., Tuition 20 shillings." (See Appendix to *Third Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 265.) So far as we are aware, nothing is known of this youthful prisoner's fate. He is never heard of subsequently to his imprisonment.

The following is Chichester's account of the circumstances which led to the breaking up of this northern combination :—"The motive of this discovery was this—the Examinate (O'Lennan) was casually met withal by the provost-marshall appointed by the county of Londonderry, who, having notice of him to be a suspected person and ill-inclined, apprehended him, and soon after carried him to Sir Thomas Phillips, knight, to be examined, and to answer his accusers. He was there acquitted of all notorious crimes, and finally dismissed out of the provost-marshall's hands. But, whereas, upon advertisement formerly given to me, that Alexander M'Donnell, the captain of this conspiracy, and Brian Crossagh O'Neill, another of the conspirators, had a purpose to steal away Con O'Neill, Tyrone's son, out of the fort of Charlemont, for some further bad design, as there was just cause to think, I sent out warrants to apprehend them both; and it so fell out that Alexander was apprehended at that time when the examinate was brought before Sir Thomas Phillips, and acquitted as aforesaid, and the news of it came to the said provost-marshall within an hour after he had let the examinate go, thereupon the said provost-marshall remembered himself that the examinate had the said Alexander's pass about him when he first took him; he sent again in post after him and brought him back to be examined the second time. He told him of Alexander's late apprehension and imprisonment for matters of treason, and that undoubtedly he, for his dependence and nearness unto him, must needs be party or privy unto all his counsels, and, therefore, persuaded him to reveal what he knew in that behalf, or else threatened to imprison or hang him without delay; whereupon he made these voluntary confessions. Your lordships may be assured of this, that these young men and unexperienced—for so is the chief and many others of them—could never entertain the thought of these desperate attempts but either they do contemn the paucity and poor estate of the soldiers, and weakness of the undertakers at this present, as well they may, or else they are assuredly confirmed, or at leastwise abused with some acceptable news of late from beyond the sea, that makes them thus bold. The said Alexander, and many of the rest are already apprehended, as I hear, and some of them I have appointed to be brought thither to his majesty's castle; and I will hereafter certify your lordships of the proceedings and event of these things, as there shall be further occasions offered." *State Papers, Ireland*, as quoted in Meehan's *Earls*, pp. 441, 442.

The foregoing letter is dated April 18, 1615, and in four months afterwards, Chichester was able to inform the council in England of the "event of these things," so far, at least, as concerned the fate of the "young men and unexperienced" who had been imprisoned. The following short but significant extract will tell the tale :—"I have heretofore advertised your Majestie of the discovery and apprehension of certayne conspirators that intended to make an insurrection in Ulster in Maye last; it may please your Majestie to understand further, that whereas six of them were arrayned and condemned att the last assices, hoolden at London-derrie, the judges suspended the execution of five of them, whereof one was a priest, who ministered unto the rest the oath of secreasie. Upon conference had with Sir Dominick Sarsfeilde (created viscount Kilmallock in

1625), one of the judges of that circuitt, in presence of your Privie Councell here, who confessed that he was fully satisfied in conscience, concerninge the points of evidence and justice to be done: and for that wee knowe them to be men apt to risse with everie storme that shall threaten us, and of the brood of rebells who will never be loyall, nor conforme themselves to anie lawdable or civill course of life, wee have directed the said judges to give order for their execution, which they have done; and the rather for fear they should breake prison, and escape to Sir James M'Connell, and other Scottish rebels, unto whom they were near neighbours, and some of them were of kindred and alliance. Alexander M'Donnell (nephewe to Sir Randall M'Donnell), who, by the confession of some of the rest, was appointed to be the head of the faction and intended rebellion, stands acquit by verdict; he dayly importunes mee for his libertie, but I will detayne him untill I have sufficient caution for his good demeanour and future loyaltie; and the rather for that, his younger brother named Surley, is now a notable villaine with Sir James M'Connell of Kentyre. (66) If your Majestie please to requyre further satisfaction concerninge that busines, Sir Dominick Sarsfielde and Sir John Davys, who were judges of the cercuitt, and nowe in Englande, maye give your majestie particulare information theron. And so, with my hartie prayers for longe continewinge of your majestie in health and felicitie to raigne over us.—The 22nd of September, 1615." *State Papers, Ireland*, as quoted in the Abbotsford Miscellany, vol. i., pp. 280, 281.

From the time of his marriage, sir Randal Macdonnell devoted himself, so far as his numerous public duties permitted, to the improvement of his estates, and soon became known as "a singular promoter and patron of civility in the north of Ireland." Soon after 1603, he began to let out to the natives on the coast, and also to the Scottish settlers, such arable portions of his lands as had been depopulated by the war, for terms varying from 21 to 301 years. Among the most respectable of his native tenantry were O'Neills, O'Haras, O'Dowds, O'Cahans, O'Murrays, O'Hagans, Magees, Macormacks, Macduffys, Macphetricks, and Machenrys. Among the Scottish settlers on his lands may be specially mentioned the Boyds, Kennedys, Hamiltons, Stewarts, Macnaghtens, Macaulays, Dunlops, Dicks, Hutchins, Mackays, Browns, Shaws, and Moores. Although sir Randal had got possession of so much territory on this coast, he was naturally anxious to keep up the family's claim on the lands of Isla and Cantire. These lands had been forfeited early in the seventeenth century by the rebellion of his cousin, Angus Macdonnell, who, as we have seen (p. 187, *supra*), was not regarded by the Antrim Macdonnells as being the rightful heir. Whilst, however, the Campbells and the Scottish Macdonnells were at deadly feud for the estates in question, sir Randal, with the

(66) *Kentyre.*—This Sorley, son of sir James of Dunluce, was one of the most active and intelligent among the adherents of sir James of Isla and Cantire. He brought the latter to the island of Rathlin in 1615, when sorely pressed by the Campbells; and in the same year, he also found him a more secure retreat in the island of Inchadoll, off the coast of Donegal. (See Gregory's *History of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, pp. 384, 386.) This ending of an affair which had, at one time, a somewhat threatening aspect, was most gratifying to Chichester. The plantation authorities had made some feeble move to meet the threatened outbreak, but were saved further trouble by the seizing and execution of the youthful leaders abovenamed. When the privy council communicated the tidings of a threatened insurrection to the Irish Society, the latter "issued precepts to the twelve companies to furnish arms and military accoutrements, which were directed to be transmitted by the hall-keeper of Guildhall to Ireland, for the better defence of the plantation, which precepts were punctually obeyed, and the arms, ammunition, and stores were sent accordingly, and about the same time (May 5, 1615), the court of common council proposed that a keep or citadel should be built at Coleraine, by the city," *Concise View of the Irish Society*, p. 43.

view of reviving and establishing his own right, procured, by great influence, a lease of Isla from the king. The Campbells had incurred much trouble and very great odium in the expulsion of the Scottish Clandonnell families from that fine island; and, indeed, they had determined that they, and they only, should become its permanent owners. In the meantime, sir Randal had obtained a seven years' lease, and was soon afterwards in treaty with the Scottish council for an hereditable grant, but these negotiations were destined to be cut short by new troubles in the island, which eventually resulted in throwing it entirely into the hands of Campbell of Cawdor. (See p. 55, *supra*.) In the interval, however, sir Randal was not permitted to enjoy even his short lease of seven years in quiet. His tenants in Isla, no doubt inspired or instigated by the Campbells, accused him to the Scottish council of endeavouring to introduce various Irish laws and customs among them, and gave him such opposition that he was compelled to abandon whatever arrangements he had in contemplation. It would appear that the feudal system had made greater progress even in the Scottish islands than in Ulster, and that the people of Isla greatly preferred it to the old Celtic usages which it had supplanted. At all events, they raised a loud outcry against sir Randal on account of his Irish innovations, complaining that he and "his officers in his name, intend, against the laws of this realme, to subject his Majesties tenants to the forms and laws of Ireland, and to compel them to pursue and defend in all their actions and causes according to the form and custom of Ireland,—whilk is a matter of very great grief to them, that they, being his Majesties native-born subjects, should be governed by foreign and strange laws. And lastly, that they are very heavily oppressed, troubled, and wrecked, by a number of idle men, vagabonds, and sorners, who lie upon them, consume their vivers, and spoil them of their goods at pleasure; by which exactions, oppressions, and wrongs, his Majesties said tenants are reduced to great misery, and will be constrained to forsake and leave their kindly habitations, rooms, (67) and possessions, without remedy be provided." See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 160, 161; Gregory *History of the Highlands*, pp. 347, 348.

Sir Randal's willingness to sanction the introduction of English customs and laws among his tenantry had proved especially gratifying to the king. The latter, in return for this surrender of the old Celtic policy, created sir Randal a viscount, and at the same time graciously expressed his royal reasons for conferring this honour, as follows:—"As it is a singular contentment to a King to see his subjects desire to excel each other in virtue and commendable courses, so there is nothing that does more incite them to such honest course than the hopes of honour and advancements; which, being long since observed by us, we have at all times, heretofore, rewarded such of our subjects with titles of honour as we have found deserving servants of the commonwealth. And, now, having taken into consideration the many and faithful services which our trusty and well-beloved Sir Randall M'Donnell, Knt., during the troubles of that kingdom, hath, as a valiant

(67) *Rooms.*—This word, generally written *roume*, or *rowme*, meant a portion of land, whether occupied by the proprietor or a tenant. In an old *Description of Scotland*, we have the following illustration of the use of the word:—"Somewhat eastward lyes ane yland named Old Castell, a *roome* stronge of nature and sufficient ynough to nourishe the inhabitantes in cornes, fishe, and egges of sea fowles that build in it." In Bellenden's *Chronicle*, book x., c. 20, we have this passage:—"Our faes hes not only tint schamefully the lands that the wrangusly conqueist, bot ar vincust in battal, chasit, and dung frae their *rowmes*." See Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.

gentleman, performed to the crown; and how wisely and worthily he hath since behaved himself, as well for the settling of a general peace in that Kingdom, as in reducing to civility the barbarous people of those parts where he doth reside, we are graciously pleased, as an especial mark of our favour towards him, and a reward of his merits in both kinds, to confer on him the honour and dignity of a Viscount of that our realm." Accordingly, a patent for this honour was issued on the 25th of June, 1618, and sir Randal was formally created viscount Dunluce, on St. Peter's Day, the 29th of June, by the lord-deputy St. John, (68) in the Presence Chamber of Dublin Castle. (See Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 205.) But other and greater honours, as proofs of the royal confidence, followed soon afterwards. Viscount Dunluce was forthwith appointed a member of the Irish privy council, and constituted a lieutenant of the county of Antrim, with the command of a regiment in his majesty's army. His crowning distinction, however, was the earldom of Antrim, which was conferred by letters patent under the great seal, dated the 12th of December, 1620. This dignity was granted for reasons similar to those expressed by the king when creating him a viscount. His patent for the earldom, however, recites in still more complimentary terms, the fact of his having strenuously exerted himself in settling British subjects on his estates. See Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 206.

In the following year, 1621, the earl of Antrim was summoned to Dublin by the lord-deputy Grandison, (69) to answer a charge of having received or sheltered certain Romish priests in his residences on the coast. Lord Antrim appealed to the king, and the latter was thus placed in an awkward predicament. He was afraid to risk his popularity by remitting any penalties that could be legally visited on Roman catholics, but the earl of Antrim was now a powerful subject, who had done James good service in Ulster, and who had, in this instance, pleaded guilty of violating a wicked penal law. The king, therefore, adopted the wiser policy under the circumstances, by replying to the Irish deputy's letter as follows :—"Although the offence committed by him (Antrim) is of such a nature as we are not easily moved to remit it, (70) yet in respect that he has so

(68) *St. John.*—Chichester was recalled in 1615, and was succeeded as chief-governor by Oliver St. John, second son of of Nicholas St. John, of Lydiard Tregoze, in Wiltshire. This deputy was educated as a lawyer, but having killed a captain Best in a duel, he was obliged for a time to leave England. He fled to Flanders, where he became a soldier, earned distinction in the field, and there received the honour of knighthood. On his return to England, he was selected by queen Elizabeth as a likely person to suit her service in Ireland, and accordingly he was sent to this country in 1601. Here he made rapid progress in gathering wealth and honours, and received in succession the appointments of president of Munster, vice-president of Connaught, and master of the ordnance. In 1616, he became lord-deputy, and in 1621 was advanced to the dignity of viscount Grandison. In 1625, he was appointed treasurer of Ireland, and in the following year was created baron Tregoze of Highworth in Wiltshire. He died in 1630. See Nichol's *Autographs*.

(69) *Grandison.*—See preceding note. This deputy was a furious hater of Roman catholics, and before his appointment to succeed Chichester, he had boasted that, were he deputy, he would, in a few years, expel every papist from Ireland. Chichester was perhaps the ablest manipulator of the penal machinery against catholics that ever took the matter in hand. He was no fanatic, and had always an eye to business when dealing with recusants, and never failing to make money for himself from their sufferings and misfortunes. Grandison, however, was fanatical, and conducted his crusade against 'papists' by brute force. In six months after his becoming deputy, the prisons of Dublin and all the provincial towns were crowded with those who would not swear the oath of supremacy, nor attend places of protestant worship, and were too poor to pay the fines imposed. Many of these poor people, rather than be dragged to prison, fled into dens and caverns, from which they were dragged by Irish wolf-dogs enlisted on such occasions by the sheriffs and their attendant parties of disbanded soldiers. In the county of Cavan alone, not less than £8,000 were levied in one year by means of the tax collected from such as would not attend protestant places of worship. See Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 87.

(70) *To remit it.*—On the accession of James I., the Irish were told by proclamation that, there being as yet

ingenuously acknowledged his errors, and faithfully promised not to fall into the like again, we are graciously pleased thus far to concede to his desire as to require you to take order, that he shall not be further questioned or proceeded against there by any of our officers for the said offence; but we yet hope, when he shall repair to our presence, to prevail more with him by our gracious admonitions for his future amendment, than by such punishments as might be justly inflicted upon him by our law." (Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. i., pp. 206, 207, *note.*) This permission or dispensation to Catholic noblemen to have chaplains in their own residences could not be safely withheld, and after this remonstrance on the part of the authorities in Ireland, the northern earl continued to do pretty much as he pleased in the matter. Under the plea of providing chaplains for his own immediate family requirements, Lord Antrim kept his houses at Dunluce, Ballycastle, and Glenarm pretty well crowded by persecuted priests, during the whole period of his own occupation, from 1605 until 1636.

In the year 1628, the earl encountered another difficulty which also he wisely referred to the royal authority. He had been deeply wounded, according to his own account, by certain rumours affecting his loyalty, and again he appealed to the throne for protection. The nature of these rumours will be best explained by quoting the following letter from Charles I. to his Irish deputy, lord Falkland (71):—"We have received information that divers foul scandals and false aspersions have been cast by lewd persons upon our trusty and right well-loved cousin, Randal, Earl of Antrim,

no law to defend them from persecution, they were to be taken for a time into his *majesty's immediate protection.* But the king soon forgot his tolerant intentions—if he ever had any—and the horrible enactment known as the 2nd of Elizabeth, soon came once more into active operation, strictly forbidding the exercise of the catholic religion in Ireland, banishing the catholic clergy, and inflicting severe penalties on all who should be found to harbour, or supply them with any of the necessaries of life. It was under this iniquitous law that the earl of Antrim had been summoned to Dublin, where excommunication would have been pronounced against him by the protestant bishops, after which, as a matter of course, he would have been cast into prison, for the offence of lodging his own clergymen, or in any other way assisting them to elude the pursuit of their merciless persecutors. (See Curry's *Review*, pp. 56—67.) Lord Antrim adopted the only wise course in appealing to the king, for the latter was constantly haunted by the dread of an Irish insurrection, which might be assisted from abroad, and he was, therefore, somewhat anxious to relax the persecution in favour of all except the priests and bishops of the catholic church. The earl of Antrim was safer even in the hands of the royal pedant than he would have found himself among the protestant bishops. Not long previously to this attempt on the lord of Dunluce, Loftus, the protestant archbishop of Dublin, had expressed himself as follows, in reference to the question about recusants:—"Your lordship hath most wisely considered that the *sword* alone without the *word* is not sufficient to bring the people of this realm from Popery—a thing whereto they are misled even from their cradles. But I assure your lordship that unless they be *forced*, they will not ever come to hear the word preached. . . . But in mine opinion this may be easily remedied, if the ecclesiastical commission be put in force, and if liberty be left to myself to *imprison* and fine all such as are obstinate in popery—nay, and to send such of them as are able to bear their own expenses to England for example sake. The sooner this course of reformation is begun the better it will prosper, and the longer it is deferred the more dangerous it will be." See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, pp. 22, 23.

(71) *Falkland.*—This sir Henry Carey, the first lord Falkland, was son of sir Edward Carey, master of the Jewell-House. Sir Henry was knighted in 1599, by Robert Devereux earl of Essex, whilst they both were engaged in the service against Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone. In 1617, he was appointed comptroller of the household, and in 1620, created viscount Falkland in the peerage of Scotland. He came to Ireland as lord-deputy in 1622, and continued to hold this office for the space of seven years. At length, the catholics, trampled down though they were, had power to procure his dismissal. Granger, in his *Biographical History of England*, vol. ii., p. 147, says:—"Lord-Deputy Falkland's strict, though legal administration in regard to the Papists, whom the Court was inclined to favour, raised the loudest clamours against him from that party, who caused him to be dismissed from his viceroyalty with some circumstances of disgrace." In reference to his expected dismissal, Falkland wrote:—"I am in danger to susteyne much in my reputation, if his majesty departe from hence without some declaration of his purpose for me concerning Ireland. All his three kingdoms are full of the expectation of it; and if I goe out thus, I goe out in shame, and under scorne, which is worse than death." See Curry's *Review*, p. 92.

for a supposed relieving of one of the sons of Hugh O'Neill, late Earl of Tyrone, attainted of high treason, and O'Donnell's daughter, late wife of the said O'Neill, (72) together with divers other accusations and scandals, falsely raised and published against him, to cast an infamy upon his name and to set up a jealousy of his integrity and duty to us and our crown, which neverthless, we are so far from giving any entertainment to against him, of whose affection and loyalty we had so many and good testimonials, as we think it a part of our royal care and justice to give him that reparation which belongeth to a person of his high quality, in wrong of so high a nature." The king then proceeds to order Falkland to discover, if possible, the slanderers of the earl, and punish them, "giving him countenance and good respect in all just causes." See Morrin's *Calendar*, reign of Charles I.

About this time also, the earl was engaged in a controversy with the Abercorn family, which became the more serious in consequence of the king having espoused the quarrel of the latter. As lord Antrim held his estates by the tenure of knight's service, the wardship of his eldest son and heir, born in 1609, was vested in the king, and the latter disposed of it, for some consideration, to James Hamilton, first earl of Abercorn. (73) By privy seal, dated February 5, 1612, and by patent, dated

(72) *Said O'Neill.*—Had Judith O'Donnell, the mother of the countess of Antrim, been in the land of the living at the time referred to, and had any of her sons then returned to Ireland from exile, it would have been only natural that they should have enjoyed at least a temporary asylum under the roof of Dunluce castle. But Judith O'Donnell had been dead since 1590 (see p. 212, *supra*), and the last surviving of her sons, Henry, had died in exile about the year 1626. One of his half-brothers, John O'Neill, a son of Catherine Maginnis the last of Tyrone's wives, was reported as returning in 1627 to Ireland, with the object of exciting an insurrection, but he did not come. Falkland, when writing to lord Killultagh, on the 27th of April, 1627, says, in reference to this rumour :—"Out of Munster his Lordship hath the same advertisement confirmed, with this addition, that the books said to be landed at Drogheda, in November last, were, amongst other things, to this purpose, viz., a declaration of Tyrone's title to Ulster, with a signification to all people in Ireland that the king of Spain was resolved to send him over with an army in July next, and in Ulster to denounce him king thereof, and there to crown him, and that withal he should be governor of all Ireland in the king of Spain's behalf, with power to create such and such noblemen for the better encouragement of men of name to adhere unto him, and for the better security of all papists within the land, the better to win them either to take part with him or not to oppose him. A proclamation is then to be published, that no papist throughout the kingdom, of what descent or condition soever, shall lose one drop of blood, or one penny value of either lands or goods. It is given out amongst them that Tyrone (John O'Neill) hath his crown already delivered him, not now of peacock's feathers, as his father's was, but all of pure gold, and lies continually upon his table, by his bedside, in his chamber at Brussels, under the continual guard of his own eye." (See Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 459, 460.) The celebrated Hugh Duff O'Neill, a major-general in the army, who distinguished himself so much in the defences of Clonmel and Limerick against the Cromwellians, was son of John abovenamed, and grandson of Hugh earl of Tyrone. This grandson and namesake claimed the earldom of Tyrone; and, in 1660, Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington, wrote the following letter from Madrid, to Ormonde, on the subject of this Hugh Duff O'Neill's claim to represent the family :—

"My Lord—The enclosed are my lord of Tyrone's letters to your Excellency which he hath desired me to transmit to you, and to be witness for him that I have seen many papers of Henry VIII., queen Elizabeth, and king James, confirming the title to his family, and their heirs, of whom the general, Hugh O'Neill, is now truly so. He desires me more particularly to witness to your Excellency that I have seen the will of the late Earl of Tyrone, John O'Neill, and father of the younger man that is lately dead here, after whom and another, Con O'Neill, who is also dead, I can assure your Excellency, this Hugh O'Neill, that now calls himself Earl of Tyrone, is the third, and consequently the head of the house. Your Excellency being acquainted with the said earl of Tyrone's merit and good parts, it would be very impertinent in me to move anything in his behalf to you, who are glad of this, as of all occasions else, whereby I may express with how much respect and truth I am, &c., &c.,

"Madrid, Oct. 27, 1660." "Henry Bennet.

For a letter from this Hugh O'Neill to Ormonde, dated Madrid 27th of October, 1660, and humbly beseeching Ormonde's good offices with the king in his behalf, see Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 508, 509.

(73) *Abercorn.*— This James Hamilton, first earl of Abercorn, was a favourite with James I. He was grandson of the second earl of Arran, and although a man of high rank and much influence, his habits were simple and unostentatious. Since his day, the Abercorn estates and honours have been rather curiously handed about from one branch of the family to another, among his descendants. The main line came to an end on the death

8th June, 1613, Abercorn had thus the wardship of the son and heir of Randal Macdonnell, if at the time of the said Randal's death his son should be a minor; the earl of Abercorn, or his assigns, to maintain and educate such son in the English religion and habits, in the house of the said earl (Abercorn), from the 12th (if the said Randal happen so soon to die) to the 18th year of his age. (74) (*Patent Rolls*, James I., pp. 250, 258.) It so happened that wards of good expectations, whether ladies or gentlemen, were generally, as a matter of course, married into the families or among the connexions of their guardians. Although, in this instance, the warder or his assigns had no direct power, lord Antrim having survived until several years after his son attained his majority, yet it had been arranged that lord Dunluce was to marry the lady Lucy Hamilton, Abercorn's daughter, the earl of Antrim binding himself in a penalty of £3000, should his son neglect or refuse to carry out this matrimonial arrangement. Lord Dunluce, it would appear, had been negligent, or perhaps had made known his intention not to be lady Lucy's husband, as, in 1627, the earl of Antrim was required on high authority to pay the stipulated penalty. On the 28th of October, in that year, Charles I. wrote to his "right trusty" Falkland as follows:—"Being informed that our late dear father having granted unto the late Earl of Abercorn, the wardship of the eldest son of the Earl of Antrim, and that he (Abercorn) did not only assign the same unto the Earl of Antrim, but also was a means for procuring unto him a new grant of his lands, whereupon he did conclude or contract with the Earl of Antrim for a marriage between his eldest son and the Lady Lucy, daughter of the Earl of Abercorn, and for the performance thereof the Earl of Antrim did bind himself in the penal sum of £3000 sterling, to be paid for the portion of Lady Lucy, in hope of which marriage the lady hath been ever kept back from matching with any other, and the time being now long expired wherein the said marriage was to be solemnized, as also the Earl having, as we are informed, concluded a match for his eldest son with one of the daughters of the late Duke of Lennox, so that the said Lady Lucy ought (as we conceive in all equity) to have her portion of £3000 sterling paid unto her according to the contract, which being made in Scotland, after the Scottish form, may perhaps not be so sufficient at the common law as in equity; our pleasure, therefore, is, that you, our Deputy, calling to your assistance the Lord Chancellor, the Chief-Justice of both our Benches, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Chief-Baron of that our kingdom, call before you the Earl, and require him to pay the £3000 sterling, according to the contract; and if you shall find that in law, and equity, or honour, he is bound to pay the same, or

of his grandson, the third earl. The family was then represented by the descendants of lord Claude Hamilton, second son of James, the first earl. This lord Claude, known as second lord Strabane, died in 1638, leaving two sons, the elder of whom, James, third lord Strabane, was drowned in 1655. He left no children; his younger brother George, fourth lord Strabane, died in 1688, leaving two sons. The elder, Claude, succeeded as fifth lord Strabane, and became fourth earl of Abercorn. He joined James II. and suffered forfeiture of his estates. On his death, in 1690, his younger brother, Charles, became the family representative, and succeeded in 1692 in obtaining a reversal of his brother's attainder, thus entering upon the enjoyment of the family estates and honours as fifth earl of Abercorn. He died in 1701, without issue, so that his branch also became thus extinct in the male line, and the sixth earl had then to be sought among the descendants of George Hamilton, *fourth* son of James the first earl.

(74) *His age.*—Considering that viscount Dunluce was born in 1609, and was only eighteen years old when the king wrote this letter, it must be admitted that the young nobleman had not lost much time as yet, in this important affair of matrimony. Marriages were contracted earlier among the nobility of the seventeenth century than at the present day. A viscount Dillon was married to the lady Mary Macdonnell, sister of lord Dunluce, when the bridegroom was only in his fifteenth year, and the bride almost twelve months younger.

any part thereof, and that he refuseth or delayeth any longer time to pay the same, our pleasure is that you, with all expedition, order and decree the same to be paid accordingly, together with all such use and damages as in law or equity you think fit, and that the Sheriff of Antrim for the time being, may be authorised by you to execute your order and decree." (75) See Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I., p. 307.

The viscount Dunluce did not marry a daughter of the duke of Lennox, although the king speaks in the foregoing letter of his intention to do so, but whether he had to pay a penalty in that quarter also we are unable to say. As it was, this sum was a serious affair, being equal to at least £18,000 of our money, and it probably laid the foundation of that debt which continued to increase until it finally involved this recusant gentleman himself in endless embarrassments. So soon as this claim could be got settled, the youthful earl of Abercorn besought the king to relieve his family from the wardship of lord Dunluce, and the king accordingly wrote as follows to viscount Loftus, the Irish lord-chancellor:—"Whereas our late dear father, by his letters patent under the Great Seal of that our kingdom of Ireland, bearing date the 28th of June, 1613, did grant unto our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, James, late Earl of Abercorn, now deceased, the custody, wardship, and marriage, of the body and lands of Randall M'Donald, now Viscount Dunluce, son and heir apparent to our right trusty Randall, Earl of Antrim, by the name of Sir Randall M'Donald, and the forfeiture and value of the said Randall, the son, his marriage, if it should happen that the said Earl of Antrim should die, his said son being within the age of one and twenty years,—as in and by the said letters patent more at large may appear; we are graciously pleased, and do hereby authorise and require you to direct a commission, under our Great Seal there, to Sir John Maxwell, knight, and John Wallis, gentleman, or to either of them, for the taking to our use of a grant or surrender by deed from the Lady Marion Boyd, (76) widow, Countess of Abercorn, of the said wardship and letters patent, the interest and the estate whereof being come into as sole executrix

(75) *Order and decree.*—The Abercorn family made no profits from having the wardship and marriage of lord Dunluce, he having attained his majority during his father's lifetime, but it would have been otherwise had the old earl of Antrim died previously to the year 1630. "Beyond all feudal burthens were wardships and marriages. If a gentleman left his heir under age at his death, he could appoint no guardian: the King or superior lord (for each lord exacted from his tenants what the King exacted from him) took possession of the heir and the estate, leaving the widow to maintain the rest of the family out of her dower, while the guardian (or warder) spent the rents of the estate without liability to account, often letting the castle go out of repair. As incident to wardship, he had the right to sell it, and this gave the purchaser the disposal of the heir or heiress in marriage to the highest bidder. Thus, the Earl of Lincoln gave King John 3000 marcs for the marriage of Richard de Clare, in order to marry him to his eldest daughter, Matilda. Geoffry de Mandeville gave this King 20,000 marcs, that he might marry Isabella, Countess of Gloucester, and possess her lands. Sibella de Singers offers the King 200 marcs that she may marry as she likes. Heiresses remained in wardship to the King, or their landlords, until they married, no matter what their age; and when they became widows, became wards again, and, to marry a second time, must have their landlords' consent. . . One of the greatest inducements to settle in towns was the privilege conceded by almost every founder of a borough, by his charter, that the burghers or citizens might marry themselves, their sons, and daughters, and widows, without license from their lords." Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 17, 18.

(76) *Lady Marion Boyd.*—This lady was a daughter of the great house of Boyd of Kilmarnock. After the death of her husband, lord Abercorn, she appears to have resided at *Blackistoun*, a family mansion in the neighbourhood of Eglinton castle. On the third of June, 1620, she wrote the following note to the earl of Eglinton, which proves that the families were on neighbourly terms with each other:—

"My verie Honorabill Guide Lord,—I understande my sone has wrettin to zour lordship anent our going to Edenburgh, quhair, God willing, we think to be on Tuisday at night, the xiii. of Junii instant, expecting your lordship will be there also, as my sone has desyrit you. And becaus my kotchman hes gon from me, I must intreate zour lordship to send me your kotchman, and ane or twa of your cotche horses, on Friday or Settirday next; quhilk, trusting your lordship will do, as

of the last will and testament of the said James, late Earl of Abercorn, and to take order that a vacate may be made upon the enrolment thereof; we being graciously pleased to grant the wardship of the body and lands of the said Randall, Viscount Dunluce, at the humble suit of our well-beloved cousin, James, now Earl of Abercorn, to our right trusty and well-beloved cousins, Richard, Earl of Westmeath, and Nicholas, Viscount Netterville, of Dowth. Windsor, September 4, 1629." This surrender was taken on the 12th of February, 1630, and a docket entered on the enrolment to that effect. Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I., pp. 520, 521.

The year 1629 must have been an anxious one in the life of the first earl, for in it also he had an uncomfortable dispute with one of his principal family friends, Cahill O'Hara of Kildrome. This dispute had reference to property in land, and appears to have been settled mainly by the interposition of the king. O'Hara's lands had been included in the original grant to the earl from James I., and when Antrim was about to obtain a *confirmation* of the same, O'Hara opposed him, and being assisted by influential parties, was able to delay the re-grant until the earl would confer upon him the fee-simple of such lands as he claimed. The earl consented, feeling probably that O'Hara's claim was a just one, at least in its leading features, and being anxious to obtain the confirmation so essential to his own security. It was arranged that his grant to O'Hara should include four townlands and a half, and that should more than this be found in the several denominations specified, the overplus was to be returned to the earl. This arrangement was stated in substance on the back of the deed, which conveyed to O'Hara the subdivisions known as Ballymackinley, Ballynagassill, Ballyvragagh, Moyaver, Clontefenar, Ballyloghgill, and Corkey. The earl and his agents could have known nothing of the district when these divisions were supposed by them to have contained only about four and a half townlands. O'Hara admitted that he had got much more than the stipulated quantity, but refused to restore the additional land, on some plea, which, no doubt, satisfied his own mind, but which was by no means satisfactory to lord Antrim. The latter then appealed to the sovereign, who addressed a long epistle to the lords-justices, in which he directs them to obtain "a speedy survey of the said towns and lands as conveyed aforesaid, and reduce the uncertainty of the measure of the townlands lying in the country of the Route, unto the usual measure of the townlands in our late Plantation of Ulster, which is that every townland of the four townlands and a half shall contain six score acres according to the measure of acres in our said Plantation, after the rate of twenty-one feet to the perch, and no more; and what overplus of lands shall be found in the said towns and lands above the said quantity and proportion of six score acres to each townland, our pleasure is, and we do hereby authorise you, to put the said earl in quiet possession." (77)

I salbe willing to pleasour your lordship at all occasiones. Thus cravinge your lordship's excuse of my hameliness, my hartiest commendatiounes remembrit to your lordship and guid lady, I reste your lordship's maist affectionatt cousinge, "MARION BOYD."
—See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 116, *note*.

(77) *Quiet possession.*—See Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I., p. 504. In reference to the dispute between the earl and O'Hara, there is the following passage in a letter written on the 24th of October, 1633:—"The next from secretary Coke to Wentworth, the Irish deputy, Petition is offered in the Form of a Letter brought by the Lord *Dunluce* from his Father the Earl of *Antrim*, the Effect whereof is, that your Lordship be required upon a Surveyor's Certificate, without further hearing to settle him in Possession of such Lands as he demandeth, without other Clauses, commanding your Favour and Respect towards him upon all his occasions; wherewith when I acquainted his Majestie with the Tenor and Style, he

In the year 1630, it became known to the public that James Campbell, a younger son of the seventh earl of Argyle, had got so deeply in debt that he was obliged to sell his estates. When this earl went to London, in 1616, to make a personal report of the success which had crowned his expedition of the preceding year against sir James Macdonnell of Isla, he was very graciously received at court. Soon afterwards, and at Argyle's special solicitation, an act of Parliament was passed separating the lordship of Cantire from the Crown, and settling it, together with the island of Jura, (78) on James Campbell, the son of Argyle by his second wife, dame Anna Cornwallis. This lady, whom Argyle had married when in London, in 1610, was a Roman catholic, and by her influence he was eventually induced to adopt the same opinions, and also to become a devoted subject of the king of Spain. He had been previously known as a protestant zealot, and, in 1594, commanded against the catholic earls of Huntley and Errol, at the battle of Glenlivat, where he was defeated. He was induced to abandon his protestantism in 1619, and was subjected, in consequence, to a more galling fire from presbyterian theologians than even the arrows he had encountered on the field of Glenlivat. The following punning sarcasm on his change of religion was found in a manuscript note to a passage in Spottiswood's *History of Scotland*:—

> "Now Earl of *Guile* and Lord *For-Lorn* thou goes,
> Leaving thy native prince to serve his foes;
> No faith in plaids, no truth in tartan trews,
> Camelion-like, they change a thousand hues." (79)

It is somewhat remarkable that this seventh earl should have been the only *MacChaileen More* to desert his family creed, seeing that his father, the sixth earl, had particularly required his executors to train up his son in the strictest principles of the reformed faith. In the will of the sixth earl, which was made at Darnaway, and dated September 5 and 6, 1584, there is the following passage:—"And now, last of all, I leif my son Archebald to bee brocht up be his mother and my freindis in the feir of God; and ordainis and willis him and thame that thai never suarf nor schrink bak frae the trew religion of Jesus Cryst professit and preachit within this realme, bot that thai with their bodyes and guidis mantane and sett forward the samin to the uttermost of their poweris in all places, speciallie within the boundis of Argyle and Lorne."

forbare to make Answer till you had seen the Contents and delivered your Opinion, whereof I give your Lordship Notice, without acquainting them that your answer is expected." Wentworth, when replying to Coke's letter, on the 8th of November, has the following brief reference to the settlement of the dispute in question:—"The Letter desired of the King by the Earl of *Antrim*, is, as I take it, needless, the Difference betwixt the Earl and this Cahill O'Hara being in a legal Way, to be determined already, with the full Consent and Satisfactione of the Earl. So as now whatsoever my Lord *Dunluce* doth, I am persuaded the Father will not desire his Son to trouble his Majisty any more in that Matter." Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches*, vol. i., pp. 137, 153.

(78) *Jura.*—In 1609, a charter had been granted to Argyle of the lands of north and south Cantire, with the island of Jura, all which had belonged to, and were forfeited by Angus Macdonnell, son of James, captured by Shane O'Neill near Ballycastle. (See pp. 133—138, *supra.*) By this charter the legal right passed from the Clandonnell, who had held these lands for many centuries. The island of Jura, although generally rugged, has many attractions. From the summit of Benanoir, the view is probably unrivalled, even in Europe. From north to south, the eye ranges over a sweep of 220 miles, the Isle of Sky bounding the one extremity and the Isle of Man the other. The whole west of Scotland appears gradually sloping up from the sea to culminate in the mountains at the head of Clydesdale and Nithsdale. The coasts of Ulster appear spread out like a vast plain, with here and there the bold outline of some well-known hill, or headland. Gradually, the gazer's eye rests in succession on the lovely island of Isla (with its numerous lakes and charming pasture lands), the whole range of the Hebridean Isles, and the picturesque alpine country of Argyleshire. See James M'Donald's *Hebrides*, pp. 659, 660.

(79) *Thousand hues.*—See Somers's *Tracts*, vol. ii., p. 518.

This arrangement, however, so carefully made by the father, was afterwards disregarded by his son, the seventh earl, who abandoned not only his faith, but his country, that he might devote himself to the service of the Spanish monarch. On his leaving Scotland, the principal lairds of the whole Campbell connexion were held responsible by the Scottish government for the good order and peace of his wide-spread possessions. The head of the house of Lundy undertook the principal charge, and under his authority the lairds of Lochnell, Auchinbrek, Ardkinglass, and Kilberry, became temporary governors in the districts of Lorne, Argyle Proper, Cowal, and Cantire, respectively. Lochnell was assisted in his duties by Macdougall of Dunolly, Stewart of Appin, (80) Campbell of Barbreck-Lochawe, and Campbell of Glenfallock. Auchinbreck was assisted by the lairds of Duntroon, Craignish, and Barbreck—Craignish, all Campbells. Ardkinglass was sustained by the lairds of Otter and Elangreg,—both Campbells ; whilst Kilberry, who had a large tract to look after, and who occupied Argyle's castle of Kilkerran in Cantire, had at least the partial co-operation of the lairds of Largie, Loupe, Taynish, and Carskeay,—the first being a Macdonnell, the second a Macallaster, and the third and fourth Macneills. (See Gregory's *History of the Highlands and Isles*, p. 400). Under this confused and expensive management, the lordship of Cantire was soon encumbered with debt, and James Campbell, the earl's younger son, who had been created viscount Cantire, in 1622, was most willing to have done with his estates there in 1630.

To these lands the earl of Antrim believed that he had the best right as the then representative of his uncle James Macdonnell, to whose eldest son, Archibald, Mary queen of Scots had granted them in 1564 ; (81) and also as the representative of his own brother, sir James of Dunluce, to whom

(80) *Stewart of Appin.*—For a long period the name of Stewart has been associated with this district of Appin, which forms part of the territory of Morven. The natural features of Appin are very attractive, its high green hills overlooking numerous little lakes of limpid waters, and its streams, in their course to the romantic shore, winding among level cultivated lands. M'Farlane, the well-known Scottish geographer, says, "ther is a pretty tour in the Appin, built on a rock in the sea, verie near the land called Iland-Stalker." This old castle, which was simply a square tower, is said to have been built by a Duncan Stewart of Appin, for the accommodation of James IV. on his numerous hunting excursions in the district. The little island on which it stands is called *Elein-an-Stalcaire,* 'the island of the falconer.' (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 169.) The Stewarts of Appin had been distinguished as faithful and valiant adherents of the island-kings, so long as their efforts were required ; and they were afterwards equally devoted in their attachment to the unfortunate princes of the house of Stuart. In the earlier struggles, they were the uncompromising and unconquered foes of the Campbells. They were broken by the power of the latter, but never bent. The Ettrick shepherd laments their fall in very beautiful and spirited verses, the refrain of which is—

> "Och one an righ ! — and the Stewarts of Appin,
> The gallant, devoted, old Stewarts of Appin,
> Their glory is o'er, for the clan is no more,
> And the Sassanach sings on the hills of green Appin!"

(81) *In* 1564.—The first grant from the crown to James Macdonnell, eldest brother of Sorley Boy, was so early as 1545, when Mary queen of Scots, for the good services done by him in her minority, especially in opposing the English, the ancient enemies of her kingdom, granted him the lands of north and south Cantire. This grant conveyed to the grantee 294 marklands and 53 shilling-lands. In addition to these lands in Cantire, the charter specified also 91 marklands and 1,064 shilling lands in Isla, 184 shilling lands in Jura, together with several smaller allotments in Gigha, Colonsay, Arran, and other islands. In 1558, the queen and her husband Francis, on the grounds that James Macdonnell's charters and title-deeds had been then recently destroyed in time of war, regranted his lands and replaced his burned charters. These documents had been destroyed during a raid made into Cantire by the Irish deputy Sussex, in the September of 1558, of which he wrote the following account to queen Elizabeth, on the 3rd of October, on board his good ship the *Mary Willoughby*, then lying in Lochkilkerran:—"I landed and burned the whole countrye; from thens I went to Arren, and did the lyke there, and so to the Isles of Combras, whych I also burned. And ryding at Anker between Combras and Bute (where alsoe I thowght to have landed, there rase soddenly a terrybell tempeste in which I sustained some losse." On the 19th Sussex arrived at "Lowghe Gylkerran in Kyntyre. On the same day I landed and burned eight myles of length, and therewith James M'Conell's chiefe howse callit Saudell, a fayre pyle and a stronge. The neixte day, I crossed over the lande, and burned twelve myles of lengthe on the other syde of the Lowghe, wherein were burned a faire howse callit Mawher Imore (Machrimore), and a

James VI. of Scotland had granted portions of them in 1597. (See p. 188, *supra.)* In the year 1607, however, after the utter defeat, or rather extermination of the Macdonnells of Cantire, Argyle secured a grant of the whole peninsula to himself, and was afterwards always regarded by the Antrim Macdonnells as the usurper of lands that ought to have belonged to them. When these lands of Cantire, therefore, were known to be in the market, it was only natural that the earl of Antrim should endeavour by some means to secure them for his family. Cantire lay temptingly convenient to his own estates along the Antrim shore, and this proximity was of much greater importance in the seventeenth century than subsequently, as, at that period, the intercourse between the two shores of the north channel was very regular and very important to both. (82) Lord Antrim on this occasion sought the advice of his Scottish lawyers, and soon received from them a document, which still lies in the charter-chest at Glenarm castle, and which, although it could have brought his lordship but little comfort, informed him, nevertheless, that he had a fair case for going to law, and that provided the king would countenance him in so doing, he might succeed in establishing his family claim to the lands of Cantire. It is highly probable, however, that Charles I., considering the then state of Scotland, discouraged the idea of litigation, and recommended lord Antrim to get into possession of the lands by purchase. At all events, the latter forthwith commissioned his Scottish agent to attend the sale, and to endeavour to buy for him the property which had belonged, time immemorial, to his ancestors. Before selling to lord Antrim, however, lord Cantire gave the

stronge castell called Dunalvere (Dunavertie)." Machrimore, a well known manor-house of the Macdonnells, stood near the southern extremity of Cantire in the parish of Kilblane. From 1556, James Macdonnell resided principally in the beautifully situated and substantial castle of Saudell, at the head of the picturesque Glen so called on the eastern coast of Cantire. In that year, he had obtained this residence and its adjoining lands from the earl of Arran in lieu of his giving up his claim to certain lands in the island of Arran, and on condition that he would assist the bishop of Argyle, the earl's brother, in levying his tiends throughout Kintyre." *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 24; Hamilton's *Calendar of State Papers*, first series, p. 149.

(82) *To both.*—The people on both coasts continued to cultivate this intercourse until a comparatively recent date, which was only to be expected, seeing that they were of the same race, and were distant only a few hours' sailing from each other. The channel between Tor-Head in Antrim and the Mull of Cantire is only about eleven miles and a half in breadth. In the memory of persons still living it was usual for Ulster people to carry linens across the channel for sale, whilst Scotch pedlars brought quantities of woollen-stuffs to these shores. The Scotch, at least until a comparatively late period, greatly preferred the music of the Irish harp to that of their own bagpipes, and the old Irish minstrels who could accompany their poetical recitations with the music of their harps, were welcomed wherever they went in Scotland, and liberally rewarded by the best families. This was only to be expected as one of the natural results of that early and uninterrupted intercourse which had existed between the two peoples on the opposite shores for upwards of a thousand years after the days of the Dalriadic emigrations. They were identical not only in race, religion, social manners, and political aims, but even in literary tastes. No appreciable distinction can be traced in their language during the long period of at least six centuries. And even during several centuries later, the senachies and bards of the mother country (Erin) were employed as the principal instructors of the people throughout the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. As illustrative of this remarkable fact, several passages might be quoted from the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Thus, at the year 1185, these annals record the death of Maclosa O'Daly, the chief poet of Erinn and Alba. In 1328, occurred the death of O'Carroll, chief minstrel of Eirinn and Alba. Tiege O'Higgin, chief preceptor of the poets of Eirinn and Alba, died in 1448; and in 1554 died Tiege O'Coffey, the chief teacher of poetry in Eirinn and Alba (Ireland and Scotland). Curious and important evidence as to the complete identity of language, even so late as the commencement of the fifteenth century, is found in a charter granted by Donnell Macdonnell, king of the Isles, in 1408, and printed in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, for the year 1852. It has been also printed in vol. ii. of the *Scottish National Manuscripts*, recently published under the superintendence of the lord clerk register of Scotland. This, the only Gaelic document in the collection, is written in pure Irish—not even in the Scottish dialect of the Irish, showing that the language had suffered little, if any, corruption even at that comparatively recent period. So lately as the year 1661, a minister of the Scottish kirk could not be admitted to the parish of Kilarrow in Isla, "for want of the Yrishe tongue. (See *Orig Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 261.) And, even until about the commencement of the last century, the lowland Scotch always spoke of their countrymen in the Highlands, and the Isles as the *Yrishe*, or *Yrischemen* of Scotland.

first offer of the property to his own half-brother, the lord of Lorne. (83) The latter declining to purchase, a bargain was thereupon closed with the earl of Antrim, who paid, probably as a first instalment or deposit, the sum of £1500, besides £250 of expenses incurred by the assignment. On the 16th of January, 1635, after much difficulty and delay, lord Antrim got legal and peaceable "seasing," or possession, from lord Cantire, as the following documents, still preserved at Glenarm castle, sufficiently prove :—

"At the Tour and Fortalice of Dunnavartick, (84) the sixteenth day of January, 1635. Quhilk day seasing is given be James Stewart of Askamilne, baillie, to Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, (85) as acturney, and in name, and to the behove of Randolphe M'Donnell viscount Dunluce, (86) of the haill lands, lordship, and barrony of Kintyre, comprehending the lands of south and north Kintyre and also Jura, (see p. 111, *supra)* upon the said Archibald Stewart, as acturney; and in name and behalfe of me, notar publict under written ; and the promisses were done within and uppon the said Tour and Fortalice of Dunnavartick, in presence of Malcolm M'Naghtane of Stron, Mr. Donald O'Mey, (87) minister of Kilcherane, Ninian Stewart, appeirand of Askok, (88) Alexander Stewart Machremoire, (89) Neil Buoy M'Kay in Campbeltown, (see p. 24, *supra)*, John Kendrid in Machremoire, Donald M'Neill in Dillkraden, John M'Ilroy, servitor to my lord of Kintyre, and Malcolm M'Arthor, servitor to James Stewart of Askmilne, baillie aforesaid. Betwixt ten and eleven hours in the morning, day, month, and year of God above spicified.

"James Nicoll, *notar publict.*

"Ninian Stewart, witnes.

"James Stewart, witnes."

"Be it knowen to all men that I, James lord Kintyre, give permission and power to Archibald

(83) *Lord of Lorne.*—This was the eldest son of the seventh earl of Argyle, by his first wife, Anne Douglas, a daughter of the earl of Morton. Lorne became earl of Argyle on the death of his father in 1638. He was created a marquis by Charles I. in 1640. For several notices of him in connexion with the campaigning of Montrose, see pp. 73--97, *supra.*

(84) *Dunnavartick.*—See pp. 13, 24, *supra.* In the time of Angus Macdonnell the fortifications at Dunaverty were kept in good repair and well guarded, as only from this position could the communications with Antrim be kept open and safe. (See *New Statistical Account of Argyleshire.* p. 424.) At the time above referred to, and for many years subsequently, the castle was kept in good order, and occupied ; but at the end of the great struggle between Montrose and the covenanters, it was permitted to go to decay. At present, the ruin can only be approached by a sort of stair which appears natural, being overgrown and matted with grass, but underneath this carpetting are still the remains of regularly constructed steps. The front and the two sides are giddy precipices, reminding us very distinctly of the ruin known as Bruce's Castle, in the island of Rathlin.

(85) *Ballintoy.*—Archibald Stewart (son of Ninian, the first settler of this surname on the Antrim coast), was appointed principal agent to the earl of Antrim, on the death of John Macnaghten, in 1630. For an account of this gentleman and his descendants, see Hill's *Stewarts of Ballintoy*, pp. 6—36, *et seq.*

(86) *Viscount Dunluce.*—The earl of Antrim purchased the lands of Cantire in the name, and for the use of his son, viscount Dunluce ; and in his name, as a matter of course, all the proceedings connected with the purchase were conducted.

(87) *O'Mey.*—Donald O'Mey happened to be minister of the parish of Southend, on the Mull of Cantire, and was thus a witness on this occasion. He had been previously minister in the island of Bute. Thomas Knox, bishop of the Isles, reporting on the state of his diocese in 1626, mentions Bute as paying "160 merkis a yeir to to the Bischope," and as being then "servit be Mr. Patrick Stewart, Mr. John Bogill, and Mr. Donald O'Mey." See *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 123.

(88) *Askok.*—This name is more generally written *Askog.* It is in the parish of Rothesay, Bute. In 1637, this Ninian Stewart of Ascog was served heir to his father, John Stewart, in the half of the lands of Ballankalie and Blackhous. See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 229.

(89) *Machremoire.*—There is a place of this name in the immediate vicinity of Dunaverty castle, parish of Kilblane. There is also a place so called in the parish of Ramoan, and in it was the residence of an Alexander Stewart, nephew of Archibald above-named, who probably was the gentleman here referred to.

Stewart, to possess himselfe of my house in Kinlochcheran (90) for the use and behove of Randall Viscount Dunluce, and to putt any in whome he shall think fitt to keep itt for the said Lord Dunluce's use; and in case the key be either lost or put out of the way, I tollerate the said Archibald Stewart to break open the doore and put on another loke, and possess himself. Written and subscrivit with my owne hand, the 16 of January, 1635.

"KINTYRE." (91)

The hint expressed above as to the probable disappearance of the key is significant, and thereby hangs a curious tale of illegal and violent opposition on the part of lord Lorne to the bargain which had been amicably concluded between his brother and the earl of Antrim. The following very interesting account of Lorne's conduct on that occasion is still preserved at Glenarm castle, and as its revelations are quite characteristic of Gillaspick Grumach, and of the period in Scotland to which it refers, it is here submitted to the reader *in extenso*:—

"*Ane Naration of the Bargaine betwixt the Earl of Antrim and the Lord of Kintyre for the Lands of Kintyre and Jura.*

"Archebald Acheson acquainted the Earle of Antrim a year and a halfe agoe that Kintyre was to sell the lands of Kintyre, uppon which the Earle gave him commission to buy them for him: but hee (Acheson) dyed before the said bargaine was perfected. The Lord of Kintyre made an offer of said lands unto his brother, the Lord of Lorne, (92) and hee refuseing to buy them, procured ane letter from Lorne to his father, the Earle of Argyle, showing that he would not buy the said lands, and giving the said Kintyre his full consent to sell them to whome hee pleased, which letter is ready to be produced by Lord Kintyre. The Earle of Antrim bought the said lands in his sone Dunluce his name, and to his use, with his Maties consente, as appeareth by his letters unto his Exchequer; and uppon the perfyting the securities after the custome and land of Scotland, the said Earle paied of the said purchase money unto Kintyre the sume of fifteen hundred pounds sterlinge. The Earle of Antrim was in chardges in passing the said securities (being ane ample disposition) containing fifteen sheets of paper, two charters, ane to be holden of himselfe, and other of his Matie, and in takeing of livery and seissing and ffeas to his learned Counsell and writers, and his agent his chardges for £250 sterling. Att the tyme the aforsaid securitie was a drawing upp, at Edinburgh, the Lord of Lorne came to the towne, and brought with him a greate number of his friends, vizt. the Lord of Loudone, (93) the laird of Caddell, (94) the laird of Larggs, (95) the Provost of Kilmun, (96) the

(90) *Kinlochcheran.*—See p. 24, *supra*.

(91) *Kintyre.*—See p. 237, *supra*. This lord Kintyre was created earl of Irvine in 1642. Spalding has the following notice of his departure to France in 1642:—"About the 10th of September, the Earl of Irvine, lawful brother (half-brother) to the Marquis of Argyll, taking up a regiment for France, came to the Marquis of Huntly, his own good-brother, who was well entertained in Strathbogie, and got forty soldiers frae him to keep his regiment. From that he came to Aberdeen, and was blythly banquetted; his soldiers were shipped here at Aberdeen, under the conduct of lieutenant Blair, and thereafter other men were shipped for his regiment, with lieutenant-colonel Gordon, brother to the laird of Abergeldie." *History of the Troubles in Scotland*, pp. 303, 304.

(92) *Lorne.*—See p. 240, *supra*. Until lord Lorne became earl of Argyle in 1638, he resided at Rosneath castle, in Dumbartonshire. He was married to his cousin, Margaret Douglas, daughter of William, earl of Morton, lord-treasurer. She was a nobly-endowed woman, worthy of a nobler and more enlightened husband.

(93) *Loudone.*—Margaret Campbell, baroness of Loudon, was daughter of George Master of Loudon, who died in 1612. See p. 98, *supra*. She married sir John Campbell of Lawers, a member of the Breadalbane family, and this nobleman is referred to in the abovementioned

Pryor of Ardchattan, (97) and a greate number more whose names I doe not knowe, and dealt earnestlie with the Lord of Kintyre, both by himselfe and the Lord of Loudoune, and the rest of his frendis, that hee might break off with the Earle of Antrim, and let himself have the said lands; but Kintyre denying their request, and showing how he was bound to perform, both by Indentures and great bonds, the said Lorne used presentlie two means and wayes to affectuate his Intentions. First, he went and sollicited the Lords of his Maties Privie Counsell, and persuaded them by two misinformacons, first that there were many of the name of the M'Donnells dwelling there, and if they got one of the M'Donnells to dwell there and bee their master, they would prove Rebells; the seconde, that the Earle of Antrim would bring in a number of Priestes, and soe make the whole people turn Papistes; thirdlie, that hee (Lorne) could not quiett his owne name, but that they and the M'Donnells would bee still in blood. Uppon which the Counsell, affecting him more than Antrim, was pleased to write his Matie as hee had informed them.

"Noght fearing the Lord of Kintyre should have power to oppose him, he made all his creditors to putt att him at once, and cawsed his owne agent, Andrew Darleing, to putt Kintyre to the horne (98) uppon an old chardge of ane Debt of three hundreth markes Scotch, and cawsed the said

document as one of the abettors of Lorne in his violent proceedings. Sir John, who was a leading covenanter (see p. 98, *supra*), was created earl of Loudone in 1633, and took an active part in all the stirring events of the period. He was one of the commissioners from the Scottish army who assisted to arrange what was called the Pacification of Berwick with Charles I., in 1639. In 1642, he was appointed lord chancellor of Scotland, and from that year until the conquest of Scotland by Cromwell in 1650, he and his kinsman Lorne, or Argyle, were the virtual rulers "from Maiden Kirk to Johnny Groat's." Near the east wall of Loudon castle stands a yew tree of immense age. It is said that one of the family charters was signed under it in the reign of William the Lion. One of the articles of union with England was also signed in its shade by lord Hugh Campbell. When lord James Campbell went into voluntary banishment in Holland, being a non-juror, he was in the habit of addressing his letters for his lady (to prevent detection) 'To the Guid Wife at the Auld Yew Tree of Loudone, Scotland,'—and they always reached their destination safely. See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 317, 321, 322.

(94) *Caddell.*—The first Campbell who became thane of Cawdor by marrying Muriel Calder, was sir John, third son of the second earl of Argyle. See p. 34, *supra*. See also Innes's *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 410, 412.

(95) *Larggs.*—The gentleman here referred to was sir Robert Montgomery, who had married the lady Mary Campbell, daughter of the seventh earl of Argyle, and sister to Lorne. This sir Robert was never actual laird of Largs, having died before his father, old sir Robert Montgomery of Skelmorlie. The son resided at Lochrinsay, and is mentioned in the will of Margaret Cock, relict of Colin Campbell of Learg, who died in 1647. By lady Mary Campbell, sir Robert left two sons, Robert and Henry, the former of whom succeeded his grandfather, as laird of Skelmorlie in Largs, in the year 1651. Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., p. 310.

(96) *Kilmun.*—In 1620, Archibald Campbell of Kilmun was served heir to his father Archibald, provost of Kilmun. In 1637, he assigned to Archibald lord Lorne, the tack of the whole tiends of Kilmun. (*Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 72.) Since the middle of the seventeenth century, the parish of Kilmun has formed the north-east portion of the modern parish of Dunoon, bounded on the east by Lough Long, and on the south and west by Holy Loch and Loch Eck.

(97) *Ardchattan.*—This was Alexander Campbell, who, in 1602, resigned to James VI. "the manor or place of Ardchattan called the priory, with the houses, mansions, buildings, greens, office-houses, gardens, and orchards, lying within the inner precinct of the monastery, and also within the outer precinct or hedges of the priory, together with all the privileges, liberties, and services, used and wont, and 'addetit' to the manor place for its repair and upholding, such as leading of stone, slate, and timber, with the building of office-houses, leading of peats, shearing and leading of corn, and other services excepted from the act of annexation; also the parish churches, with the tiend fishings of Lochetive and of the waters of Awe as part of the patrimony of the priory,—appending to the deed of resignation along with his own subscription, the seill of the said priory, in supplement of the consent of the convent thereof alreadie deceissit." In the same year the king dissolved the monastery, and erected it into a temporal tenandry in favour of this Alexander Campbell, restoring to him all the property of every kind that had belonged to the religious establishment. *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 151.

(98) *To the horne.*—*To put to the horn* is an exclusively Scottish phrase, signifying to denounce any one as an outlaw, who had not appeared in the court to which he had been legally summoned. A king's messenger, legally empowered, after certain other formalities on such occasions, was bound to give three blasts on a horn, by which the delinquent was understood to be proclaimed an outlaw. In cases of debt, a letter of horning issued from the king's signet, and if the debtor disobeyed the order to

Andrew Darleing to keep himselfe out of the way untill the horneing was registrate that hee himselfe might gett his escheat, (99) if possible he might. Lorne hindered the Lords to give Kintyre ane Protectione for two months, and used all the meanes hee could to gett Kintyre apprehended uppon the said horneing, as Kintyre's agent informs that hee was forced to leave the towne privilie, and durst not goe to speak unto the Lords. When Archibald Stewart, the Earle of Antrim his agent, went to Kintyre, to take seassings for Dunluce, the said lord of Lorne procured ane warrant from the Lords of Secret Counsell to hinder the takeing of the seissing (100) before his Matie his directions went down to stopp the same, (101) and sent his principal servitor, the barroune of Achishell, and ane pursefant with the said warrant, but the seissing was taken 26 hours before they came (102) as the annexed Instrument can show. The barroune of Achishell, by Lorne's directions,

pay contained in such letter, the messenger then published the letter at the Market Cross of the head borongh of the shire in which the delinquent dwelt. There the messenger was bound to blow with his horn. Horns were the earliest trumpets known and were always used as such.

(99) *His escheat.*—The escheat in such cases simply meant the moveables or effects of the person thus put to the horn. This was, to say the least, an unbrotherly proceeding on the part of Lorne against Cantire, even although the latter was a Roman catholic, and only half-brother to the assailant. But Lorne's conduct in this business was in keeping with his outrageous proceedings against his father, whom he virtually deposed because the latter became a Roman catholic.

(100) *Of the seissing.*—The following document, preserved at Glenarm castle, exhibits the substance of this warrant, together with a spirited protest from the agent of lord Dunluce. It is headed "Instrument taken aganes ye Messengeris Chairge," and is as follows :—

"The Lochheid Kilcherene alias Campbeltown, the seventeene Day of Januar, The Yeir of God 1635.

"The quhilk day betuine tew and thrie houris efternoone, or yairby, and chairge beinge gevin to mee nottar publict, be William Donnald, Messenger, in presence of Archibald Stewart of Ballintoy, esquer, and certane witnesses, uppon Letters direck be the Lords of privie counsall comandinge, chairging, and inhibiting mee the said nottar publict under wrytten. That I presumed not nor taik upone hand to be nottar to ane instrument of seasing to be taken of ye landis of Kintyre, or ony pairt yairof Be ye Erle of Antrym, the Lord Dunluce, or his attornayes to his behove, notwithstanding of ane chartour to be exhibit to me of ye said landis, as I sould answere uppon my disobedience at my perill, and under payne to be callit, persewit, and punischit as contemptner of ye said Lordis of privie counsall yair warrand and auctre (authority), conforme to the privie Letters, daitted ye Fourtene of Januar instant. The said Archibald Stewart being personallie presente, and ane attorney for the said Randolph Viscount Dunluce, protested in presence of the said William Donnald, messenger, that the said chairge gevin be hym to me the said nottar publict, was null and of nane availl, the samyn being gevin to mee the space of twentie four houris or yairby posterior to ane infeftment and seasing alreddie gevin be mee the said nottar publict, to Randolph Viscount Dunluce, or his attornay in his name of ye foresaidis landes, lordship, and barrony of Kintyre. Whereuppon, ye said Archibald Stewart, as attornay and in name and behalfe of ye said viscount Dunluce, off mee ye said nottar publicit askit Instruments. And ye premiss was done uppon ye Grene of ye said towne of Lochheid, Kilcherene, in presence of William Stirling of Auchyle, serviter of depute of Argyle, James Stewart of Askamylne, David Busbie, indweller in Lochheid, Adam Stewart, indweller in Carradell, Walter Stewart, sailer in Rothesay, and Malcolm M'Neill, witnesses severally callit and requyrit yairto.

"Johannes Nicoll, Junior, Nottaries publicus."

(101) *To stop the same.*—The king's directions were very urgent and explicit, but were also too late to prevent the due and legal completion of the purchase. These 'directions' were addressed to the keepers of lord Kintyre's house at Campbeltown, and charged them on their peril "to deteane and keip possessioune of the said hous, and not to suffer ye Earle of Antrim, the Lord Dunluce, nor na otheris in thair name, nor to their behove, to enter in ye said hous nor to apprehend possessioune of ye same." This letter of the king was, of course, written at the request of the lords of the privy council, and the latter appear to have been wholly in the hands of Lorne. When it was found that their 'chairges' were too late to prevent Antrim from obtaining legal possession, they forthwith issued the following mandate, dated Edinburgh, February 5, 1635:—

"The whilk day Johne Nicoll, younger sone of Johne Nicholl, Writer to his Maties Signet, appeared personallie before the Lords of his Maties Privie Counsall, and being demaunded if he had gevin out anie extract of the Instrumente whereunto he was nottar of the seassing gevin to the Lord Dunluce of the Lordship of Kintyre, be depouned and declared that he had given out no extract of the said seassing but ane short minute bearing the day of the said seassing and witness present thereat. Quhilk declaration being heard and considered be the said Lords, they advised therewith—The Lords of Secret Counsell commands and ordainis the said Johne Nicoll that he in no wayes presume to booke or insert in his register nor to extract or give out any Instrument of seissing in favour of the said Lord Dunluce, as ye will answere for the contrairy at your perill. Whereas the said Johne being personallie present promisit to give obedience to the said Lords their commandment in this matter. "Jacobus Prymrois."

(102) *Before they came.*—See preceding note. The lords of secret council being thus inspired by the lords of privie council issued their injunctions thus :—"Att Ayr,

toke the posessions of Kintyre his house Lochkillkerran, and placed 9 or ten sojors there with Poulder and Schott; and Archibald Stewart, Dunluce his acturney, being then in Ireland, Kintyre comeing ther himselfe, was refused to be lett in in his own house, which is contrary to the Counsells warrant, the coppie of which I have here annexed. When Lorne was in Edinburgh, hee sent for Archibald Stewart, Dunluce his acturney, and desired him to stay the proceedings, until he would acquaint his Matie and the Earle of Antrim with his mind; the said Archibald refuseing, the said Lorne demanded if hee would take seissing for Antrim or Dunluce, the said acturney said he would, the said Lorne replied that if the Earle of Antrim or Dunluce should tak seissing there, they should tak it on his belly,—this the acturney will make good on his oathe :

"Ane answare to the Misinformācons to the Counsell of Scotland:—Whaire Lorne doth alledge that thaire are many M'Donnells there, the Lord of Kintyre will prove that there is but two or three poore men of that name dwellinge in all the lands, (103) and that Lorne himselfe hath no M'Donnells dwellinge on the lands hee purchased from the Church, more than Kintyre hath on his. The Earle of Antrim will be bound to answere the king and counsell for all his tenants. The Earle of Antrim will be obleist to build the ruinatt churches, (104) and to bring inland Scots men to dwell there for the cevill easinge of the countrie.

"The Lord of Lorne to make the said lands to fall into his owne hands at ane undervallew, hath ingrossed in his own persone those offices following, vizt.—Justiciare, heritable schireffe, heritable bayliffe, as hee aledgeth in cevill and criminall causes, crowner, chamberlan, and that which was never known to be in ane nobleman his person—to be comissioner or official to ane bishop, which hee saith hee hath gotten heritable, and doth now execut it by his Deputy. Whaire he alledgeth that the Earle of Antrim will make the people Papistes, for Answere the Earle of Antrim hath planted his owne lands in Ireland with Scots men that are Protestants, (105) that hath given

the 19 Febr., 1635. "The Lordis of Secret Counsell comand and chairge Master Francis Hay wreittar to the Signett, Archibald Stewart, serviter to the Earle of Antrim, Jon M'Ronald, agent in Ayr, and John Nicoll, son to Jon Nicholl, wreittar to the Signett, to appear personallie before the Lords of Privie Counsell this present nynetene day of Februar instant; and to bring and produce with thame the minit of the seassing geven be the said Jon Nicholl younger to the Viscount of Dunluce, of the Lordship of Kintyre, to be sene and considderit be the saidis Lords—to the intent the saidis Lords may take such order thairanent as they shall think meit. And in the meanetyme to deschairge thame of all offering or presenting of the said minit to the register, and to deschairge the said Master Francis of all refracing of the said minit till hee be warrandet be the saidis Lords to that effect. And that they appear personallie to the effect foresaid under the payne of rebellioune and putting of thame to the horne, with certificatioune to thame gif they failzie, the Lords shall direckt simpliciter to put thame thairto."

"Wm. Doaby."

(103) *In all the lands.*—This is proof how completely the old native population of Cantire had been swept off to make way for farmers and shepherds, principally from Renfrewshire and Ayrshire, brought thence by Argyle. The natives had been first driven out in 1607, but had returned after some temporary successes gained by the Macdonnells a few years subsequently. The latter managed to hold on until nearly the time referred to in the text, when, it would appear, only "two or three poore men remained."

(104) *Ruinatt churches.*—To rebuild all these, even then, when some of them were in tolerable preservation, would have been rather a serious task. Of "ruinatt churches" there were then those of Kiels, Kilblaan, Kilcoivin, Kilkerran, Kilchouslan, Kilchenzie, Killean, Skipness, Kilcalmonell, St. Columba, and Saudell. These churches, with probably but one exception, were founded originally by Irish missionaries who had gone forth in the early Dalriadic emigrations from the Antrim coast. The places where the remains of these old religious houses stand may thus "be recited for the benefit of the traveller, who, if happily he hath united to his veneration for antiquity a wakeful love of Nature, will find a tireless delight in tracking their solitary and often very hidden retreats, through a country everywhere abounding in prospects of surpassing beauty and grandeur." See Muir's *Old Church Architecture of Scotland*, pp. 48—52.

(105) *Men that are Protestants.*—We have already seen the truth of this statement in the list of tenants on the Antrim estates above-mentioned, see p. 229, *supra*. Among the "Scotsmen that are Protestants" thus settled

the ministers good stipends, some 200lb., some 300lb. apiece, and hath settled his lands best of any in the North of Ireland.

"Reasons to hinder his Ma^tie from givinge Lorne way to purchase Kintyre:—1. That he is lyk to bee too greate a subject in those partes, they being the strongest places and partes in Scotland. 2. That by reason of the to make himselfe more powerfull hee maketh his Ma^ties tenantes to attorne to bee his tenantes, and to tak their lands holden of him. (106) 3. Hee hath vowed to spende five 1000 pounds before Antrim should impair his greatness or desyres, or that Dunluce being to his proceedings might informe his Ma^tie.

"Reasons why Dunluce should not renounce to Kintyre. 1. That hee hath two ancient tytles yeat in beinge to the said lands—the one from Quene Mary, and ratified by Parliament, the other from Kinge James; but the Earle of Antrim, being out of possession, did chuse rather to pay a sume of money for it than undergoe a suite in law. 2. The said lands are now purchased with his Ma^ties consent. 3. That it is the Earle of Antrim who was purchaser, and made use of Dunluce his name, therefore Dunluce cannot renounce without his father his consent, and untill hee be made acquainted. 4. The Earle of Antrim hath payed 1500lb to Kintyre of the said purchase money, and is at 250lb chardges in perfyting the securities of the said lands, therefore hee cannot renounce untill he hath resaved his moneys."

The march of events swept away Antrim's hopes of being able to hold Cantire. In 1638, the war broke forth in Scotland, and from that date until 1660, Lorne, who had become earl and marquis of Argyle, was virtually a king to his 'covenanted' countrymen. After his attainder and execution, Dunluce, who had become earl and marquis of Antrim, endeavoured to revive his just claim to Cantire, but he was then himself so poor, and under such a dense cloud of political obloquy, that his applications and proposals appear to have passed unheeded. The following evidently unfinished document, entitled *Proposals for Cantire*, was probably written about the year 1662, and is preserved at Glenarm castle:—"That the lordship and lands of Kintire in the Highlands of Scotland, worth 1300lb a yeare, was antientlie the M'Donnells, and intayled upon the House, which was forfeited by Neece Madonall, who was attainted, but he was illegitimate, and gott upon another man's wife, so that the attainder was not on the right lyne, nor can bee made effective. (107)

"The late King gave the now Marquis of Antrim a grant of the said lands which is readdie to be produced, for his in the last troubles in Scotland. (108)

"It is humblie desired that the Marquis of Antrim may have the said Lordship of Kintire and the lands of Caradale, (109) which is now fallen into the King's hands by the marquis of Argile's

were the Boyds, Stewarts, Macnaghtens, Dunlops, and a host of others. Indeed, the first earl seems to have preferred variety in this matter.

(106) *Holden of him.*—This was one of the charges preferred against Lorne afterwards on his trial when marquis of Argyle. He had actually compelled several of the Macleans, Camerons, Macleods, and others, who held their lands from the crown, to surrender their tenures, and hold their properties under him, thus literally robbing the crown of the fealty to which it was entitled.

(107) *Effective.*—See pp. 41, 187, *supra*.

(108) *In Scotland.*—The king had solemnly promised to restore to the Antrim family the territories in Scotland which had belonged to the Clandonnell, including the peninsula of Cantire. See p. 78, *supra*.

(109) *Of Carradale.*—Why, or how this district was separated from Cantire we cannot discover. It is situate in the parish of Killean, south Cantire, which parish extended across the whole peninsula, being bounded on the south by Glenbarr and Glensaddell, and on the

forfeiture ; paying the King 10,000lb. starling, beinge neere the full value for it ; or so much towards the Marquis of Argile's debt, which his creditors as the rest of his estate is liable unto."

Such was the controversy about Cantire, as it then stood between the families of Antrim and Argyle.

During the closing years of the first earl of Antrim's life, he was afflicted by occasional attacks of dropsy, the disease of which he probably died. On these occasions he sought the advice of a celebrated physician named Thomas Arthur (110) In July, 1634, lord Antrim was able to take his place in the house of lords, (111) but on the 28th of the same month, he got permission to return to the country, on account of his age and declining health. He died at Dunluce, on the 10th of December, 1636, and his body, after lying for a time in state, was buried in the vault which he had built at Bunnamairge in 1621, and on the eastern gable of which there is a tablet bearing the following inscription in Roman capitals :—

"IN DEI DEI-MATRISQUE VIRGINIS HONOREM,
NOBILISSIMUS AT ILLUSTRISSIMUS
RANDULPHUS M'DONNELL
COMES DE ANTRIM
HOC SACELLUM FIERI CURAVIT. ANNO DOM. 1621."

Inside this vault there is now no record of his life, or death, and not even a trace of the leaden coffin which enclosed his remains. By his last will he made ample provision for his countess, for his sons and daughters, and also for an illegitimate son, captain Morrish or Maurice Macdonnell. To his countess he bequeathed, as her jointure lands, the tuoghs or districts of Monery and Carey (see pp. 147, 162, 181, *supra*), with the house of Ballycastle, situated in the centre of these lands. Her income was estimated from this source to be £1,500 per annum, besides the half of all the furniture, including plate, in said house, with the stock, including horses. His elder son, Randal, got the baronies of Dunluce and Kilconway, with the castle of Dunluce and all its furniture and chattels.

north by a line stretching from Runahuran Point on the west to the neighbourhood of Cour and Sperasaig on the east. (See *Orig. Paroch. Scot.*, vol. ii., pp. 21, 23, 25.) For the curious vitrified fort on Carradale Point, see lord Teignmouth's *Sketches*, vol. ii., p. 385. For the legends of Carradale Glen, see Bede's *Glencreggan*, vol. i., pp. 41—43.

(110) *Thomas Arthur.*—This physician was one of the celebrities of his generation. He was the most distinguished of a large number of eminent Roman catholic practitioners in the seventeenth century. In reference to the professions of physic and surgery, it may be stated as a curious and significant fact, that as the study of these branches of science was not prohibited by the penal laws, catholics stood in the foremost rank among Irish physicians and surgeons. The wicked penal laws, which closed against them the bar, the army, the navy, and other paths to preferment, strangely enough, permitted them to practise as surgeons and physicians. At the time, however, in which Dr. Arthur lived, his catholicism would have seriously hindered his advancement had he not fortunately succeeded in curing archbishop Ussher of a dangerous malady which baffled the skill of the ablest English physicians. From this period his path was smooth. "Not only did he enjoy great practice, but possessed wonderful influence, as well with the highest in the state as among his own countrymen and co-religionists." He was urged to leave Limerick and take up his abode in Dublin, and his professional calls frequently required him to visit the most distant parts of the kingdom. In 1632, his Fee Book contains the following entry of a visit paid to Dunluce :—

Sr. Randal M'Saurl buy vĩce comes Duneleiuse et comes Antrim in aschytim hydropẽ incidit, operã meã implorauit, quã libenter impendere volebã per qua 5° Aprilis elargitus est mihi Septemdecem libros ster., ... 17 00 0

Considering the difference in the value of money then and now, this was a liberal fee—about £100 of our present currency. See the entries in this Fee-Book printed, with explanatory notes, in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. vi., new series, pp. 139, 239.

(111) *House of lords.*—See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol i., p. 207.

His younger son, Alexander, was bequeathed the barony of Glenarm, with the castle, and all the valuable effects therein. To each of his six daughters he bequeathed £2,800. These are the general provisions of the earl's will, a copy of which is contained in the *Decree of Innocence* issued by the court of claims in favour of his son, in 1663. See Appendix XI.

At least six daughters survived the earl, although Lodge has given the names of only the five following, viz.: Anne, Mary, Sarah, Catherine, and Rose. The sixth was named Ellis, after her mother, and is referred to, as we shall see, by her brother Randal, in his account of his journey from Dublin to the north after the outbreak of 1641. Lady Anne Macdonnell was married, first to Christopher Nugent, viscount Delvin; and secondly to William Fleming, baron of Slane. This lady's first husband, eleventh baron Delvin, was son and heir to Richard Nugent, (112) first earl of Westmeath, but died before his father, in the year 1625. By lady Anne Macdonnell he left one son, Richard, who succeeded as second earl of Westmeath, and died in 1684. (See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 237, 238, 241, 244). Lady Anne's second husband, William Fleming, was acknowledged as nineteenth baron Slane, his elder brother, Thomas, having become a friar, renouncing the title and the estates. (113) This renunciation was formally made in his father's lifetime, the latter by a settlement in 1625, setting aside the young friar, and settling the estate on his younger brother William. The king sanctioned this arrangement, although the law alone, and not the king, had power to do so. William died in 1641, and was outlawed for high treason after his death. After the restoration, he was declared an innocent papist, and his heir permitted to enjoy the family inheritance. By his lady he had left four sons, two of whom died unmarried. The second son, Randal, became twenty-first baron Slane. His brother was known as Thomas Fleming of Gillanstown, in the county of Meath; he married and left one son named

(112) *Richard Nugent.*—This tenth baron Delvin was arrested in November 1607, and committed to the castle of Dublin for being concerned in an alleged conspiracy with the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, Maguire, O'Cahan, and other Irish leaders in Ulster, to surprise the castle of Dublin and proclaim a government of their own. Delvin, however, made his escape, and although a proclamation was issued at once for his re-arrest, and sir Richard Wingfield sent in pursuit, Chichester failed in catching him. In the following year Delvin voluntarily submitted to the king, who regranted to him the family estates, and in 1615, created him earl of Westmeath. See an account of Delvin's arrest, informations, and escape from prison, in Meehan's *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, pp. 227—233.

(113) *And the estate.*—Thomas Fleming, 18th baron Slane, is described as "exchanging his terrestrial for an eternal inheritance," and as "renouncing helmet and glaive, for a cowl in the cloister of St. Anthony's." In other words, this youth, on making the arrangement abovementioned with his brother, proceeded to join his uncle, also named Thomas Fleming, who was a priest in the Flemish convent of Louvain, and who was soon afterwards appointed by the Pope to the archbishoprick of Dublin. Although Thomas Fleming, the younger, had transferred all his rights and privileges to his brother William, and had taken the habit of St. Anthony, yet Strafford, the Irish deputy, took care that the writ which awarded to "William the place of his father deceased, was issued with a *salvo jure* to said Thomas, should he or his heirs return to Ireland and reassume the title of Lord Slane, in which case, William could take no advantage or benefit by said writ." On the breaking out of the rebellion, Thomas returned to this country, and although he did not claim back the title, he played his part in the grand drama with great spirit as a simple friar of the order of St. Francis. The following interesting contemporary account of his movements at that crisis proves that his monkish character was not incompatible with certain very secular proceedings:—"Upon intimation of the affairs of Ireland, he left Louvain and proceeded to Kilkenny, where he attended to the public good, resorting from time to time to the house of his brother-in-law, the viscount Clanmorris; but, at last, finding that things did not prosper in Kilkenny, he went to the county Louth and made up six or seven score well-armed men, and by witty and fine stratagems, took twelve garrisons in that county. He spared no labour night or day in that province. Either in their sleep, march, or otherwise where and when the enemy least expected, this religious warrior did come upon them, to their mightie prejudice, either taking by assault, or demolishing by fire their garrisons, at the loss of their proper lives." See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 152.

William. Randal, who died in 1676, was succeeded by his eldest son, Christopher, who took the side of James II. in the revolutionary struggle, and thereby wholly lost the family estate of Slane. On his death in 1728, without male issue, William Fleming, son of Thomas of Gillanstown, and grandson of lady Anne Macdonnell, assumed the title of twenty-third baron of Slane. This William lord Slane, resided for many years at Anticor, in the parish of Finvoy, and barony of Kilconway, on a property he had obtained from the Antrim family. He was interred in the family vault at Bunnamairge. Lord William left one son, Christopher, who was known as twenty-fourth lord Slane, and who died without lawful issue in 1772. His sister, Anne Fleming, married Dr. Alexander M'Neill of Drumaduin, near Ballycastle, in the county of Antrim, and left three children, the eldest of whom, William M'Neill, a professor in Trinity College, Dublin, married Mary M'Dowell. Of this marriage, there was issue only one daughter, Rose Ann, who married Anthony Newell, and left two daughters, namely, Jane, who married John Feilden, of Wilton park, Lancashire, and died without issue; and Sophia, the wife of Thomas Mitchell, esqr., now of The Lawn, south Lambeth Road, London. *Family MS.*

The earl of Antrim's second daughter, lady Mary, married, first, Lucas second viscount Dillon, and secondly, Oliver Plunket, the sixth lord Louth. Her first marriage took place in 1625, when the bridegroom was only fifteen years of age, and the bride probably younger. He died in 1629, leaving one son, an infant, who soon afterwards followed his father to the grave. This lady's second husband, baron Louth, became a well-known insurgent leader in the rebellion of 1641. His estate was confiscated, and he died in 1679. His son received a grant under the act of settlement. See Lodge, edited by Archdall, vol. iv., p. 185; vol. vi., pp. 170, 171.

Lady Sarah Macdonnell was thrice married, her husbands being all members of native Irish families. Her first husband was sir Neall Oge O'Neill of Killelagh, or lower Killead, in the county of Antrim. This gentleman was son of Neal, son of Hugh, son of Felim, surnamed *Baccach*, who died in 1553. Neal Oge O'Neill, and his brother Hugh were left orphans by the death of their father, who was slain fighting on the side of the English in Tyrone's rebellion. The following document, signed by these brothers, when they came of age, explains itself, and was written about the time of Neal Oge's marriage with the lady Sarah Macdonnell:—"Wee doe acknowledge and confess that wee have receaved at the hands of the maior, sheriffs, and corporãcon of the Towne of Knockfargus, the Patent graunted unto us by his Majestie for houldinge of our lands of Killelagh and Killmakevitt, being formarlie comitted by direciõn from the late Lord Deputye, unto the trust and custodye of the maior and corporãcon of Knockfargus, aforesayde, until such tyme as wee should come to perfecte adge and be capable of reason and understandinge; as wytness our hands this 18th of Aprile, 1616.

"NEALL O'NEALL,
"HUGH O'NEALL." (114)

"Witnesses,
"HERCULES LANGFORDE,
"THOMAS WITTER,
"THOMAS TRACY."

(114) *O'Neall.*—This grant was made to these brothers on the 26th of May, 1607, pursuant to privy seal of the 4th July, 1606. Neal Oge got the tuogh or district of Killmachevitt, and Hugh the tuogh of Killelagh. The grant defines the territory of Kilmakevitt as bounded on the west by Lough Eaugh, otherwise Lough Sydney; and

(See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, third edition, p. 379.) Neal Oge must have died about the beginning of 1628, as on the 13th of November, in that year, there is a king's letter to sir William Parsons, master of the Wards, as follows:—"Whereas we are informed that Neal Oge O'Neill of Killelagh, in the county of Antrim, late deceased, was in his lifetime seized in fee-simple of certain lands in that county, of the annual value of £950, and being so seized, did convey part thereof to the use of his wife for her jointure, and the greater part of the residue of his lands he conveyed to certain feoffees in trust for the payment of his debts, amounting to the sum of £1000 sterling, or thereabouts, leaving but £40 per annum in present estate to descend unto his son and heir, Henry O'Neill, our ward, of the age of three years; and to the end the said debt may be truly satisfied, and the younger children of the said Neall provided for according to the intent of the conveyance, and of his last will and testament, we are graciously pleased in consideration of the good service done us by Neal M'Hugh O'Neill, grandfather to our ward on the father's side, who, in the late wars of that kingdom was slain in the service of our crown; and at the humble suit of our well-beloved cousin, Randall, Earle of Antrim, grandfather by the mother's side to our ward—to recommend unto your special care the disposal of the body and lands of our ward; And, therefore, our pleasure is, and we do hereby will and require that you cause a grant to be made in due form of law, of the wardship of the body and lands of the said Henry O'Neill, and also of such other lands as shall hereafter descend to him by the death of his mother whilst he remains our ward, either to the mother, or some other fit person or persons, to be nominated unto you by our said cousin, Randall, Earle of Antrim, to and for the intent aforesaid, provided he, or they be good protestants, to whom the charge of the body of our ward shall be given, it being our gracious pleasure that all the reasonable favours shall be extended to our ward, for the merits of his grandfathers. Nov. 13, 1628." (See Morrin's *Calendar*, Charles I., p. 401.) This child was given in ward to sir Henry O'Neill of Edenduffcarrick, who was a good protestant, and an excellent man, and who died in 1637. The ward in due time was knighted; his estate of Killelagh was forfeited in 1641, and restored in 1665. His son, sir Neal O'Neill, was an officer in the army of

by the south corner flows a small river called Owen-Camelin, and from the confluence thereof about a mile between this territory and Killultagh, until it flows by the church of Camelin, situate in Killultagh, and thence about a mile, through plains, directly to the opening of the Glynn of Altnacarragh; and so the mearing holds on throuuh the midst thereof, about a mile between this territory and Clandermott; thence about half a mile directly to the top of Dunballicaslane hill, situated upon the river Clarie; thence about half a mile directly through the middle of a bog, between this territory and tuogh Killelagh to Dunkillcrosse hill; thence about a quarter of a mile directly through plains, to the top of Dundisert hill; thence about half a mile to the top of Tullagh mac Itawissagh, and so for about a quarter of a mile directly to the head of a river or stream called Shroghanlereske, which stream is the boundary, during its course of about a mile and half between this territory and tuogh Killelagh until it flows into Lough Eaugh. The territory of Killelagh is described as "bounded on the west by Lough Eaugh, and into the said lough to the south parts of this Tuogh, between it and Killmackevitt, runs the small river of Shroghanlereske; and from the head thereof the mearing holds on about a quarter of a mile to the top of Tullagh mac Itawissagh hill; thence for about half a mile upon and by the top of Dundisert hill; thence between this tuogh and Kilmakevett, for about a quarter of a mile, through the middle of a bog, to the top of Dunkillcrosse hill; thence about half a mile directlie through the bog, to the top of Dunballicaslane hill, upon the bank of the Clarie; thence between this tuogh and tuogh Ballinlinny, the mearing extends through the Clarie, until that river falls, into the Six Mile Water, which river is the known boundary between this tuogh and tuogh Moylinnye, until it falls into Lough Eaugh, not far from Masserine. All the premises are in the Lower Clandeboy." See *Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 94; Erck's *Repertory Patent Rolls*, James I., p. 285.

James II., and was mortally wounded at the Boyne. The estate was then finally confiscated, and sold in 1701.

Lady Sarah Macdonnell's second husband was sir Charles O'Connor Sligo, who died in 1634. Of the great family of O'Connor, there were three principal septs, their respective chiefs being known as O'Connor Don, O'Connor Ruadh, and O'Connor Sligo. Her third husband was Donnell MacCarthy *Mor*, prince of his family or race in the province of Munster. In Desmond the MacCarthys divided into the three great branches, known as the MacCarthy *Mor*, MacCarthy *Reagh*, and MacCarthy Muscraigheach, of Muskerry. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 207; *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, introduction, p. [20]; Erck's *Repertory*, Patent Rolls, James I., pp. 72, 111.

Lady Catherine Macdonnell married Edward Plunket, of Castlecor, county Meath, esq., in 1639. This gentleman was second son and heir of Patrick Plunket, ninth lord Dunsany, and his wife Jane, daughter of sir Thomas Heneage, of Haynton, in the county of Lincoln. Patrick lord Dunsany was forfeited in 1641, but his son Edward received a grant of lands under the act of settlement. Edward died in May, 1668, leaving three sons by his wife, the lady Catherine Macdonnell. Two of these sons, Christopher and Randall, succeeded as tenth and eleventh lords Dunsany. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., pp. 210, 211.

Lady Rose Macdonnell married colonel lord George Gordon, brother of the duke of Sutherland, who came to Ulster in 1642 as an officer in major-general Monro's army. He assisted the marquis of Antrim to escape from prison at Carrickfergus, in 1643. This officer is referred to in Mackay's *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, pp. 175, 176, 285, 287, 293; see also p. 76, *supra*. (115)

The first earl was bound by his grant from the crown to erect a respectable residence in each of the four manors or baronies comprising his immense estates. Dunluce castle, long previously built, served for the barony so named, and Clough castle, also a very old structure, amply sufficed for the barony of Kilconway. In Carey, the earl, then sir Randal, built an elegant and substantial family residence near the site of the ancient Dunanynie (see pp. 38, 121, *supra*). The position of this mansion could not have been more judiciously or tastefully selected. It was comparatively sheltered from storms, and yet commanded extensive views of the beautiful and picturesque scenery on the northern coast. One of the gables of this castle remained until about twenty years ago, when it was removed by an order from the Court of Chancery, some inhabitants of Ballycastle having expressed a fear that its fall, sooner or later, might occasion loss of life.

(115) Among Mr. J. F. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands, orally collected*, one represents a daughter of the earl of Antrim as being carried off by the fairies at the time of her birth, and restored again to the family when she had grown up to be a young woman! This is a good specimen of this class of fairy tales. It is printed as it was taken down word for word, by Hector Urquhart, in the August of 1859, when told to him by John Campbell of Strathgairloch. So far as we know, the tale has died out on the Antrim coast, although it appears still to be familiarly recited among the inhabitants of the Scottish district abovenamed. This wild fiction is curious as an additional evidence of the close intercourse that formerly existed between the inhabitants on the opposite shores of the North Channel. Even their superstitions were identical, and the very fairies—the creatures of their imagination—are represented as moving to and fro across the waters of Sruth-na-Maoile, on their own peculiar errands bent. See vol. ii., pp. 97—99.

The castle at Glenarm was not at first so elegant or expensive as the family mansion at Ballycastle, although the first earl improved very much on its original plan, completing these improvements in the year of his death, 1636. The following inscription was placed over the principal entrance :—

: WITH .
THE . LEAVE . OF .
GOD . THIS . CASTLE .
WAS . BUILT . BY . SIR .
RANDLE . M'DONNEL .
KNIGHT . ERLE . OF . ANTR-
IM . HAVEINGE . TO . HIS .
WIFE . DAME . AELLIS .
O'NILL . IN . THE . YEARE .
OF . OUR . LORD . GOD .
1636 .

The castle of the Bysets stood on the opposite or southern side of the river, and at the head of what was once the principal street in the village.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND EARL AND FIRST MARQUIS OF ANTRIM.

RANDAL, the eldest son of the first earl of Antrim, was destined to take a prominent place in the affairs of Ulster, and indeed of Ireland, during the greater part of the seventeenth century. The inscription on his leaden coffin affirms that he was born in the year 1610, but his birth occurred in 1609. On the margin, at the commencement of Richard Dobbs's *Briefe Description of Antrim*, there is the following statement in reference to this nobleman's boyhood :—"The Lord Marquis has told me that he wore neither hat, cap, nor shoe, nor stocking, till 7 or 8 years old, being bread the Highland way. (1) He was a proper clean lymmed man, first married to the Dutchess of Buckingham, and after to Rose, daughter of Sir Henry O'Nell of Shane's Castle, now living." (2) The viscount Dunluce, by which title he was known from the year 1620, went early to travel on the continent, and on his return was introduced at court, where his handsome face and attractive manners made him a welcome guest. John Felton's knife had recently deprived that splendid court of George Villiers, the great duke of Buckingham, whose duchess was thus suddenly left in the possession of fabulous wealth, and still retaining the nobler dowry of youthful beauty. This lady was Catherine Manners, daughter and sole heir of lord Roos, baron Hamlake, and sixth earl of Rutland. She had had two brothers, Henry and Francis, but the former died in youth, it was believed (according to the doctrine of the times) from the effects of witchcraft; whilst the latter, although surviving for a few years longer, had been so abused by the same diabolical agency, that he also perished before reaching the years of manhood! Although their sister had also at the same time been seriously bewitched, she survived to inherit the immense family possessions, and to marry in 1620, the duke (then marquis) of Buckingham. (3) She had been educated in the Roman catholic religion, the faith of her ancestors;

(1) *Highland way.*—This 'Highland way' appears to have been a modification of the *redshank* style of dress. (See p. 37, *supra.*) In cold regions, the inhabitants wisely accustom themselves as much as possible to the severities of climate, and in this manner most effectually conquer them. The Scots had excellent teachers of this most useful lesson in the Norwegians, from whom they no doubt derived many of their peculiarities of dress. Magnus, the great Norwegian king, was surnamed *Barefoot*, from the circumstance of his marching bare-footed at the head of his army for the purpose of inducing his men to train themselves to habits of endurance. He was, perhaps, the most distinguished redshank on record. The *kilt* was doubtless a device having the same object, and it is curious with what tenacity the Scotch adhere to this uncouth style of dress." The reader may see several curious accounts of "the ancient Highland way" of dressing, in *Transactions of the Iona Club*, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis.*

(2) *Now liveing.*—The marchioness lived until 1693, thus surviving her husband thirteen years. Hitherto it has been generally supposed that French John O'Neill, having rebuilt Edenduffcarrick, named it *John*'s or *Shane's Castle*, but Richard Dobbs here uses the latter name in 1683—long before French John had got possession of the O'Neill estates. The place was no doubt so called from Shane, son of sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill. (See pp. 167, 179, *supra.*)

(3) *Buckingham.*—The assassination of this royal favourite occurred at Portsmouth, in the house now numbered 10, High Street, but which house has been so frequently altered since that event as to retain but few of its old features. The duke's death, on the 23rd of August, 1628, was first made generally known through a letter addressed by sir Dudley Carleton to the queen, on the evening of the same day. The original of this letter is preserved among the *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 213, f. 147, in the British Museum. Charles I. was in the neighbour-

but she abandoned her creed previously to her marriage with the duke, and professed protestant principles for a time. Clarendon speaks of her from personal knowledge, as a lady of great "wit and spirit," and her numerous portraits represent her as possessing more than the ordinary share of personal charms. (4) She had soon numerous suitors, but viscount Dunluce appears to have quickly outstripped all his rivals in the art of wooing, for it was known not long after his introduction at Court that he was to be the fortunate man. He returned from the continent in 1634, and was married in the following year, his duchess graciously and good naturedly giving up her protestantism, and accommodating herself cordially to the religious views of her second husband, and to the requirements of her original old faith. Lord Dunluce was envied his good fortune, and this feeling of envy helped, we suspect, to embitter his relations subsequently with some few distinguished contemporaries. To others, although themselves already provided with wives, his union with the duchess was distasteful, as giving him permanent influence at court, which they would have dearly coveted, but were unable to obtain. Does not this even account for much of Wentworth's splenetic abuse of Antrim behind his back, and his persistent efforts to depreciate the character of our northern lord in the estimation of the king and the leading members of his council. The reader may find many illustrative passages in the two printed volumes of Strafforde's *Letters and Despatches*.

But although Wentworth failed in his efforts to injure Antrim in the estimation of persons in high quarters, he was able completely to thwart his efforts in the year 1639, when he endeavoured to raise a military force in Ulster to be devoted to the interests of the royal cause. Even the king's influence could not harmonise these two noblemen so as that they might co-operate in his service, and Charles, therefore, determined to employ each in his own capacity. Antrim associated himself in this service with his kinsman, sir Donnell Gorm Macdonnell of Sleat, and on the 5th of June, 1639, the king signed a commission appointing them "conjunctlie and severallie his Ma^ties^ lieutenants and comisioners within the whole Highlands and Isles of Scotland" for the purpose of arresting the progress of the king's enemies throughout that kingdom. See Appendix XII. This commission was issued by Charles from a place called the Birkes, near Berwick on the Tweed, where he had encamped, to await the result of a deputation from the covenanting army, which lay also in the vicinity. In the first version of this commission, the goods or moveable property of the insurgent Highlanders and Islesmen were reserved for the disposal of the king and

hood of Portsmouth at the time; and the duchess of Buckingham, with a lady friend, had accompanied the duke thither. Carleton describes the commission of the deed thus:—"I am to trouble your Grace with a most lamentable relation. This day, betwixt 9 and 10 of the clock in the Morning, the Duke of Buckingham then comeing out of a Parlor into a Hall, to goe to his Coach, and soe to the King (who was four Miles off), haveinge about him diverse Lords, Colonells, and Captains, and many of his owne Servants, was by one Felton (once a Lieutenant of this our Army) slaine at one blow, with a dagger knife."

(4) *Personal charms.*—In the court of James I., this lady is described among the first, if not *the* very first, in birth and prospects—young, lovely, and graceful. Her father was twenty-second baron Roos, and sixth earl of Rutland. He was a rigid Roman catholic, and on this account was opposed to his daughter's marriage with Villiers, who did not conceal that he was in love with her immense fortune quite as much as with herself. The low-minded king, with whom Villiers was a prime favourite, determined that his minion should have lady Catherine Manners and her money. The lady herself, also, was anxious for the match, and easily brought herself to abandon for it the faith of her fathers. Villiers got with her a fortune of £20,000 in hand, and £8,000 a year. They were married in a closed room of the royal chapel, by bishop Williams, the only other witnesses being the king and the earl of Rutland.

council, but a second commission soon followed, authorising Antrim and sir Donald to adopt such measures in reference to this point as might be found by them most expedient. The two original commissions, signed by the king's own hand, are preserved among the family papers at Glenarm castle. These documents were accompanied by a letter from Charles promising to Antrim that, in the event of the movement succeeding, he (Antrim) would be put into possession of Cantire, which was then unjustly held by the earl of Argyle. This letter is not now to be found. In the king's letter to sir Donald, written on the same occasion, he promised to the latter to restore to him the lands of Ardnamurchan and Strathordaill, with the islands of Rum, Muck, and Canna, which were to accrue to him by the expected forfeiture of Argyle, sir Donald Campbell, and the chief of the Mackinnons. Armed with this commission, the earl of Antrim was able materially to serve the cause of the king, by rendering the covenanting deputies at Berwick less confident in their tone. Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 208 ; vol. vii., p. 115.

The king, in the meantime, forwarded special directions to Strafforde to raise and hold in readiness a force of 8,000 men, to be thrown on the Scottish coast for the purpose of co-operating with the royal army when required. This order the deputy appears to have got executed without delay. On Good Friday, April 3, 1640, he left for England, having a stormy passage, and being ill of flux and gout for several days. When able to write, he addressed a long letter, on the 9th of April, to the earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral and captain-general, in which he says :— "Before my coming forth of Ireland, I give out Order for the raising of eight Regiments of a thousand apiece, and have appointed the several Colonels, Captains, &c., which are to have the Command of them, so as those Forces will be all in a Readiness to march by the 18th of May, God willing." This force, which was encamped in the vicinity of Belfast and Carrickfergus, had been got together principally by Wentworth's friend, sir William St. Leger, the president of Munster. Among the troops thus raised, St. Leger established the strictest discipline, seeing every company himself daily exercised, and requiring them in all respects to hold themselves as if posted in the face of an enemy. In the month of August this high military authority testified concerning these forces that "considering how newly they had been raised, no Prince in the Christian world had, for their number, a better and more orderly body of men in his service." See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vi., p. 113.

According to the military arrangements made in England, the king's army was to march across the border and attack the Scots in front, while Wentworth, now earl of Strafforde, was to land his 8,000 men on the Ayrshire coast, and take them in the flank. The Scots were to be thus, as the latter expressed it, "whipped home in their own blood," after which the king and Strafforde were to unite their forces, march into England, and teach the English sympathisers with the Scottish rebels a lesson they would not readily forget. But before the king was quite ready to march, the Scots crossed the Tweed, on the 21st of August, 1640, and took possession of Durham and Northumberland. On the 28th, they defeated the royalist army at Newberne, and advanced to Newcastle. (5) Northumberland, the captain-general, had fallen sick, and on Strafforde's recovery he

(5) *Newcastle.*—On this first exploit at Newberne, which fatally commenced the shedding of blood, sir James Turner has the following comment:—"This was the month of September, and Generall Leslie haveing

was appointed lieutenant-general, and sent northward to the English army, but before his arrival it had been defeated under the command of viscount Conway. After this defeat of Newberne, the king was compelled,—in order to prevent the further advance of the Scots,—to agree to another treaty, which was concluded at Ripon, and according to the terms of which the Scots were to remain in England until paid the expenses of their expedition. To raise the money, it was necessary to call a parliament, which met on the 3rd of November, 1640, and which, by its first act, proceeded to impeach Strafforde; but the method of impeachment failing, a bill of attainder was passed, and in pursuance of it, he was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 12th of May, 1641. The Scots, whom Strafforde would not move to oppose in connexion with Antrim, although so constantly urged by the king, were virtually his executioners at last. Their army stood by on English ground, until they saw him done to death, only returning northward in August, 1641, having received not only its arrears, but also a handsome present from the English parliament. (6)

So soon as the various military movements of 1639 had been brought to a close, Charles returned to Oxford, where lord Antrim also appears to have resided for a time. From Oxford he

marched into England, with a numerous armie at the Lambes (Lammas) before, and put my Lord Conway with some of the Kings forces to a shamefull retreat at Newburne, had made himself master of Newcastle, and all the Bishoprick of Durham. I found this successe had elevated the minds of my countrymen in generall to such a heighte of vanitie, that most of them thought, and many said, they should quicklie make a full conquest of England; bot time hath shoune them since that they made their reckoning without their host, for the very contrare fell out." (*Memoirs*, p. 15.) The covenanting crusaders, on getting across the Tweed, appear to have felt that some very unctious explanation of their conduct was required, and accordingly they proclaimed what they called *Six Considerations of the Lawfulness of their Expedition into England.* These 'Considerations' fail altogether to justify or even explain their conduct on any *reasonable* grounds. The grand purpose they had in view by their invasion of England, and their initiation of a long and fearfully bloody war, is specially put forward in the following passage:—"And that we may see yet further evidences of a calling from God to this voyage, we may observe the order of the Lord's steps and proceedings in this work of Reformation. For, beginning at the gross Popery of the Service-Book, and Book of Canons, he (the Lord) hath followed the back-trade of our defection till he hath Reformed the very first and smallest Novations, which entered this Church. But so it is, that this back-trade leadeth yet further, to the Prelacy of *England*, the Fountain whence all those *Babylonish* streams issue unto us; the Lord, therefore, is still on the back-trade, and we following him therein, cannot yet be at a stay. Yea, we trust that he shall so follow forth this trade, as to chase home the Beast and the false prophet to Rome, and from Rome out of the world." These crusaders are careful to bespeak the sympathies of the puritanical party in England by expressing a hope that the latter would not imitate "the Benjamites, who made themselves a party against the *Israelites*, by defending the *Gibeathites* in their wicked cause, *Judg.* 20," but that "God would give them (the puritans) the Wisdom of the wise woman in *Abel*, who, when *Joab* came near to her city with an Army, found out a way which both kept Joab from being an Enemy to the City, and the City from being an enemy to him, 2 *Sam.* 20." The covenanters add that they meant to pay for their supplies, and that if the English refused to supply them under the circumstances, such refusal "would be as damnable as the barbarous cruelty of *Edom* and *Moab*, who refused to let Israel pass through their Country, or to give them bread and water in any case, *Numb.* 20." They aimed only at punishing "the troublers of *Israel*, the firebrands of Hell, the Korahs, the Balaams, the Doegs, the Rabshekahs, the Hamans, the Tobiahs, and Sanballats of our time." Nalson, ii., 414, 415.

(6) *English parliament.*—Wentworth's execution would have had more the appearance of a retributive act had the Irish people, instead of the Scots, been the executioners. His administration, although highly spoken of at times, was an insult and disaster to Ireland, from beginning to end. Wentworth, more than any other of all the unjust and rapacious strangers who came here in the course of the seventeenth century, laid the foundation of the rebellion of 1641—so lamentable in its results to all parties. Sir Arthur Chichester, by his activity in hunting after defective titles had realised for himself a revenue of £10,000 a year. Lord Falkland had also been rewarded by a gift of ten thousand pounds because of his efforts in the same direction. And Wentworth entered upon this wicked business, with more than ordinary vigour, procuring inquisitions, upon feigned titles to estates, against many hundred years' possession, and using his authority to ruin or brand with public infamy such jurors as would not assist in this work of wholesale spoliation. The whole people were terror-stricken, and these acts of Wentworth determined all Irish landowners to take the first opportunity of expelling the English from the government of this country. For an account of Wentworth's proceedings, see Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, pp. 101—140.

returned to Ireland, as, on the 17th of June, 1640, he took his seat in the Irish House of Lords, (7) continuing to reside in Dublin until the outbreak of the rebellion, on the 23rd of October, 1641. In a letter of sir James Macdonnell already given (see pp. 64, 68, *supra*), it is stated that lord Antrim and his lady, the duchess of Buckingham, on escaping from the capital, went first to Slane, then the residence of his sister, the lady Anne Macdonnell, who had married, as her second husband, William Fleming, the ninteenth baron Slane. Slane castle, in the county of Meath, is situated about 24 miles from Dublin, but its lord having joined the Irish party, lord Antrim soon took his departure, as he carefully avoided all identification of himself with the movement. False reports had already got abroad to the effect not only that he had openly joined the Irish, but that he had been one of the principal originators of the outbreak. These reports were eagerly caught up by both his enemies and friends, the former hoping that there were now sufficient grounds for his eventual ruin, and the latter rejoicing to think of the great additional influence and stability which his adherence would impart to their cause. These rumours were promptly met by sir William Parsons, an able advocate, and one of the then lord-justices, who completely vindicated lord Antrim, especially before the English public. His freedom from all connection with the Irish leaders was made sufficiently clear by other and even more convincing evidence. Thus, his name did not appear on any list of the leading insurgents published at the time of, or immediately after, the outbreak, nor in any account of those who were originally identified with the movement in Ulster. Among the papers found in the office of the chief clerk to the Irish house of commons was a list of the Irish leaders, but lord Antrim's name was not found thereon. On the 8th of February, 1641, old style, the lords-justices issued a proclamation, in which the names of those persons then in rebellion are specially mentioned, and in which lord Antrim's name would have assuredly appeared, had there been any such charge proved, or even asserted on good grounds, against him. (8) Letters lord Antrim had received from

(7) *House of lords.*—See *Journals* of the Irish House, vol. i., p. 123.

(8) *Against him.*—See Borlase's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 65, and appendix, pp. 27—35. The following list of the Irish leaders in Ulster as given by Nalson, is much more interesting in some respects than that of Borlase:—"Sir Phelomy O'Neill, called by the Irish Phelimy Roe O'Neill, captain General of the Rebells and chieftain of the O'Neills, O'Hagans, O'Quyns, O'Mellans, O'Hanlons, O'Corrs, MacCans, MacCawells, MacEnallyes, O'Gormeleyes, and the rest of the Irish septs, in the counties of Tyrone and Ardmagh.

"Tirlagh O'Neill, brother of the said Sir Phelomy, is the chiefest councellor, (see p. 66, *supra*) and is a very sad man, well seen in the Laws of England, which he studied in Lincoln's Inn, and was of good repute there. Both these are extracted from Con More O'Neill, the father of Con Bacagh O'Neill (see p. 126, *supra*), the first Earl of Tirone, whereby Sir Phelomy is reputed by the Irish to be the rightful O'Neill (see p. 77, *supra*), with Title and Appellation, with the dignities and jurisdiction conceived to belong thereunto of old, he hath now assumed.

"Captain Rory Maguire, brother of Conner Lord Maguire, Lord Baron of Empkilm (Enniskillen), and Donoughbane Maguire their Uncle, are Chieftains of the Maguires, and of all other the Irish Septs in the county Fermanagh, he is of a cruel and bloody Despotism, and hath shed much English Blood, as is reported.

"Brian MacCollo MacMahon, Brian Mantagh MacMahon, and Neill MacKenna of the Trough are chieftains of the MacMahons, MacKennas, MacArdelles, O'Connellies, the O'Duffies, and all other Irish septs in the county of Monoghan, the former of those three is a soft elderly man, the two latter are young and rude, though each of them hath been brought up to Civility and Learning being Wards to the King. Inquire of the Lord Blaney more particularly, who are the most eminent of those Rebels of Monoghan.

"Sir Con Magennis, Knight, and his brother Daniel, sons of old Sir Arthur Magenys (see p. 219, *supra*), late Lord Viscount Iveagh, and Uncles of the now Viscount, are Chieftains of Magenyses, MacCartans, and all the other Irish septs in the county of Down.

"Philip MacHugh MacShane O'Rely is chieftain of the O'Relys (see pp. 221, 222, *supra*), O'Gownes, MacCabes, MacEchies, the Bradies, and all the other Irish septs in the county of Cavan. This Philip M'Hugh MacShane O'Rely for his estate and Parts is made Chieftain, but Edmond O'Rely is the chiefest of the O'Relys, and Edmond's brother, Philip MacMulmore O'Rely, is a more active and experienced man, and hath done some Courtesies to the distressed English, for which, they say, he is made Prisoner by the other Philip, but it is more pro-

the king, after a patient examination of the accusations then brought against him by soldiers and adventurers who had got hold of his estate and wished to retain possession, pronounced him innocent. To be named, therefore, on none of the lists abovementioned, and afterwards to escape as an innocent papist from the court of claims, were assuredly proofs positive that he had not as yet fraternised with the Irish, and that he had neither lot nor part in the origin of the war.

Not only, indeed, did lord Antrim disapprove of the outbreak, but he used all his efforts to prevent or alleviate the awful excesses of that fatal time. The Irish, who had been led by false rumours to hope for his co-operation, were dismayed when he was seen to stand altogether aloof. On hearing that he had expressed his disapproval of their doings in Ulster, they denounced him in no measured terms, several of them clamouring for his immediate imprisonment, and not a few even for his execution. When passing through Armagh, from Dublin to Dunluce, in the month of April, 1642, lord Antrim took occasion publicly to declare that the conduct of some of the Irish party was such as to call down on them the wrath of God, and the vengeance of the king. On leaving Slane castle, he and his lady went to Maddenstown, the residence of their friend, the earl of Castlehaven, on the west side of the Curragh, and two miles south of Kildare. Here they remained quietly for several months, until after the battle of Kilrush, on the 5th of April, 1642, and during this interval they relieved many naked and wounded sufferers, who would have undoubtedly perished, had they not thus been sheltered and protected. In many instances, these distressed protestants were clothed and sent to Dublin through the means supplied to them by lord Antrim and his dutchess. (9) After the battle of Kilrush, which had been won by Ormonde and Coote, they found that Maddenstown became unsafe as a residence for Roman catholics; so, lord Antrim sent his lady to England, and afterwards set out northward to visit his native district, and to exert himself in alleviating the miseries here produced by the war. On his arrival, he found his kinsman, Alaster MacColl, engaged in the siege of Coleraine (see p. 72, *supra*), and he at once employed all the means arising from his territorial influence, and his relationship to the Irish leaders, for the relief of the English and Scottish inhabitants. He lost no time in asking an interview with Alaster MacColl and the other officers, and succeeded in prevailing with them to grant to the inhabitants permission to graze their cattle within a circuit of three miles around the town. (10) This afforded a very great and immediate relief, as the people of the surrounding districts had not only crowded into Coleraine themselves, but had also brought their cattle with them, which of course, soon began to die of hunger, and to add fearfully to the virulence of the many diseases with

bable, there is emulation between them, Mullmore O'Rely, son of the said Edmond, being sheriff of the County of Cavan when the Rebellion began, and commanded all the County in the King's Name, by Vertue of his office, to rise, and take Arms, and continueth still a captain of the Rebels. Shane M'Philip M'Mullmore O'Rely son of the said Philip MacMullmore O'Rely is a Captain of the Rebels.

"Tirlagh O'Neill, grandson of Sir Tirlagh MacHenry O'Neill, and the son of Hugh Boy O'Neill (whose name Sir Faithful Fortescue knoweth) are Captains of the O'Neills of the Fues, a Barony in the County of Armagh, within six miles of Dundalk, in the county of Louth, which Town was never taken by the Rebels in any former Rebellion, but now is surprised by the O'Neills of the Fues." Nalson's *Collection*, vol. ii., pp. 888, 889; see also p. 632.

(9) *And his dutchess.*—See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 208.

(10) *Around the town.*—The space contained within this circuit constituted the *Liberties* of Coleraine. The charter granted by James I., defines this space as follows: "All houses, edifices, lands, tenements, waters, and watercourses, ground and soil, situate lying and being within the town of Coleraine aforesaid, and within and throughout the space and circuit of three thousand Irish

which the inhabitants were afflicted. To meet the most pressing cases of famine, lord Antrim sent in from himself sixty loads of corn, and 100 head of fat cattle. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 209.

Among the family papers preserved at Glenarm castle, is a most interesting account, in lord Antrim's own handwriting, of his journey on that occasion from Dublin to the North. The following is a correct copy of this document, which is now printed for the first time, and which is headed—

"*An Account of every Nights Lodginge where I lay in my Journie to the North in* 1642 :—

"The first Night I left Maydinstown belonging to the Earle of Castlehaven, (11) as I remember, I lay in Affalie (12) in a gentlemans house of the Connors who was a civill man, as I found by him;

"The second night, as I remember, I lay at Sir Thomas Nugent's house at Dardistown, (13) in the county of Westmeath, who would admit none into his house but those who were loyal to the King;

"The third night I lay in the house of one of the name of Ffleming or Barnwalls; any of my Lo: of Slane's friends will soone informe you. Ffleming of Sidon (14) may doe it, who, I think, was a widow in the countie of Louth; and my reason to think she was a Widow was because she was very privatt and alone;

"The fourth night I lay at the ffryeries in Ardmach towne, (15) because I wold not lye at my

paces (three Irish miles) to be measured and limited from the middle of the said town of Coleraine, from all and every part of the same proceeding, from henceforth may and shall be part and parcel of the aforesaid town of Coleraine, and within the jurisdiction and liberty of the same town of Coleraine."

(11) *Castlehaven.*—James Touchet, baron Audley, created earl of Castlehaven. This nobleman was appointed commander-in-chief of the armies of the Irish confederacy. In 1680 he published what he called *Memoirs of his Engagement and Carriage in the Wars of Ireland*, 1642—1651. A second edition was printed in 1684, with a dedication to James II., in which the author says :—"I lay these memoirs at your Majesty's feet, and I pass them on my word not to contain a lie or a mistake to my knowledge."

(12) *Affalie.*—This name, now written Offaly, is the *Ui-Failghe* of early Irish history—the designation of an extensive territory in Leinster, extending into the King's and Queen's counties, and also into Kildare. The earl of Antrim could hardly have obtained lodging in Offaly except with an O'Connor. The inhabitants, at least all in a respectable rank, bore this surname, and in the seventeenth century were the remains of a powerful clan which had occupied Offaly from about the year 1210. See *Cambrensis Eversus*, edited by Kelly, vol. ii., pp. 205, 258.

(13) *Dardistown.*—This locality, in the county of Meath, is about twenty miles from Dublin. Sir Thomas Nugent here referred to was the representative of the original settler of this surname, the gallant sir Gilbert de Nugent, who married Rosa, daughter of sir Hugh de Lacie. Sir Thomas was created a baronet in 1621, in consideration of services rendered to the crown; and when the outbreak of 1641 came, he chose to stand neutral, at least so far as it was possible for him to do so. On the surrender of the confederates he was included in the Articles of Kilkenny in 1652, and permitted to compound for his estates of Dardistown and Moyrath. His grandson, sir Robert Nugent, was restored to all the family property in 1662. Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp. 219, 220.

(14) *Sidon.*—This place, in county of Louth, was not much known, and probably was selected by lord Antrim for its comparative privacy. The Flemings and Barnwells were kinsfolk, several intermarriages having taken place amongst them; but to what particular house this lonely widow, who must have dwelt near Slane Castle, belonged, we cannot discover. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. v., pp. 29—52.

(15) *Ardmach towne.*—The "ffryeries" were the remains of the Franciscan friary built in the year 1266, and now, as Dr. Reeves informs us, constituting "the sombre pile within his grace the Lord Primate's demesne." As a religious house, this friary was dismantled prior to the close of the fifteenth century, portions of it afterwards being converted into private residences, in one of which lord Antrim must have passed the fourth night on his journey northward. The reader may find an interesting account of this friary in Reeves's *Ancient Churches of*

sister Elis, (16) nor at other of the frendes who were in Armes, and at that time Sr. William Brumlie (17) was prisoner with severall others, whose release I was promised, and to have them at libertie;

"The fifth night I lay at Munemore, (18) where I met Phelimie O'Neill by the way, who conducted me four or five miles, and so parted from me, and at that time he did not lye in any house with me, as Tom Lillie can witness;

Armagh, pp. 32—34. About the year 1765 "the materials with which some houses were built were then drawn from one of its (the friary's) walls, but the great mass of the building had been removed for various purposes long before that period. Primate Robinson afterwards surrounded what remained of the venerable ruin with sheds, farmhouses, and a garden wall!" See Stuart's *History of Armagh*, p. 289.

(16) *Elis.*—Lodge does not mention this lady in his list of the daughters of the first earl of Antrim (see pp. 247—250, *supra*), and it struck us as remarkable that there was not an Elis among them, named after her mother. We here find that there was a sixth daughter thus named. So far as we know, this form of the name was not in use after the Restoration, but became Alice, Eliza, and Elinor. This lady Elis was probably married to a gentleman named *Crombie*. In 1648 her brother, the marquis, had retired to Paris, where he lived for a time in exile, assuming the name of *Francis Chapman*. On the 8th of June in that year he wrote, under his assumed name, to Mr. William Aylesbury, a brother of lord Clarendon's first wife, and then residing—no doubt also as an exile—at Amsterdam. The marquis of Antrim, in his letter, "believes he (Aylesbury) is *a friend of my sister Crombie*. Had received his (Aylesbury's) messages through Mr. Roberts. Desires him to assist in maintaining *my sister in France*, as Mr. Trayle and Mr. Roberts advise him. Cannot keep correspondence with Mr. Crombie and his brother-in-law." This letter, though signed *Francis Chapman*, is endorsed by Aylesbury, *Mags of Antrim.*—(Seal, an arm holding a cross *patée*, with palm branches on either side, surmounted by an earl's coronet.) Ten days after the date of this letter Mr. Peter Roberts wrote to Aylesbury from Paris, by the chevalier du Vic, mentioning that he had "received a letter from Mrs. Susan Wagh. Is glad to hear he is in Holland. Hears that Mr. John Trayle has delivered him £130 for himself. He is to assist Mr. J. Trayle and Roberts in Mrs. Crombie's affairs. Inquires after jewels and other private matters." On the 26th of the same month (June) Mr. Roberts writes again to Aylesbury, stating that he "soon hopes to go to Holland. Mentions Mrs. Crombie's affairs. Reports news from Scotland." (See *Calendar of the Clarendon Papers*, vol. i., pp. 426, 427, 429.) This is the only trace we have been able to find of a daughter of the first earl of Antrim, not mentioned in Lodge's *Peerage*. Her christian name we are thus certain was *Elis*, and she was, most probably, the *Mrs. Crombie* referred to in these letters. Mr. John Trayle, or Trayleman, was one of the trustees to whom the earl of Antrim in 1637 assigned a large fragment of his estate for the payment of his debts.

(17) *Brumlie.*—This surname is now improved into *Brownlow*. Sir William received the honour of knighthood because of his enterprise and vigour as an undertaker of land and actual settler in Ulster. For the prosperous condition of his settlement at Lurgan, see Pynnar's *Survey*, as printed in Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 212. On the 15th of November, 1641, the insurgents seized his castle and town, keeping himself, with his lady, children, and servants, imprisoned during the winter. It appears that lord Antrim interceded with sir Felim O'Neill for the release of Brumlee and his family, and it is said that O'Neill had then adopted a more rigorous treatment of his captives in retaliation for cruelties previously committed against the Irish. See various authorities quoted in Curry's *Review*, pp. 169—170.

(18) *Munemore.*—In going on this route lord Antrim went considerably out of his way, but as he and sir Felim O'Neill had been good neighbours and friends, his lordship probably wanted to intercede with the Irish chief on behalf of some English and Scotch settlers who had been imprisoned. The author of *De Hæresis Anglicanæ Intrusione* speaks of Antrim as being influenced by sir Felim as to his political aims. (See p. 77, *supra*.) But there is no evidence whatever of this being so. According to the depositions of Neal Oge O'Quinn, the Roman catholics of Moneymore and the vicinity were under the impression that, unless they took arms and used them energetically, they would soon be set upon and slain by the settlers, and that when Cormac O'Hagan and his men seized the castle of Moneymore, they occupied it in the name of the king. (See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., p. 296.) An officer in the regiment of sir John Clotworthy, who sketched the progress of the war from 1641 to 1653, states that O'Hagan commanded an Irish force of about one thousand men at the battle of Moneymore. "At this town," he says, "one Mr. Rowley, of Castleroe, commanded the British of these Parts. About 400 British hearing the Irish were advancing, drew out of the town on a Hill; which the Irish seeing, they divided themselves into three bodies and advanced to meet them. The British seeing themselves overpowered, took discouragement in bad time, and before they came to push of pike took the Retreat; at which the Irish took Heart and fell on their Rear, and put them to the run; and so most of them were Killed, with Mr. Rowley. Those who escaped made to and Coleraine." (See *History of the Warr of Ireland from* 1641 *to* 1653 *by a British officer*, p. 18). The gentleman slain in this skirmish was Edward Rowley, of Castleroe, near Coleraine, son of John Rowley, one of the agents for the London Society. (See p. 66, *supra*.) Edward Rowley's two cousins, John and William Rowley, were slain at Ballymoney, in March, 1641. See Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. v., pp. 296, 297.

"The sixth night I lay at Lieutenant Thirsbies, (19) whom I preserved from being plundered, with all his family and goods, which the country can witness;

"The seventh night I crossed the river Band, and then I released Coulraine before I went to Dunluce, where I stayed peaceablie till I was taken prisoner by Monro." (20)

The Scots, who had been so successful hitherto, were most anxious to get such a footing in Ireland as might enable them to hold this country, or at least to push "the ways of the Covenant" so vigorously here, as to render the Island of Saints too hot for any Irishman to dwell therein. The covenanting army was delighted, therefore, when an offer came from the English party, asking them to assist in overrunning the Irish. They literally leaped at the proposal, putting forward their motives for so doing as follows:—"Out of the sense of our Duty we owe unto his Majesty, and the true affection which the Kingdom of Scotland bears to the Kingdom of England, we are willing to contribute our best Assistance for the speedy Relief of those distressed Parts of Ireland that lye nearest us; Therefore, in the Name of the Kingdom of Scotland, we make offer of 10,000 Men for that Service, which is conceived to be the least Number can be, for securing themselves, and reducing the Rebels in the North of Ireland to the due Obedience of his Majesty and the Crown of England." The Scotch had really by their conduct suggested the outbreak to the Irish, who loyally aimed at assisting the king against the combination of covenanters and puritans which had prevented him from abolishing the penal laws against themselves (the Irish). Sawney hastily followed up his make-believe patriotic and loyal proposal in a few days with the following:—"As in our first Proposition, we made offer of 10,000 Men, in the Name of the Kingdom of Scotland, for a further Testimony of our Zeal to his Majesties Service, and Respect and brotherly Affection to the Kingdom of England, We declare, that we will, upon the Charges of the Kingdom of Scotland, Levy and Transport those Men, and not stand with our Brethren upon Conditions of levy and transport Mony, which we very well know is usual in such occasions, and could not in Reason have been denied us, and which will amount to a very considerable summ of Mony." For an account of the whole process of bargaining between the English and Scotch in this business, see Nalson's *Collection*, ii., pp. 732, 742, 768, 771, 782, 799, 869. Sir James Turner, who was a major in the Scottish forces that came to Ulster at that time, refers to their coming, as follows:—"The parliament of Scotland offers ten regiments of foot, each consisting of one thousand men, to maintaine the Protestant interest in Ireland, bot to be entertained by England. The proffer is accepted, and old Leslie, newly created Earl of Leven for his successfull rebellion against the King, is appointed to be generall of these 10,000 men, against the rebells in Ireland, who, had they not shed so much blood, did no more against his majestie than Leven himselfe had done. Monro and Cochran ar ordaind in the Spring to goe over to Craigfergus with their regiments; the first hath a commission to be governour of the toune and castle of Craigfergus, and major-generall of the ten

(19) *Thirsbies.*—This officer appears to have had his house occupied by certain refugees who sought his protection from the Irish, which, however, he was not able to render. Among the ministers who perished during the outbreak was a Mr. Matchett, of Magherafelt, who was slain in Thirsbie's house. (See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 317.) Thirsbie was himself fortunate in having had lord Antrim as a guest, even for one night.

(20) *Monro.*—See pp. 73, 74, *supra*. For a notice of Monro, including his various movements in Ulster, see *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, pp. 168, 169.

regiments; the second is casheered for offering to be løyall. . . . We came to the west countrie in 1642, and lay at Irwine, Aire, and Kilmarnock, more than a fortnight, waiteing for a faire wind; which makeing a show to offer itselfe, Monro embarked at the Largs, Home (who had got Cochrane's regiment) at Aire, and we at Irwine. When we were at sea the wind turned contrarie, and so all of us met at Lamlash, a secure bay on the coast of the Ile of Arran, where we lay a fortnight, if I remember right; and then, the wind againe offering to be favourable, one of the King's ships which was with us shooting a warning peece, all weighed anchor, hoysd saile in ane Evening, and next day were in Craigfergus loch, and landed that night. The English regiments that were there, under the Lords Conway and Chichester, marched to Belfast, leaving Craigfergus free to us." *Memoirs*, pp. 18, 19.

Lord Antrim reached Dunluce on the 28th of April, and his influence was soon felt in the alleviation of the great sufferings then visited on his native district. In the following June, Monro made his appearance in the Route (see p. 74, *supra*), and on the pretence that some of lord Antrim's tenants had been engaged in the rebellion, he treated their landlord as if he had been an enemy and a rebel, although Antrim had done all that he could do under the circumstances to show his disapproval of the movement on the part of the Irish, and afterwards to mitigate the evils arising therefrom. This seizure of Antrim was in truth an unwarranted outrage on the part of Monro, and done for the double purpose of sustaining Argyle's policy, and supplying booty from Antrim's castle and lands. Monro plundered Dunluce castle of all its valuables, and continued afterwards to appropriate the rents of the estate, although repeatedly ordered by the king to restore them to the rightful owner. During the period of lord Antrim's first imprisonment in Carrickfergus, from June to December, 1642, the king kept demanding his release and transmission to England, but the reply of Monro and his associates was, that there were no means at hand for the purpose of so forwarding the earl to his majesty. We now meet with Alexander Leslie as the earl of Leven, whom the king had raised to this dignity, when his majesty visited Edinburgh in May, 1641, conferring favours on several of his own most relentless enemies. Besides the honour thus granted to Leslie, Argyle was made a marquis; Loudon appointed chancellor of Scotland; and Archibald Johnston of Warristoun, lord register. Leslie, on receiving his titles of lord Balgony and earl of Leven, vowed that he would not only "never serve against the king, but that when his Majesty would require his service, he should have it, without ever asking what the cause was." "Leshly was so transported at this extraordinary Bounty, and unexpected as well as unmerited Honour, that he often protested, and once particularly at *Perth*, upon his knees, in the house of the Earl of *Kenoul*, that he would never again bear arms against the king; but he had not long after made the Poet a Prophet, verifying the verse—*Nulla Fides Pietasve viris qui Castra sequuntur*." See Nalson's *Collection*, vol. i., p. 683.

Not long after the registration of this vow, which Leslie, or Leven, is said to have made even with tears, he crossed the Tweed and the Tyne, at the call of the Covenant, to do battle against the royalist forces at Marston Moor. Of this canny old Scot, sir James Turner has left the following record:—"About Lambes (Lammas) in this yeare, 1642, came Generall Leven over to Ireland, and with him the Earle of Eglinton, who had one of these ten regiments, my Lord Sinclaire, and Hamilton, generall of the artillerie, better known by the name of *Deare Sandie*. Great matters were expected from so

famous a captain as Leven was, but he did not answere expectation. One cavalcad he made, in which I joyned with him with 300 men, in which I could not see what he intended, or what he proposed to himselfe. Sure I am he returned to Craigfergus without doing anything. And the same game he playd over againe at his second march, except that he visited the Neurie; for which we were but litle obligd to him, being forcd thereby to part with our hay, wine, beere, and breade, of which we were not very well stord. . . . Bot the Earle of Leven got himselfe ane errand to go to Scotland, and so gave an everlasting adieu to Ireland. The most remarkeable thing he did in the time of his stay was, that he tooke 2500lb. Sterline to himselfe, which the Parliament of England had sent to the officers of his armie for waggon money. And trulie this Earle, who lived till he past ffourscore, was of so good a memorie, that he was never knowne to forget himselfe, nay not in extreame age. I can not say more of his deportments in Ireland then what my Lord Viscount Moore (who was killed nixt yeare) said to tuo of my friends, and it was this; That the Earle of Leven's actions made not such noyse in the world as these of Generall Lesley." (*Memoirs*, pp. 23, 24, 25.) Lord Leven was said to have received no education whatever in his youth, but if so, he had the merit of instructing himself subsequently. When he came to Ulster in 1642, as the commander-in-chief of the Scottish army, he was able to write a little, scribbling, comparatively illegible, hand, which, however, sufficiently answered all the purposes required. The following is copy of a letter addressed by him to lord Antrim's agent, the original being still preserved among the family papers in Glenarm castle :—

"Master Archebald Stewart,—The Kingis Ma^tie having written soe often for the Erle of Antrim, thes are to desyre that you may come here, and see what course can be taken for moneyis towards his transportation; and in ye meane tyme to let me knowe what resolucõn is taken concerninge ye busines wee spake last off. And as for your comeinge, you will use meanes in your power to bringe soe muche mony with you as will serve the Erle for his journie, at least soe much as convenientlie you can have for ye use of same. No further. I rest your assured friend,

"Master Archebald Stewart of Ballintoy." "Leven.

This demand for more money from lord Antrim's agent was heartless on the part of Leven, considering that he, Monro, and sir Duncan Campbell had taken possession of the estate. Such heartlessness on the part of Leven was aggravated by his thus pretending to yield to the king's wishes, whilst he could have had no serious intention of doing anything further than to extract money from Stewart on false pretences. The covenanters could then do pretty much as they felt inclined, not only in Scotland but throughout northern Ulster. Spalding's account of the true state of affairs at that juncture is as follows :—"His majesty is forced to suffer his true servants to be borne down by his great enemies, and could not get them helped, whereby some are warded, some are plundered in their houses, estate, and means; in their horse, nolt, cattle, silver coined and uncoined, goods and gear, girnals, corn, and victuals; other some, their stately towers, castles, orchards, yards, and bigging, demolished and thrown to the ground, displenished, ruined, and made desolate; others fleeing the country for their lives, and in the mean time lost their livings and rents, to be intromitted with by their enemies, the Covenanters, their rooms, places, and offices filled up, and peaceably possessed by the said Covenanters." *Troubles in Scotland*, p. 257.

All this spoliation and oppression had now overtaken the earl of Antrim, for his entire estates, and everything of value in and around all his places of residence, were in the hands of his greedy and remorseless foes. Whilst the latter, however, were higgling about the means of forwarding their prisoner to the king, lord Antrim was adroitly set free from their clutches. (See p. 76, *supra.*) Although, however, he then escaped from almost certain destruction, he soon afterwards encountered the same, or even greater peril. Early in 1643, the king's armies in Ireland under the command of Ormonde were reduced to great distress, and a cessation of arms with the Confederate Irish became a matter of absolute necessity. This necessity was most urgently pressed in a letter from the lords-justices addressed to the king, on the 11th of May, 1643. To promote such object, lord Antrim was specially commissioned by Charles I. to return to Ireland, with letters and instructions on the subject. That such was his only object in returning to Ulster, so soon after his escape, is evident from the statements of himself, and Archibald Stewart, when both were under examination before Monro and a council of war, at Carrickfergus, on the 12th of June, 1643. On lord Antrim were found letters and papers from the Scottish noblemen, Aboyne and Nithsdale, (21) urging him to send troops to Scotland. These letters, when returned by Monro to the covenanting authorities, were considered sufficient evidence against their authors, who were forthwith outlawed, and their property forfeited by the Scottish parliament. Monro, also, wrote on this occasion to the members of "the Irish Committee of the Parliament of England," boastfully referring to his second capture of Antrim. This committee published Monro's letter with a high-sounding and deceptive title-page, which announces "his taking of the Earl of Antrim, about whom was found divers papers, which discovered a dangerous *Plot* against the Protestants in all his Majesty's dominions: their plot being set down, by consent of the Queen's Ma^tie^, for the ruin of religion and overthrow of his Majesty's three kingdoms." The plot which was to work all this mischief was the *Cessation* (see p. 79, *supra*)—an excellent arrangement, which had been strenuously recommended by the lords-justices and by the Irish privy council. The first sentence in Monro's letter to this committee is the following:—"Expect nothing from your Honours' real and faithful servant in this adverse time, but what brings comfort." Referring to lord Antrim, the writer goes on with his comforting news as follows:—"It was my good fortune in time of treaty there, to trust a bark come from the Isle of Man with that treacherous Papist, the Earl of Antrim; whose brother Alexander was sent before to the Queen's Majesty from York, to make way for the Earl in negotiating betwixt her Majesties army in the North of England, and the Papists on the borders and the North parts thereof, and with the rebels in Ireland." The letter concludes thus:—"The Earl of Antrim shall, God willing, be kept close in the castle of Carrickfergus till I be acquainted from your Honours concerning him; and the traitor that conveyed him last away is to be executed, since we can extort no discovery from him that is contained in the papers sent to Scotland." (See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, vol. i., pp. 409, 410.) Monro's intelligence was also published in Scotland under the title

(21) *Aboyne and Nithsdale.*—Viscount Aboyne, second son of the marquis of Huntly, distinguished himself as a royalist, although never cordially co-operating with Montrose. He died in exile soon after the execution of Charles I. Robert, eighth lord Maxwell, was first earl of Nithsdale. The jealousies that existed among the royalist nobles, especially between the earls of Crawford and Nithsdale, seriously compromised the cause which they were anxious to sustain.

of *Declaration of His Majesties Privie Councell in Scotland, together with a damnable Plot of the Irish Papists begun by the Earl of Antrim, proved by Letters found in his Pockets, and the Depositions of a servant hanged at Carrickfergus.*

As above mentioned, this plot was simply to make arrangements for the Cessation of Arms, which was then as much wanted by the Scottish forces in Ulster as either those of the king or the Irish confederates. In reference to this matter, sir James Turner says:—"Some other marches he (Monro) made that summer, 1643, in one whereof we encamped regularlie at Armagh, and fortified ourselves; and from thence sent men to besiege Charlemont once more, but all to no purpose. At this leager, the Marques, now Duke of Ormond, signified by trumpet to us the cessation he had, by his Majesties appointment, concluded with the Irish for a yeare, and required Monro, in the king's name to observe it. But he refused to accept of it, because he had no order for it from his masters of Scotland. Heere was strange worke; a man not able to prosecute a warre, yet will not admit of a cessation. It cost us deare; for since the king's restoration all our arrears were payed us by telling us we were not in the king's pay, since we refused to obey his commands; and verie justlie we were so served. Towards the latter end of this year, our garrison at the Neurie fell in extreame want of all manner of provisions, both for back and bellie. For this reason, by Monro's toleration, I had a meeting with ane Irish colonell, one Thurlo (Tirlagh) O'Neale, sent by sir Phelomy. We met at Kirriotter, each of us, tuentie horse, and after ane hours discourse, and the drinking some healths in Scotch acquavitie and Irisk uskkiba, we concluded a cessation of armes with them for our oune guarrison. Bot this did not supplie our wants; for noe monie came to the armie, either from England or Scotland, and very little meale came from Craigfergus to us. Wherefore my lieutenant colonell and I resolved that I should goe speedilie to Scotland, and procure ane order to the regiment to march to the Airds and Clandeboy, there or somewhere else to quarter as the rest of the armie did: and that immediatelie after I was gone, and that a ship with some meale which we hourlie expected was arrived, he sould ship in his amunition, baggage, and sicke men, and then march straight to the Clandeboye. The Neurie was to be delivered to the English; for I had gone to Dundalg, and agreed so with my Lord Moore. This was presentlie put in execution; for I went to Craigfergus, and took my leave of the major-generall, telling him downright what my errand was to Scotland; bot concealed from him the resolution that the regiment sould be with him before my return." *Memoirs*, pp. 29, 30.

When captured a second time, Antrim would have undoubtedly paid the penalty of his life, had not another well-concocted plan rescued him again from the clutches of Monro. (See p. 76, *supra.*) These escapes excited great interest and were much talked of at the time. When the duke of Ormonde visited Carrickfergus, in 1666, his grace was taken about to the several noteworthy places in that old town, his guide being William Montgomery, the well-known author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts*. The latter tells us that he pointed out to Ormonde "the very spot where Randall M'Donnell made his escape, and had left his comb and its case, with his handkercheff." (22) These escapes, however, cost the lives of at least two persons, whom Monro brutally hanged in

(22) *Handkercheff.*—See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 427. Monro, whilst in Ulster, married Jean Alexander, widow of the second viscount Montgomery of Ards, and became by this marriage alliance exceedingly useful to

Carrickfergus, by way of appeasing or consoling himself for the loss of their master. The name of the servant to whom Monro refers in the foregoing letter is supposed to have been Stewart, but of this there is no decided evidence. It is more than probable, however, that he was so called, for this surname prevailed very generally among the gentry and the humbler classes on the coast at that period; but this victim to Monro's wrath is not to be confounded with Archibald Stewart, who was also a servant to lord Antrim, but of a different class. The name of the second victim was Nandicke; he appears to have belonged to the king's household, and to have come for a temporary object to Carrickfergus. He is referred to in the following curious record, the original of which is still preserved in Glenarm castle, and which, although coming from humble people (John and Ann Orpin), was an important testimonial of loyalty at a critical period, when Antrim's enemies were making desperate efforts to prove that he had been a rebel in 1641 :—

"I doe verie well remember that the Lord of Antrim, with his Goods, was brought from Dunluce prisoner to Carrickfergus, and weare both lodged at the Lord Chichester's House there, named Joymount House, (23) wheare I had the lookinge to part of it. Shortlye after that there came a messenger out of England wearinge a Red Coate, with Letters, as he oft reported to mee, sent from the King, procured by the Dutches, then Wife to the Lord of Antrim, to Release the Lord of Antrim and his Goods, then detained by the Scotch Army; his coate was richlye imbrothered (embroidered) both before and behinde with the King's Armes in gould and silver bullionge in the maner of the Gardes Coates formerlie used at Courte. This man was about 50 or 55 yeares of Adge, but his name I have cleare forgotten; but I can remember severall tymes in my Companie

several members of that family in the time of the commonwealth. Cromwell and Monro had served together in Scotland, and had then formed an intimacy which appears to have continued during their lives. When the estates of the third viscount Montgomery, and of William Montgomery, author of the *Manuscripts*, were forfeited in 1649, Monro was able to induce Cromwell to allow them to compound on easy terms. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 199.

(23) *Joymount House.*—See p. 76, *supra.* It appears from this statement, and still more distinctly from what is said below, that during Antrim's first imprisonment he was confined in this residence, and not in the castle of Carrickfergus. Joymount House was probably required —at least, to some extent—to do duty as a barracks. The first escape from durance was perhaps more easily effected from this place than from the castle, but it undoubtedly required the management of more than one person to accomplish. Joymount House was originally built by sir Arthur Chichester, and so named by him in honour of his great patron, lord Mountjoy, created earl of Devonshire. (See pp. 196, 197, *supra.*) In 1635 sir Wm. Brereton, who made a tour in some districts of Ulster, describes Joymount as "a verye faire house, or rather like a prince's pallace," containing "a verye faire hall and stately staircase, and a faire dineing roome, carrying the proportion of the hall." "But," observes the same authority, "the windowes and roomes and whole frame of the house is over large and vast; and in this house may you observe the inconvenience of great buildings, which require an unreasonable charge to keep them in repaire, so they are a burthen to the owners of them." When the duke of Ormonde visited Carrickfergus in 1666, the author of the *Montgomery Manuscripts* states (new edition, p. 424) that his grace "was lodged in Joymount House, soe called by ye lord deputy Chichester, who built it, and enclosed with an adjoining garden, on ye ground given to him by ye corporation to that purpose." "The oral history of this place says that it was built by the celebrated Inigo Jones, and was a large building, 112 feet in front, with two wings extending northward the same length, having 365 windows, 52 doors, and 12 chimnies. In front of the chief entrance was a gatehouse with lofty turrets, between which and the main building was a court, from whence was an ascent of a few steps to a fine terrace that extended the entire length of the front, in the centre of which was the hall door. . . . . Some difference taking place between the noble family of Chichester and the inhabitants, the family ceased to reside here about 1724, from which time the building was suffered to go to ruin. In the latter part of 1768 it began to be taken down, and its oak timber was divided amongst those who were attached to the interests of the family; but its marble chimney-pieces and the like valuable articles were taken to Fisherwick Lodge, Staffordshire." (M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, 3rd edition, pp. 119, 120.) The oak timber in Joymount had been cut down and carried away from the townlands of Ballynalessan, Ballykoan, and Ballykarney, in Upper Clannaboy. (*Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 86, *note.*)

he tould mee that Generall Monrow had better he had Inlarged the Lord of Antrim, and that he believed the said Monrow wold repent for Refuseinge, or wordes to that purpose. After that I doe remember one Nandicke came and staied for a tyme, who gave out that he came for my Lord, at which tyme the Lord of Antrim made his escape; this was after the Goodes went; After this I doe remember my Lord was prisoner againe and this Nandicke in his Companey, and my Lord of Antrim kept in the King's castle prisoner, and the said Nandicke was hanged at Carrickfergus; this was at his Lordship's returne out of England.

"Jo: Orpin.

"My Lord of Antrime lyinge at the house of the Lord Chichester in Carrickfergus, in the Natur of a prisoner, under the command of the Inglish Armey, the said Garrison there commanded by one Colonell Venabells, the said Lord of Antrime did continuallie, and at all tymes, yarly and and late, as often as Accasion required, Moneyfast (manifest) himselfe as muche as ever I hard a man to be Royally the King's true and ffaithfull ffrend, and dyd alsoe in thos tymes boldlye vindigal (vindicate) the Kinge Against all his enimeys, in as high a maner as ever I hard any, both in publick and in privatt, both by maney and sundray vowes and prodestations—to say how maney or how often is to say more than my sertivecatt could containe. This is Reall truth, all which my wyffe and selfe are redy to Atest.

"Jo: Orpin.

"Ann Orpin."

Colonel James Macdonnell, who wrote an account of the expedition to Scotland, states (see pp. 76, 77, *supra*) that after Antrim's second escape, he was conducted by lord Chichester's "keeper" as far as Charlemont. This keeper was the servant who took charge of Chichester's house, or as much of it as remained at the disposal of the family, and was most probably, no other than the aforesaid John Orpin. From Charlemont, Antrim proceeded to Kilkenny, and thence to the king once more, still holding himself aloof from the Irish parties, as then represented by the rival chiefs sir Felim Roe and Owen Roe O'Neill. On Antrim's return to the king at Oxford, the earl of Montrose was engaged with Charles in consultation on the subject of raising such a force in Scotland as would compel the covenanters' army to return north of the Tweed, from its invasion of England. The king and Montrose pressed this important matter on Antrim's attention, and received from him assurances of the most willing co-operation. The king granted to him the necessary commission, Antrim entering afterwards into arrangements with Montrose. The original bond between these noblemen, on that memorable occasion, is still preserved among the family papers at Glenarm castle. The following is a correct copy of this document, now printed for the first time:—

"Att Oxfoord, Janūar 28, 1643.

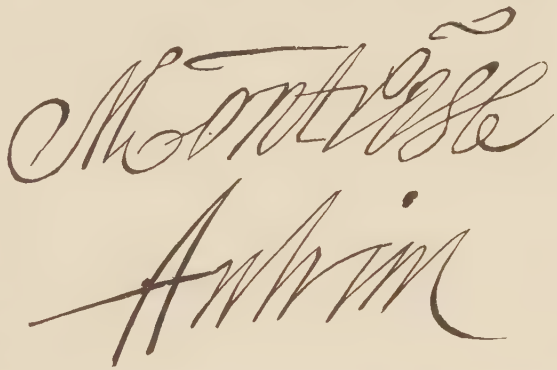
"Agreiment betwix James, Erle of Montrose, his Ma^tis Lieutenant Generall of Scotland, and Randolf Erle of Antrim, his Ma^tis Generall of the Isles and hylands of Scotland.

"That the said Erle of Montrose and the rest of his Ma^tis party in Scotland engaged with him, shall raise forces to the uttmost of their poure for his Ma^tis service, both in the north, in the east, and on the borders of Scotland, and that what poure soever they shall be able to ingage in his Ma^tis service they shall assemble into a body or severall bodyes, as shall be most expedient for his

Ma^tis service, and that they shall therewith declare for his Ma^tie against the rebellious party there, in the latter ende of March nixt ensewinge the dait hereof, and that the first day of Apryll following shall be the uttmost day beyond which they ingage not to defer their appearinge in Armes for the recovery of his Ma^tis just rights within that Kingdome, and for the opposing of any attempt that the rebellious party of that Kingdome shall make upon the Kingdom of Ireland.

"That the said Erle of Antrim on his part, shall, to the utmost of his poure, raise forces in the Eyles of Scotland, as also what forces he can for that purpose, within the kingdome of Ireland, and with the said forces invade the Marquise of Argyles country in Scotland by the latter ende of March enshewinge the dait hereof, and that the first of Apryll nixt shall be the utmost daye beyond which he will not defer the entering the Marquise of Argyles country, ther to endeavour by Armes, as far as in him lyes, the reastablishment of his Ma^tie in his just rights within that kingdome of Scotland, and to oppose any attempt that the rebellious party ther shall make upon the kingdome of Ireland, and to the performance hereof they doe mutuallie ingage ther honors to one another, as witnes our hands and seals, this day and dait aforesaid.

"Agreed in presence of
"George Digbye, (24)
"Ro : Spotswoode, (25)
"Daniell O'Neille." (26)



Armed with the king's commission to raise troops for the service in Scotland, and encouraged by the promised co-operation of Montrose, the earl of Antrim returned to Ireland, and devoted himself to this important movement with unwearied energy. Although he had hitherto stood aloof from the Irish party, he now found that in order to obtain means for equipping and transporting troops to Scotland, it would be necessary to identify himself with the Irish confederates by taking their oath of association, which was a very reasonable one, and to assist in their various aims for national defence and regeneration. The confederacy could not spare men, but they consented (at the urgent demands of Ormonde, who spoke on behalf of the king), to grant Antrim the means of

(24) *George Digbye.*—Son of sir John Digby, created lord Digby of Sherborne in 1618, and earl of Bristol in iu 1622. On his death in 1652 he was succeeded by his son George as second earl of Bristol. The latter died in 1676. He had been secretary of state from 1641 until the expiration of the royal cause in 1650. On his return from exile at the Restoration he had changed his religion, and by becoming a catholic excluded himself from the family estates.

(25) *Ro : Spotswoode.*—This distinguished but unfortunate Scottishman was second son of the archbishop of St. Andrews. For several years he was president of the court of session. Being sent by Charles I. with a commission to Montrose to be governor of Scotland, sir Robert was soon afterwards taken prisoner in the flight after the disastrous battle of Philiphaugh. Although a non-combatant, and surrendering on quarter being asked and given, he was ruthlessly executed by the covenanters. See pp. 103, 104, *supra*, for the *Remonstrance* of the general assembly and the petitions of the four synods of Merse and Teviotdale, Fife, Dumfries, and Galloway, against the sparing of sir Robert Spotiswode and other distinguished royalists.

(26) *Daniell O'Neille.*—Daniel O'Neill was eldest son of Con O'Neill, of Castlereagh. For an account of his family, connexions, career, and death, see *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, pp. 22, 78, 83, 84, 310.

supply and transport for whatever number of men he could himself raise for the expedition. He drew his little force, in all about two thousand, principally from among his own tenantry, but instead of being able to land them on the Scottish coast at the beginning of April, as he had expected, it was the first week in July before the expedition made its appearance at Ardnamurchan. For an account of the difficulties encountered by Antrim from various quarters in thus forwarding the king's service, and also of the prejudices and jealousies in high places he had to surmount, the reader may consult Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, particularly vol iii., pp. 235—300. The results of this movement are already fully enough detailed at pp. 76—112, *supra*.

His zeal in the work of preparing and forwarding that Irish force, which mainly contributed to the wondrous victories of Montrose, was rewarded by his elevation to the dignity of a marquisate, which was conferred upon him by privy seal, dated at Oxford, January 26, 1644. (See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 210.) In the summer of that year, the marquis was rejoined by his wife, the dutchess of Buckingham, whom he had sent to England on their being obliged to leave Maddenstown, early in 1642. On going to England, her grace first visited York, where the court was then held, and afterwards retired to the ancient seat of her fathers, known as Belvoir, which stood on the limits of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire. Secretary Nicholas, when writing to Ormonde from York, on the 11th of July, 1642, says—"My Lady Dutchess of Buckingham was here with the king about ten daies, and is now gone to her house in Leicestershire. She is extream sensible of your Lordship's favour, and in my hearing she hath spoken very much honour of your Lordship to the king and many others." (See Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. iii., p. 89.) Neither she, nor her lord, was ndebted to Ormonde for anything but smooth, hollow professions. In the following year we find lord Digby writing to Ormonde on the 26th of November, thus :—"I am to let your Lordship know that the Dutchess of Buckingham engaged me to move his Majestie in her behalf for the wardship of the Lord Slane, her husband's nephew, (see p. 247, *supra*,) upon such tearmes as may be for his Majesties just profit, wherein his Majesties answer to me was that your Lordship had desired him not to dispose of it till he had heard from your Lordship concerning it. I have thought fit to acquaint your Lordship therewith, to the end that your Lordship may, according as you shall think fit, take the occasion to oblige her grace, or else direct me to persuade her from her pretention." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 215.) Ormonde, being lord-lieutenant, was all-powerful in matters of this nature. His reply, dated Dublin, January 13, 1643, is quite characteristic :—"I have such obligations to my Lady Dutchess of Buckingham, that she can command me in nothing wherein I shall not with any hazard to myself serve her; yet I know not how to advise the granting of the Lord of Slane's wardship to her Lord or his sister, the young Lord's mother (for either of those must, I suppose, be the end of her desiring it) the scandle would be so great and generally taken here. Your Lordship may do me a very noble favour to let me be rightly understood in this particular." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 228.) Digby's reply, in the name of the dutchess is as follows :—"The Dutchess of Buckingham acknowledges herself very much obliged to your Excellence in the business of my Lord Slane's wardship, and thinks your Lordship hath a great deal of reason to avoyd the scandal of passing it to one of his (the marquis of Antrim's) religion. She doth, therefore, desire it may be granted in the name of one Mr. Pearce Moore, an Irish Protestant." (*Ibid.* vol. iii., p. 244.)

(27) The dutchess left Pendennis, a watering-place, on the western side of Falmouth Bay, in the month of July, 1644, and returned to Ireland. (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 344.) There had, probably, been some difficulty in providing a suitable place of residence for her, as all Antrim's own castles then swarmed with hungry Scots. It would seem that Ormonde had volunteered an offer of his vacant castle of Carrick (28) for her grace's temporary accommodation. In a letter, however, which he subsequently addressed to the marquis of Antrim there occurs the following rather equivocal allusion to this matter:—"Mr. (Daniel) O'Neill was in the right when he tould your Lordship I should be glad my Lady Duchesse would make use of my howse; if it were in my absolute power, I could undertake shee should have it; as it is, I can but professe that I should receive great satisfaction that anything which ought to be mine may serve her." The dutchess, however, does not appear to have availed herself of Ormonde's offer, although a in subsequent letter he refers to his "howse Carrick, which I shall think very happy to receive your Lady, to whome I have soe great obligations and desires to be serviceable." Ormonde's letters, from which the foregoing extracts are taken, have been preserved among the family papers at Glenarm castle.

From the time of sending forth the Scottish expedition, in the summer of 1644, until the end of 1646, the marquis of Antrim was almost constantly engaged in efforts to sustain the little Irish army in Scotland, by reinforcements from this country. (29) With this object he addressed several statements, appeals, and remonstrances, to the confederate council, and received an equal number of replies, but the Irish were too much divided amongst themselves, and had become so weakened in consequence, that they were unable to lend any assistance to the king's cause, either in England

(27) *Protestant.*—This is a good illustration of the law of wardship, which, as regarded the Irish catholics, was thoroughly iniquitous and oppressive. The court of wards was a new institution, never known in Ireland until the reign of James I.; and the fact that it was projected by sir William Parsons, and strenuously commended by sir Arthur Chichester, was evidence enough of its insidious and dastardly designs against the native Irish. In the *Remonstrance* of the catholics of Ireland, delivered to the king's commissioners at Trim, March 17, 1642, there is the following comparatively mild allusion to the operation of this outrageous law:—"The heirs of catholic noblemen and other catholics are destroyed in their estates, bred in dissolution and ignorance; their parents' debts unsatisfied, their sisters and younger brothers left wholly unprovided for; the ancient appearing tenures of mesne lands unregarded; estates valid in law, and made for valuable considerations, avoided against law; and the whole land filled with escheators, feudatories, pursuivants, and others, by authority of that court." So early as 1614 the Irish nobility and gentry complained of its very oppressive nature, but Chichester chuckled over it with delight because of its intolerant and proselytising operation. "There is a clause," says he, "in every grant of wardship that the wards should be brought up in the college near Dublin, in English habits and religion." This, he adds, was "the only cause of their grievance in this point"—a pretty fair cause of grievance indeed! See *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i., p. 268; Curry's *Review of the Civil War*, p. 135, and *notes*.

(28) *Carrick.*—This castle, near Carrick-on-Suir, was supposed to be the finest specimen of an Elizabethan house in Ireland. The ruins are described as being worthy alike of the attention of architects and antiquaries. A poet of the sixteenth century, in a complimentary address to Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormonde, refers to this castle as follows:—

"The court of Carrick is a court well fortified,
A court to which numbers of nobility resort;
A court noted for politeness—a court replete with pleasures—
A court thronged with heroes—
A court without torchlight, yet a court illumined—
A court of the lights of wax-tapers.
A plentiful mansion so artistically stuccoed
With sun-light gables and embroidery-covered walls."

—*Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, vol. i., p. 479.

(29) *From this country.*—He had also to some extent other matters on hand, with the view of assisting the royal cause in England. Thus, in November, 1645, we find him writing to sir Edward Hyde that he had "more trouble in getting out his frigates than in procuring them. Is forced to offer his powder for sale to pay the sea-men. Begs permission to sell the ammunition, and the Prince's safe-conduct for both his frigates." To this letter Hyde replies the next day, November 20, that "the prince does not understand how there can be expectation of support from him; nor can he give license to sell the powder, nor can Sir E. Hyde buy it. Suggests that he should bring Sir Nicholas Crisp to them." On the 19th of February following, the prince wrote to the governor of Pendennis castle to take charge of the mili-

or Scotland. (30) From 1646 to the end of 1649, the marquis was employed generally in opposing the disastrous policy of Ormonde, especially as exhibited in the surrender of the Castle in Dublin, and of the government, to parliamentary agents in 1647. Among the family papers preserved at Glenarm castle, there is one containing a summary of the principal events in his public life, from the commencement of the war of 1641, until the coming of Cromwell in 1649. The following is a correct copy of the original, which is here printed for the first time :—

"*Information concerning the Marquis of Antrim his Deportment from Anno* 1641, *untill* 1648 *and* 1649.

"1° In 1641, the Marquis was liveinge in Dublin, or thereabouts, where hee remained untill Aprill, 1642. (31) Att which time he was sent by his Ma^tie^ to the North of Ireland, to draw Maior Generall Monroe to the Kings partie. (32) Alsoe to accommodate the King's Interest with the Irish, (33) and to releeve the Protestants of Colerane, which imployment, with the Observations thereof, will appeare by the Queens Ma^ties^ Certificat, and one from the Maior and Corporation of Colerane, (34) and other places, (35) which were releeved by the Marq : In discharging of which trust the said Marq : was taken prisoner by Monroe, from his house at Dunluce, and carried to Carrickfergus, from thence he escaped to the Marquis of Newcastle's Armey, then in the North of England. (36) See pp. 73, 76, 261, 263, *supra*.

"2d. Immediately after that, upon the Arrivall of the Queens Ma^tie^ att Yorke, (37) the Marq then being there, was by her Ma^tis^ comand againe returned into Ireland, in obedience thereunto, he arrived at Newcastle, (38) in the county of Downe, And was by the said Monroe again taken

tary stores brought there by the marquis of Antrim. On the 17th of April, 1646, lord Antrim wrote to sir E. Hyde, "explaining his inability to lend lord Digby the frigates he asked for. Believes that the Marquis of Ormond and himself will shortly be reconciled. Refers him to Lord Digby for the state of Ireland. Expresses his readiness to serve the prince." On the 26th of Oct. following, the prince of Wales writes to Antrim that he "has been assured of his zeal and merits in the king's service by the Earl of Crawford. Accepts the offer of his services and assistance. Desires him to keep his men in readiness. Captain Alex. Blackader carries this letter." See *Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. i., under *Macdonnell, Randal*.

(30) *Scotland.*—Of the documents abovementioned two are preserved among the papers in Glenarm castle—one headed, *Reasons propounded by the Marquisse of Antrim* to be considered by the *Counsell and Comittee;* the other a favourable reply *By the Generall Assembly of the Confederate Catholiques of Irelande.* See Appendix XIII.

(31) *Aprill*, 1642.—See pp. 257—260, *supra*.

(32) *King's partie.*—The idea of tampering with Monro's allegiance to the covenant is here for the first, and, indeed, the only time, expressed in the Antrim papers. Monro, however, like several other rabid covenanters, and Cromwellians, died a staunch royalist.

(33) *The Irish.*—This object, no doubt, with some other minor considerations, carried him to meet sir Felim O'Neill at Moneymore, on his way to Dunluce, see p. 259, *supra*.

(34) *Colerane.*—It is to be regretted the certificate from the mayor of Coleraine is lost. It probably recorded among other items, the facts that Antrim sent into the town 100 beeves or fat cattle, and 60 loads of corn from his own resources. He also obtained for the townspeople a circuit of three miles round Coleraine on which to graze their cattle.

(35) *Other places.*—Among these was Ballintoy. See p. 63, *supra*.

(36) *England.*—The marquis of Newcastle was son of sir Charles Cavendish of Walbeck in Nottinghamshire, and nephew of the first duke of Devonshire. He was created earl of Newcastle in 1628, and, on the breaking out of the great civil war in England, he seized and held Newcastle for the king, when his majesty had not possession of another sea-port in the kingdom. Newcastle also raised troops, and in conjunction with a few other nobles, held the northern counties at a trifling expense. For this service he was created a marquis in 1643, but after the battle of Marston-Moor in 1644, he quarrelled with prince Rupert and retired abroad, where he spent his days in the cultivation of music, poetry, and horsemanship. In 1664 he was created a duke, and died in 1676. See Nicholl's *Autographs*.

(37) *Att Yorke.*—On this occasion, the queen Henrietta Maria had returned from France, bringing with her considerable stores of arms and ammunition.

(38) *Newcastle.*—Colonel James Macdonnell, in his account of the Scottish expedition, see p. 76, *supra*, states that the earl was seized on the shore, at or near *Green-*

prisoner and carried to Carrickfergus, from whence he again escaped by means of one of the Kings servants and some of the gards, who were by Monroe all hanged by reason of the said escape. (39)

"3d. From thence the Marq: went to Dublin, to the Lords-Justices of Ireland, (40) who then owned the Kings Interest and authority, and received their Comands to his Ma^tie^ at Oxford, in the month of November, 1643.

"4th. The Marquis coming then to Oxford, did waite upon his Ma^tie^, and soone after was comanded by the King to returne into Ireland, with Instructions bye all meanes and wayes to make the Irish serviceable, which he could not doe, nor have any creditt with them untill he did take the oath of Asociation, and become one of their Counsell at Kilkenny; the said Instructions are dated from Oxford, the 20th of January, 1643. (41)

"5th. In which service hee Diverted a considerable number of the Irish from that partie to owne the Kings service, And did imploy them into Scotland, (42) where they did many eminent services, as it appears by his Ma^tis^ Letter of thankes, dated from Charde, 27th Sept: 1644; wherein his Ma^tie^ expresseth his Royall sence thereof, by promising the Marq: such lands as had been wrongfully taken from him. (43)

castle, in the county of Downe, and that Monro himself was in the immediate vicinity. Dr. Reid states, seemingly on the authority of principal Baillie, that major Ballantine seized Antrim, and carried him off to Monro. See Reid, vol. i., p. 408.

(39) *Said escape.*—See pp. 77, 265, 266, *supra*. The only person hanged on account of the earl's *first* escape was the king's servant, whose name was certainly *Nandicke*. *Two* servants carried him, in the disguise of an invalid, to a boat, but only one of them seems to have been executed. The king's servant concerned in his second escape, and three or four others, were "*all hanged by Monro!*" The officer in sir John Clotworthy's regiment, who wrote an account of the events of the war, has the following notice of lord Antrim's *second* escape, the only one of which that writer appears to have had any knowledge:—"He (Antrim) was kept in Carrickfergus castle for a year, by the instigation of old Argyle, then in Scotland, the only man in those days. The Lord of Antrim, at last, by means of some friends in the Town, had a cord sent into him among his Linens, which a man carried to him by the Friendship of an officer of the Garrison, that that night had charge of the Guard and Sentinell on him. (See p. 76, *supra*). He slipt down at a window of the Castle with the Rope in his clothes, with heavy Boots, and made towards the place appointed, where Horses should meet him a mile from the Town. But he missed the Horses; for he that brought the Horses observed not his Instructions as he should, and made no stay at the place appointed, but went into the Town, and the next day was taken with his Horses, and within a few days hanged—his name was Whyte. The earl, missing of Horses at the appointed place, made on in his Boots, not knowing where, through the Mountains, till he arrived under Castle Robin, within a mile of Lisnegarvy, where happily he met next Morning a poor Scollogue, (Irish, *Sgulog*, 'a little withered old man'), with whom he associated himself, and after knowledge of one another, and that my Lord told him who he was, the poor man brought him to a secret place, where he left him till himself went to Lisnegarvy, and bought Bread and Beef, and returned. After my Lord refreshed himself, he went to sleep in a hollow Tree in the Wood till next night, and then the Scollogue guided him to Charlemount, where he made no Stay, but went to Mellifont to my Lord Moore's. The Scollogue he kept till he died, and made much of him; the officer of the garrison who befriended him, left it and followed him, whose kindness and friendship in need he requited, and so he did; the Gentlewoman who washed his Linens and sent in the Cord to him, is living this day (1685), and has £10 a year for Life on that Friendship's account." (*The Warr of Ireland*, pp. 25, 26.) This story of Whyte and the Horses is perhaps the true version of the tradition at Glenarm respecting Maconkey. (See p. 77, *supra*). The 'Gentlewoman' here mentioned as sending in the cord, was no doubt *Ann Orpin*. (See p. 266, *supra*). Spalding represents the officer, Gordon, as carrying in the 'Tows' to Antrim in his breeches. The above account, however, of this transaction, is the more probable.

(40) *Lords-Justices of Ireland.*—The persons who held the office of lord-justices at that period were sir William Parsons and sir John Borlase, both remarkable for their malevolence and enmity to the Irish people. See Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 137; see also p. 65, *supra*.

(41) *January*, 1643.—These 'Instructions' are dated eight days before the bond entered into between Antrim and Montrose, see p. 267, *supra*.

(42) *Into Scotland.*—The Scottish expedition was composed principally of soldiers drawn from among the tenantry of the Antrim estates, although there were several, no doubt, picked up in other quarters.

(43) *From him.*—Colonel James Macdonnell mentions, what could only have been a rumour, that the king had promised to create Antrim *duke of Argyle*, should the Scottish expedition so effectually succeed as to enable him to do so. We here find, however, that after that

"6th. Att the Marquis returne to Oxford, in Anno 1644, his Ma^tie out of a high sence of the Marquis his meritts in those difficult transactions, did create him a Marquis, thereby it appears that his Ma^tie was satisfied that the Marq: his takeing the said oath of Asociation and being of the Irish Counsell was meerely don for the promoting his Ma^tis interest. (44)

"7th. From Oxford after the said Creation, in the beginning of 1645, the Marq: went with Letters from his Ma^tie to the Queen, who was then at St. Jermain's in ffrance, in which jorney he obtained from the Spaniards two ffriggotts, with considerable number of Armes and Ammunition, and there he was courted by the Popes Nuncio (45) to carry him into Ireland, and proffered 1000^lb. for the same, which the Marq: refused, and had thankes from her Ma^tie for soe doeinge. (46)

"8th. And with the Queenes approbation intending back for Ireland to carry more forces for Scotland, hee came to ffalmouth to waite on his now Ma^tie, who having imployment for Armes, did make use of the said Armes, with store of Ammunition, and eight or ten peeces of cannon, and soon after did also make use of both the ffriggotts. (47)

movement had already produced wondrous results, and was expected certainly to win back Scotland to the king, the latter simply thanks Antrim for his services, and promises that the lands wrongfully taken from him by the Campbells would be restored.

(44) *Ma^tis. interest.*—In other words, the king, so far from blaming Antrim for joining the Irish confederacy, when the object of the latter was to raise forces for Scotland, signified his warm approval by conferring on him the title of a marquis, which he did by privy seal, dated Oxford, 26th January, 1644, with the creation of a fee of £40 a year, issuing out of the customs of the port of Coleraine. See Lodge, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 210.

(45) *Pope's Nuncio.*—This was the well-known John Baptist Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, whom the pope sent into Ireland as nuncio-extraordinary. The lamentable divisions among the Irish soon convinced this shrewd ecclesiastic that their efforts for national regeneration were worse than useless. "From time immemorial," says he, "two adverse parties have always existed among the catholics of Ireland. The first are called the 'Old Irish.' They are most numerous in Ulster, where they seem to have their head-quarters; for even the earl of Tyrone placed himself at their head, and maintained a protracted war against Elizabeth. The second may be called the 'Old English,'—a race introduced into Ireland in the reign of Henry II., the fifth king in succession from William the Conqueror; so called to distinguish them from the 'New English,' who have come into the kingdom along with the modern heresy. These parties are opposed to each other principally on the following grounds: the 'old Irish,' entertaining a great aversion for heresy, are also averse to the dominion of England, and have refused, generally speaking, to accept the investiture of church property offered to them since the apostacy of the kings of England from the church. The others, on the contrary, enriched with the spoils of monasteries, and thus bound to the king by obligation, no less than by interest, neither seek nor desire anything but the exaltation of the crown, esteem no laws but those of the realm, are thoroughly English in their feelings, and, from their constant familiarity with heretics, are less jealous of differences of religion." The above extract, from a private report of the nuncio, proves how well he understood the weak point of the Irish people on the great question of nationality.

(46) *Soe doeinge.*—Antrim no doubt felt that the elements of strife were sufficiently numerous already in Ireland, and did not wish to import an additional one. If such was the real cause of his refusal on this occasion, he was not far astray in his conclusions, for Rinuccini and Ormonde very soon divided the luckless confederacy into two hostile camps, known as the *Nuncionists* and *Ormondists*. Although the queen opposed the nuncio's coming to Ireland, he thought it necessary to visit her court then at St. Germains, to confer on the subject of his journey. On Antrim's refusal to carry him, the nuncio purchased a frigate called the *San Pietro*, which he stored with arms and ammunition at Rochelle, and which carried him gallantly through many threatening perils from English cruisers into Kenmare Bay, where he landed on the 21st of October, 1645. On his return to Rome in 1648 he was coldly received by the Pope, who told him that he "had carried himself rashly in Ireland," instead of giving him a cardinal's hat. Rinuccini is said to have died of grief soon afterwards. See Curry's *Review*, p 343.

(47) *The ffriggotts.*—Having by some extraordinary efforts got possession of these ships, Antrim came from Flanders to the prince, afterwards Charles II., then in the west of England. In the *Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii., p. 247, it is recorded that "he (Antrim) came with two good frigates into the port of Falmouth, and offered his service to his royal highness; and having in his frigates a quantity of arms and some ammunition, which he had procured in Flanders for the service of Ireland, most of the arms and ammunition were employed with his consent, for the supply of the troops and garrisons in Cornwall; and the prince made use of one of the frigates to transport his person into Scilly, and from thence to Jersey, without which convenience his highness had been exposed to great difficulties, and could hardly have escaped the hands of his enemies."

9th. After some time the Marquis went from thence to Scotland (being in 1646) by his Maties directions, expecting the kings comeing theither; in hopes thereof, hee put his people in Armes, and kept them in a body upon his owne accoumpt till his Matis comands to laye downe Armes, (48) as it appears by severall letters from his Matie dated Newcastle the 15th & 19th of June, and 29th of July 1646.

"10th. After laying downe Armes in Scotland, about the latter ende of the same yeare, the Marq: went back to Ireland for the purpose to renew the kings service there, and to make himselfe capable to renewe the warres of Scotland, when comanded by his Matie; in order thereto, prevailing with the Earle of Craford (49) to goe into ffrance for his (now) Matis Commission to goe on with the service, which the king did readilye approve of, as appears by his Matie letters from St. Jermains, the 26th of October, 1646. (50)

(48) *Lay down Armes.*—The 'people' thus put into arms by the marquis, and kept in readiness on his own account, were the Irish soldiers under the command of sir Alaster Mac Coll, who had now returned into Argyleshire after the victory of Kilsyth, and were reaping the transient fruits of their labours. Antrim, in the meantime, had really re-possessed himself of his long lost lands, but was only permitted to hold them about the space of twelve months. Instead of his having the honour and pleasure of meeting the king, as he had expected, the hapless monarch, having been besieged in Oxford, secretly escaped, and committed the fatal mistake of giving himself up to the Scottish army at Newark. By way of appeasing the covenanting authorities, whom he had hoped might be more appeasable than the puritanical party in England, he wrote several letters to Antrim and Montrose, beseeching them to lay down their arms and discontinue the struggle, at least for a time. He sent a special messenger to Antrim, who was in Cantire, to explain the trying position in which he (the king) was then placed, and to implore him, for his sake to cease the war and retire from Scotland, This messenger was sir John Leslie, afterwards lord Lindores, whose account of his interview with Antrim, in Cantire, we shall have in a subsequent page. The king's letter to Montrose was thus :—"Wherefore, I renew my former directions, of laying down armes, upon you; desiring you to let Huntly, Crawford, Airlie, Seaforth, and Ogilvie, know that want of time made me now omit to reiterate my former commands to them, intending that this shall serve for all; assuring them and all the rest of my friends, that whensoever God shall enable me, they shall reap the fruits of their loyalty and affection to my service." (See Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 402; *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii., pp. 74—76.) The Scots, when they found that Charles I. would not become what they termed a "covenanted king," handed him back again to his rabid enemies for a consideration of £400,000, and ever since, their nation has been exposed to the reproach of this transaction. The author of the *Lives of the Lindsays* is of opinion that "it was in fact, the crime of a crew of fanaticks on either side, and imputable neither to the one nor the other of the two gallant nations that compose the unity of Great Britain." (See vol. ii., pp. 81—84.) The following is sir James Turner's account of the king's fatal move at this crisis;—"In the summer of the yeare 1646, the king's fate driveing him on to his neere approaching end, he cast himselfe in the Scots armes at Neuarke. There did Earle Lothian as president of the Committee, to his eternall reproach, imperiouslie require his Majesty (before he had either drunke, refreshed, or reposed himself), to command my Lord Bellasis to deliver up Neuarke to the Parliaments forces, to sign the Covenant, to order the establishment of presbiterian government in England and Ireland, and to command James Graham (for so he called Great Montrosse) to lay doune armes; all which the king stoutlie refused, telling him (Lothian) that he who had made him ane Earle had made James Graham a Marques. Barbariously used he was, strong guards put upon him, centinells at all his windows, that he could cast over no letters; and at length Neuarke by his order being given up, he is carried with a very speedie march to Neucastle, where he was well enough guarded." *Memoirs*, p. 41.

(49) *Craford.*—This was Ludovic Lindsay, the sixteenth and last earl of Crawford, of the original line. He was known as the 'Loyal Earl,' being among the earliest to take his stand beside Charles I. in his troubles; this epithet, however, was more probably used to distinguish him from a covenanting cousin who aspired to the title of earl Crawford, during the imprisonment and exile of the former. Wishart describes earl Ludovic as "chief of the most ancient and noble family of the Lindsays, a man renowned for military glory in foreign nations, among the Swedes, Imperialists, and Spaniards." This gallant earl fought side by side with Montrose and sir Alaster Macdonnell, always preferring the post of danger, and never faltering even in the face of appalling difficulties. When that portion of the royalist army under Montrose, in obedience to the request of the king, laid down their arms at Rattray, in Cupar of Angus, on the 31st of July, 1646, earl Crawford was among the first to suggest new plans, and inspire other hopes of their cause. Their object now was the rescue of the king; and whilst Montrose went through Norway to France, Crawford, after visiting the marquis of Antrim to devise plans for a new organisation, went forward to meet Montrose in the presence of the queen, with proposals respecting the great object in view.

(50) *October*, 1646.—The marquis of Antrim remained in Scotland until the end of September, consulting with several royalist leaders on the question of the renewal of the war for the rescue of the king. For this object these

11th. And being raisenge forces for that deseigne, was obstructed by orders from the Irish Councells then at Limbrecke, as appears by those orders dated 27th May, 1646. (51)

"12th. After the obstructing of which designe, the Marquis received letters from the Queene dated 8th of Sept., and 8th of March, 1647, to facilitate and hasten the peace with the Irish, which the Marq : laboured in ; (52) Att which time hee was imployed by the Irish Councell into ffrance, to invite his now Ma^tie into Ireland, where he stayed negotiating that affair till Sept., 1648. (53) And then went back into Ireland, where he lived privately at Wexford and Waterford (the peace being then concluded) until the death of his Lady, in Nov., 1649, (54) which was two months and

leaders had actually pledged themselves to raise an army of 30,000 men, nearly all of which was to be made up as follows:—The marquis of Antrim, in the name of the Clandonnel, 2,000 men; Maclean, 2,000; Macranald, 1,300; Macleod of Harris, 1,200; sir James Macdonnell, 200; the earl of Seaforth; 2,000; the lord Reay, 1,200; the countrie of Athol and Badenoch, 3,000; clan Gregor and Farquharson, 1,200; Grant, 1,000; Clanchattan and Strathearn men, 1,000; the marquis of Huntley, 1,500; the earl of Airlie, 400; the earl of Airth, 700; MacNeill of Barra, 500; Glengarry, 500; the earl of Nithsdale, 1,000; the marquis of Montrose, 1,000; the lord of Dalkeith, 100 horse. The prince, afterwards Charles II., warmly approved of this new proposal, as well he might, and as appeared from his letter to the marquis of Antrim, dated St. Germains, October 26, 1646. Strange to relate, however, the project was coldly received by the queen and her chief councillor, lord Jermyn, who, in a letter to the king, referred in a deprecatory tone to the support required by Montrose in money and Irish troops." They had probably understood from Antrim that the Irish confederacy would not permit him to draw any more men from Ireland. From whatever cause, the project fell to the ground; and the king, after a little effort to save him on the part of some who felt remorse for their own conduct in the sale, was left to perish in the hands of his captors.

(51) *May*, 1646.—This obstructive order appears to have taken the form of a circular, and to have been sent to the mayors of the several shipping-places throughout the country. The copy sent to the mayor of Waterford is still preserved among the family papers at Glenarm castle, and is as follows:—"S^r—Havinge taken into consideracon the present state of the Kingdome, infested on all sides with the strength of a powerful enemy, and findinge it necessarie for our preservation to keepe our soldiers from puttinge themselves into any foraign employment; Wee have thought fitt, and doe pray and require you not to permit any vessel to parte out of your harbour, without our speciall comaund, expressed under our publicke Seale, and bearing date after this our letter. You are not to fayle as you will answere. We rest your loveinge frends—Muskerry, Lucas Dillon, R. Belling, Pat. Darcy, Dan. O'Callaghan. To our loveinge Frend, the Mayor of Waterford, haste, haste, haste."

(52) *Laboured in.*—The grounds on which this peace was to be proclaimed had distracted and divided the two parties known as 'old Irish' and 'old English,' the latter supporting the deceptive and ungrateful policy of Ormonde, whilst the former clung to the Nuncio, who contended that the peace should include freedom of worship for the catholics. Ormonde was able, however, to proclaim the peace on his own plan, but it was resisted by Rinuccini because it made no provision for the exercise of the catholic religion, and by Owen Roe O'Neill, because it contained no stipulation for the restoration of the O'Neills and other Ulster chieftains to their forfeited estates. The marquis of Antrim also highly disapproved of this peace, yet for the king's sake he did not actively oppose it.

(53) *Sept.*, 1648.—Towards the close of the year 1647, the catholics met in Kilkenny, and agreed that, as all access to the captive king was forbidden, they would invite the prince his son to come to Ireland, or even if necessary invoke the aid of some foreign potentate. The commissioners appointed to carry out this resolution were the marquis of Antrim, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Geoffrey Browne.

(54) *Nov.*, 1649.—The dutchess returned to Ireland in 1644, and from that year she seems to have shared pretty generally the unsettled and distressing life of her husband, residing by turns at Kilkenny, Clonmel, Wexford, and finally at Waterford, where she died and was buried. During her last illness, the marquis, who was always a faithful and kind husband, wrote to Ormonde, beseeching him to send the celebrated physician Dr. Ffennell to visit his "good woman," as Antrim was always in the habit of designating the dutchess. Ffennell, who was a leading member of the confederate council, had then little time to look after his numerous patients. For a copy of the following interesting letter from the marquis we are indebted to the kindness of John P. Prendergast, Esq., barrister-at-law, and author of *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland:*

"My Lord,—If I shall now be denied my most earnest request, I shall infalliblie despaire of my poore dyeing good woman's recoverie, who is so low brought that it is passed the skill of thes doctors to healpe her. Be pleased, I beseeche you, for God's sake, and for the love of your owne honour, to command Dr. Ffennell once more steppe hither to give his judgment on her sad condition; and I beseeche your Lordship to enjoyne him some longer stay than he made last, which, I knowe, will be hard to be obtained by reason of other imployments. However, I doe not despaire of your Lordship's clear generositie, but that in this particular and extraordinarie occasion, you will dispense with his affairs. I begg this favour upon my knees, in Papps name, and for her sones sake, which will be of much more force than any argument that can possiblie be alleadged by your Excellencies most affectionate and humble servant, "Antrim.

"Waterford, 26 October, 1649."

The original has the word *Haste* written on the cover,

a halfe after Cromwell's landinge in Ireland; And then being rendered altogether incapable of further service for his Ma^tie, his whole estate being taken from him, was necessitated, with many others of his Ma^tis Loyall subjects to live in Slavery under the usurpers without any foote of his estate. (55)

"13th. Which hee humbly conceives hee never deserved to loose by a Lawfull Authority, and therefore expects the like Justice and Favour from his Ma^tie as the Lord Leef^nt. of Ireland hath, by his certificate, procured to the Lord Dungan, whoe was imployed among the Irish to doe his Ma^tis service. The Marquis, his orders were immediately from his Ma^tie, and Lord Dungans from the Lord Leef^nt, as appears by the attested coppy of the said Certificatt, which hath proved the innocency of Lord Dungan, as his Ma^tis certificat would doe for the Marquis, who stands in danger to be rendered nocent, meerely upon his comployance with the Irish, which was by his Ma^tis directions in order to his service, as is above expressed." (56)

After the death of his dutchess it fared but sadly for a time with her then comparatively isolated lord. His political aims were clear, and had been energetically pursued, but for so far, without any permanent success. He had the penetration to see that the king's quarrel with his subjects could have been best sustained, and might have been soonest decided in Scotland, where the rebellion first began; but false friends could only account for Antrim's zeal in this quarter, by his anxiety to get possession of such Scottish lands as his ancestors had owned, or his father, the first earl, had purchased in 1635. At all events, he was undoubtedly a chief—if not *the* chief conductor of that

and no doubt it brought the eagerly-desired physician, but poor "Papps" was beyond the reach of human skill, and could no longer escape the inexorable grave. The dutchess was buried in Waterford, at least, it is so stated in a reply written by the earl of Anglesey to Castlehaven's *Memoirs* (see p. 258, *supra*), in which the unscrupulous writer says:—"I find that both the marquis of Antrim and the Dutchess were after that deeply engaged in the rebellion, and her Grace liveing and dyeing in the Irish quarters, chose to be buried at Waterford." But although this may be true, her monument is to be seen in Westminster Abbey. On the north side of the tomb of Henry VII. is that of George Villiers, adorned by the effigies of the great duke and his once fascinating dutchess, recumbent on a table supported by eight emblematical figures in gilt brass. This structure answers the purposes of heraldic pomp, even although the ashes of the dutchess rest in an Irish grave. Looking at these silent effigies forcibly recalls the scene of the duke's assassination, as described by sir Dudley Carleton to the queen. "But to return," says he, "to the screeches made at the fatall blow given. The Duchesse of Buckingham and the Countesse of Anglesey came forth into a Gallery, which lookd into the Hall, where they might behold the blood of their deerest Lord gushing from him. Ah! poore Ladies, such were their screechings, teares, and distractions, that I never in my life heard the like before, and hope never to heare the like againe." See also p. 253, *supra*.

(55) *Of his estate.*—Cromwell, the greatest and most remorseless of English freebooters in Ireland, started from London fresh from an awful farce of praying publicly for the success of his own movements, in which exhibition he was assisted by three preachers who followed up his praying by expositions of scripture, in the presence of a multitude assembled at *Whitehall*, to witness the edifying spectacle. Six Flanders mares next swept him down to Milford-Haven, where he embarked. Unfortunately for Ireland, and the interests of humanity in general, he was landed at Ringsend, near Dublin, on the 14th of August, 1649. He was accompanied by a party worthy of such a leader—among whom were Monk, Blake, Ireton, Waller, and Ludlow. To propagate the commonwealth—and the gospel, he brought £200,000, eight regiments of foot, six regiments of cavalry, several troops of dragoons, an immense supply of bibles, and vast stores of *scythes!* The last-mentioned implements were brought to cut down all the growing crops of the Irish, so that hunger and pestilence would hasten their extermination; but should any remain, the bibles were on hand for their comfort and their conversion. Cromwell's horrible code for Ireland completed all his other provisions, and was well planned for the destruction of all such unhappy native Irish as might escape the carnage of his sword, the famine produced by his scythes, and the pollution of his bibles. See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 44, 83, 84; Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 349; Cusack's *Manual of Irish History*, p. 321.

(56) *Above expressed.*—The foregoing 'Information concerning the marquis of Antrim his Deportment from 1642 to 1649,' was evidently drawn up after the restoration, and when he was seeking redress for all his losses and wrongs.

movement, which, for a time, gave the royalists possession of Scotland, and which, had it been properly supported by reinforcements from this country, and a vigorous co-operation on the part of Scottish royalists themselves, would have brought the war to a speedier and happier termination. Antrim's Irish policy, then also so unpopular, is now better understood. His idea was, and indeed it was that of the best Irish politicians of his time, that, as the king, a protestant, was head of the church of England, so the Irish ought to have had an Irish catholic as lord lieutenant, to secure the confidence of the nation, and evoke all its strength in defence of its liberties, even indeed of its life,—so soon to be sacrificed by the ruthless policy of Cromwell. Ormonde, although an able administrator, had no real sympathy for the then oppressed and deplorable condition of the Irish people. That portion of them, known as descendants of the 'Old English,' clung to Ormonde rather than to any leader among the old Irish, and yet Ormonde never did anything but cajole and deceive them:—"'Ormond,' said one, 'will never betray us; he'll never shrinke from us; he is our owne; his intentions are good.' Another said—'Ormond is too Noble to doe so base an Act; it is not his Kinde to do unworthie things.' 'His father and mother,' quoth the third Man, 'were constant true Catholicks.' 'Was not his grandfather,' said the fourth man, 'Walter Earl of Ormond, for his devotion, stiled Walter of the beads and rosarie? Will the child of soe good, soe godly and vertuous progenitours, deceave the confidense wee his countrymen doe place in him? Noe it cannot be.'"(57) (See French's *Historical Works*, 1846, vol. ii., p. 26). Ormonde was well understood by many of the more influential Irish leaders during the negotiations of the peace between the government and the confederacy in 1640; and in the following year an attempt was made to have him removed, and some more trustworthy person appointed in his place. This appears from a letter written by Oliver viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion, from the queen's court at Paris, to the supreme council of the confederate catholics. "After many debates," says the writer, "at our English court, and great expectations that demands should be sent from you thence in full, I find by our Queens Councill that the marquis of Ormond's power to treat with you is, by the going of Mr. Grant from his Matie to his Excellencie, to be renewed, and assurance is by the said councill given to Dr. Tirrell and me by word of mouth, that you shall have Dublin, with all the towns and forts and garriesons in the marquis of Ormonds, and in the English hands, put forthwith into yours; but as for displacing the marquis of Ormond there is no power here for so doing. Yet the said council avers that they will hold his Excellencie no loyal subject if, soon after your being possessed of what is aforesaid, he sues not for surrendering up his place of Lieutenantship." (See Russell's and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, p. 117). Had this arrangement been carried

(57) *Cannot be.*—Ormonde belonged to the Kilcash branch of the Butler family. Its representative, sir Walter Butler, succeeded to the earldoms of Ormonde and Ossory on the death of Thomas earl of Ormonde, in 1614. This earl Walter, grandfather of Ormonde, mentioned above, was a rigid Roman catholic; and Ormonde himself, during his boyhood, was brought up in the principles of the old faith under the care of his mother, lady Thurles. On his mother, indeed, the whole care of her son devolved in 1619, when his father, viscount Thurles, was drowned on a voyage to England. He was soon afterwards declared a ward of the Crown, and placed by James I. under the guardianship of archbishop Abbot, at Lambeth, where, like his contemporary and rival George earl of Kildare, he was brought up in the protestant religion. To the principles of protestantism he adhered through life, although his mother and all his near family connexions remained faithful to catholicism. See a curious letter to Ormonde from the celebrated father Peter Walsh on this religious divergence from his family, in Russell's and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte MSS.*, pp. 103, 104.

out, the marquis of Antrim would have probably been appointed in Ormonde's place, but the latter took good care to frustrate the hopes of the Irish, and at the same time to secure the ruin of Ireland, by surrendering the government and castle of Dublin into the hands of a commission sent by the Parliamentarians, rather than to the keeping of the patriotic Irish party, under the leadership of Owen Roe O'Neill. Ormonde did not fail, when making this base surrender, to make very good terms for himself with the English republicans, having stipulated that he was to receive a large sum from the latter, and also, that his estate, which was heavily encumbered, should not be subject to any debts contracted *before* the outbreak in 1641. (58)

Yet the infatuated Charles I. and his queen, being under the impression that Ormonde could manage best for them in Ireland, sanctioned his re-appointment. Ormonde then actually ventured to take the field himself against those to whom he had surrendered every fort and position a few months previously, but he was so invariably defeated that many believed him to be in connivance with the enemy. The marquis of Antrim saw, as he had expected, that Ormonde neither would, nor could arouse the energies of the nation for the defence even of its own life,—that he was beaten at every point, and that, at the landing of Cromwell, he fled in good time to save himself, leaving the noble, loyal Irish, who had fought under his command, to be butchered in detail by the Cromwellians, who came specially determined on this work. Antrim had done what he could in the king's cause, and for the defence of Ireland against the impending ruin, but now he could do no more. The leading landowners of Ulster, the Hills, the Coles, the Clotworthys, and others, had long previously taken the side of the Cromwellians, and thus saved themselves from forfeiture; but Antrim only aimed at establishing such relations with the republican party as would secure the bare means of subsistence, with the liberty of moving wherever and whenever his own destitute circumstances might require. With this object, in 1648, he opened a correspondence with Cromwell, through the medium of a priest named Crilly, (59) which resulted in some slight alleviation of his sufferings. The Irish confederacy, so long as it existed, gave him a yearly allowance for his services, probably from the date of his taking the oath of association in 1643. We happen to know the amount of this annual stipend from the terms of a bond, dated December 21, 1647, and given by the marquis "to Peter Shee of the city of Kilkenny, alderman, for fifty pounds, to be paid by the Receiver-General, or other public officer in the province of Leinster, out of the yearly pension of one thousand pounds sterling, voted by the General Assembly of Confederate Catholics of Ireland

(58) *In* 1641.—The British officer serving in sir John Clotworthy's regiment speaks of Ormonde's care of himself thus:—"Men of estates of the Irish attributed to the noble duke (Ormonde) that he leaned much to the Cromwellians, and that he got Thirty Thousand Pounds per Annum of Estate then, that he never had before, and most of it from his own name." *The Warr of Ireland*, p. 150.

(59) *Crilly.*—This priest's name is spelled sometimes Crelly, and Kelly. The earl of Clanrickard, writing to Ormonde, in April, 1644, says:—"Lord Antrim hath lately sent dispatches to Court, by a Frier called Crelly, and as I conceive he is an abbot in the North, active in mind and body, questioned for keeping lord Antrim's cousin, if not excommunicated, I leave it to you to make advantage of it." (See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. iii., p. 277.) Probably, Alaster M'Coll, who was generally called lord Antrim's cousin, was under the protection of Crilly from the date of his defeat at Glenmaquinn (see p. 79, *supra*) until his appointment as principal officer of the expedition to Scotland in the summer of 1644. This priest Crilly was no doubt a member of the well-known family of the O'Crillys, formerly herenaghs of the parish of Tamlaght, now called Tamlaght O'Crilly, in the county of Londonderry. The O'Crillys originally came from Connaught, and were a branch of the M'Dermots of Moy Lurg. See *Colton's Visitation of the Diocese of Derry*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 81.

at Kilkenny, twelfth of November, for the maintenance of the marquis, to be levied from the receivers of the respective provinces of this kingdom." See second *Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 226.

When the confederacy ceased to exist, however, this pension, as a matter of course, ceased also, thus leaving Antrim perfectly destitute,—for the revenues of his estate had been hitherto devoured by the Scots, and were thenceforth to be assigned to another class known as adventurers (60) and soldiers. (61) Under these circumstances, Cromwell ordered an allowance of £500 for Antrim's use, which sum was afterwards increased to £800, and was continued until the commonwealth, in its turn, was swept away. For copy of the following treasury warrant issued on this subject, we are indebted to the kindness of John P. Prendergast, Esq., author of the *Cromwellian Settlement* of Ireland :—" Ordered to Randolph, Earl of Antrim, the sum of £238 9s 10d, for his pension for 80 days, commencing 1st of October last, and determining 25 December last, inclusive, according to his former allowance of £800 per annum, and the remaining £50 being so much short of that allowance in the last two months pension paid unto him (after the rate of £500 per Ann., by order of this Board, commencing the 1st of August last and determining the 30th of September following, which sums make together £238 9s 10d, the Council have thought fit to allow unto him for his pension notwithstanding any former order to the contrary), from which time the said marquis of Antrim is to have his pension continued to him after the allowance of £800 per Ann., until further order. Dated 6 January, 1656-7. (See *Treasury Warrants*, p. 66, Record Tower, Dublin castle). The marquis, who wished to visit England, was permitted also to go among his own tenantry to collect, if possible, such funds as might be required to defray the expenses of his journey; and although the Scots had left the estate comparatively desolate, Antrim was able to gather the very respectable sum of £1000. As a crowning favour, he was protected by the government of the commonwealth from arrest for debt, during his temporary sojourn in England, where nearly all his creditors resided,—a boon this, which the grantors stated, was given specially because he had taken no part in the outbreak of 1641, but had mercifully relieved many sufferers in that year. See pp. 73, 74, 257, 238, *supra.*

Thus provided, he retired to England in the December of 1650, carrying with him a letter from the celebrated Cromwellian general Ireton, addressed to the council of state, (62) and

(60) *Adventurers.* — For reducing the Irish and distributing their lands among such persons as should advance money, and thus become adventurers in that work, two millons and a half acres, in the first instance, were assigned and allotted in the following proportions, viz., each adventurer of £200 was to have 1,000 acres in Ulster; of £300, 1,000 acres in Connaught; of £450, 1,000 acres in Munster; and of £600, 1,000 acres in Leinster, according to English measure. Out of such lands there was reserved a yearly quit-rent to the crown of one penny per acre in Ulster, three pence in Connaught, two pence farthing in Munster, and three pence in Leinster. Every adventurer for 1,000 acres in Leinster, 1,500 acres in Munster, 2,000 acres in Connaught, or 3,000 acres in Ulster, had power to erect his lands into a manor, with court baron, court leet, and all the other privileges of a manor, such as fairs, markets, deodands, waifs, and fugitives' goods. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 161, *note.*

(61) *Soldiers.*—Of the forfeited lands in the province of Ulster, the counties of Antrim, Down, and Armagh were charged with sums due to soldiers as arrears of pay, and divided among them and adventurers by lot. The act of settlement afterwards confirmed the lands thus allotted to the soldiers, and possessed by them prior to the 7th of May, 1659, excepting church-lands, or such as had been fraudulently obtained or unfairly measured, or had been decreed by the court of claims to other parties. When the original owners, however, were restored to estates thus occupied by soldiers, the latter were *reprised*, or compensated by the possession of lands equally valuable in other places. See Howard's *Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 190, 193.

(62) *Council of state.*—This celebrated body, which

informing them that the marquis had served their cause in several places, but especially at the town of Ross. (63) The fact was, that he had acted under the impression that of two evils, the Cromwellian party might be more tolerable than the Ormondists in Ireland, the latter having oppressed, and in a great measure uprooted, the native population during many dreary years of heartless misgovernment. He also saw clearly the futility, and even crime, of assisting Ormonde in his ridiculous pretence of opposing Cromwell, after having previously surrendered the government and all the forts to the Cromwellian party. To assist Ormonde could only have had the effect of continuing the slaughter of the native Irish, and so far, therefore, as Antrim could prevent this, he determined to do so. Hence, he withstood Ormonde at Waterford, refusing his forces admittance to that city. Hence, he explained to the Irish the folly of wasting themselves, by following and fighting hopelessly for the brutal Inchiquin. Hence, he prevented the Ulster regiments from undertaking the foolish task of attempting to raise the siege of Finagh, (64) which, at the time, could not, from Ormonde's mismanagement or treachery, have been done. Of all Antrim's acts, however, that which appeared to Ormonde and his friends the most objectionable, was his supplying the Cromwellians with a plain and unvarnished account of the joint-commission given by the king to himself and Ormonde in 1641, to collect and add to the forces which Strafford had prepared for the invasion

superseded the *Committee of Parliament*, was appointed on the 13th of February, 1649, and had its meetings at first in Derby House, Cannon Row, but afterwards in Whitehall. This *first* council of state consisted of the following members, viz., Basil earl of Denbeigh, Edmund earl of Mulgrave, Philip earl of Pembroke, William, earl of Salisbury, William lord Grey of Werke, Henry Rolle, chief-justice of the upper bench; Oliver St. John, chief-justice of the common bench; John Wylde, chief baron of the exchequer; John Bradshaw, sergeant-at-law; Thomas lord Fairfax; Thomas lord Grey of Groby; Oliver Cromwell, Philip Skipton, Henry Martin, Isaac Penington, sir Gilbert Pickering, Rowland Wilson, Anthony Stapeley, sir William Masham, William Heveningham, Bulstrode Whitelock, sir Arthur Haselrig, sir Henry Vane, Dennis Bond, Philip lord Lisle, Alexander Popham, sir John Danvers, sir William Armyne, Valentine Wanton, sir Henry Mildmay, William Purefoy, sir William Constable, John Jones, John Lisle, Edmund Ludlow, Thomas Scott, Cornelius Holland, and Luke Robinson—in all, forty-one members. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 182.

(63) *Town of Ross.*—"Cromwell's forces were not pleased with their winter campaign. The seige of Wexford had been very short, yet they complained already of hardships, and began to mutiny. To quiet them he was forced to promise that the taking of Ross should be the last service he would put them on for that year, assuring them withal that it would be delivered to him without any trouble. He marched from Wexford on the 15th. The Marquis of Ormonde encamped over against Ross on the other side of the river. The governor (of Ross, Sir Lucas Taaffe,) came to his (Ormonde's) camp, and being supplied with all things necessary for his defence, desired an order under the Lord-Lieutenant's hand for the defence of the town as long as it was possible, and for the surrender of it, when it should be adjudged by a council of the chief officers to be untenable. The Council of War thought the request reasonable; the order was given; Sir Lucas returned to his garrison, and the Marquis of Ormonde went part of the way that night to Kilkenny. As he was on his journey early the next morning (October 22) he heard Cromwell's cannon, but had no apprehensions that the town would be so suddenly delivered; as it was within twenty-four hours after the artillery began to play, upon condition that the garrison should march out bag and baggage, and be ferried over into the county of Kilkenny." (Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., p. 95.) Antrim's influence had, no doubt, reconciled sir Lucas Taaffe to the wisdom of thus speedily surrendering, and saving the men, instead of risking another hopeless slaughter, as at certain towns previously besieged. When Cromwell promised his men at Wexford that they would have no trouble in taking the town of Ross, he had probably an understanding with Antrim on the subject. Ross was surrendered to the Cromwellian force on the 22nd of October, 1649.

(64) *Finagh.*—Finagh is a little village on the side of a river which unites the two lakes of Loughsheilen and Loughinny, and divides the two counties of Westmeath and Cavan. The village is on the Westmeath side of the river, over which, between the two lakes, there is a bridge. In the vicinity of Finagh there is a race-course, and the ruins of an old castle. This place is about 48 miles from Dublin. In a skirmish near the bridge, between the Irish and a party of Scotch covenanters, the well-known Malmorra O'Reilly, surnamed the *slasher*, was slain. His kinsmen carried his remains to the old family burying-place, in the Franciscan convent of Cavan, and there raised a monument which represented Ireland as lying vanquished in the same grave with him:—

Lector . Ne . Credas . Solum . Periisse . Milonem
Hoc . nam . sub . Tumulo . Patria . Victa . Jacet

—Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 168.

of Scotland. That commission required Ormonde and Antrim to seize the castle of Dublin, should the lords-justices be found refractory, and as these parties and Ormonde afterwards became sworn brothers, the statements of Antrim, which could not be in any way obviated, or denied, became a standing reproach to the two treacherous parties aforesaid, in their coalition. These plain and truthful statements by Antrim, the reader may see in Appendix XIV.

The friendly consideration with which the Cromwellian authorities had received overtures of submission from the marquis of Antrim, and some other leading catholics, inspired a belief that, on the surrender of the confederate armies in 1650, terms not altogether brutal or oppressive might be obtained from the victors. But this illusion was very quickly and completely dispelled. During the next eighteen months after the surrender, and whilst the expiring agony of the nation was being trodden into the silence of death, discussions respecting the division of the lands among the adventurers and soldiers were vigorously carried on between the council of the Cromwellian army and the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, and also between the committee of parliament and the adventurers. At last, by the time these discussions were closed, in 1653, it was found that war, "the abomination which maketh desolate" had thoroughly done its work, and that Ireland, from shore to shore, lay ready for the occupation of strangers. Accordingly, on the 26th of September in that year, the English parliament passed an act for the new planting of this country with English; all the lands were declared to belong to the two classes known as English adventurers and English soldiers, whilst the residue of the Irish nation that had survived the war,—its remaining nobility, and gentry, and farmers, were doomed to transplant into Connaught before the May morning of 1654. Of the vast spoils thus awaiting distribution, the government took to itself all the towns in Ireland, all the church lands and tithes, together with the four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork. This goodly portion of the plunder was intended to reward the services of eminent advocates of the republican cause, including regicides, and other such worthy agents as could not be safely overlooked or set aside. Provision was next made for the adventurers, who claimed a debt of £360,000; this amount was divided into three lots, the creditors to be satisfied by the possession of lands in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster. The half of each of the following ten counties was set aside for their payment—viz., Antrim, Down, and Armagh, in Ulster; Meath, Westmeath, King's and Queen's counties, in Leinster; Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary, in Munster. Lots were drawn to determine in which of the above ten counties each adventurer was to receive his land—the lots not to exceed in each county the following amount—viz., in Westmeath, £70,000; Tipperary, £60,000; Meath, £55,000; King's and Queen's counties, £40,000 each; Limerick, £30,000; Waterford, £20,000; Antrim, Down, and Armagh, £15,000 each. The adventurers were almost exclusively English dealers and tradespeople, and by way of inspiring them with sufficient courage to settle in Ireland, soldiers were planted on the adjoining lands. These ten counties were surveyed, and lots were drawn to determine what baronies in each county were for the adventurers, and what for the soldiers. The remainder of Ireland, except Connaught, was set apart to pay the *arrears* due to officers and soldiers, amounting to £1,550,000, and also to satisfy debts due for supplies advanced to the English army in Ireland, which debts amounted to £1,750,000. See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 93—95.

Disputes arising, principally among the officers and soldiers, respecting the great differences in quality of the lands assigned to them, it was found that no general survey, such as had already been made, without actual admeasurement, would be sufficient to allay discontent, and meet the difficulties of the case. Hence the celebrated *Down Survey* (65) of forfeited lands in Ireland. In reference to this survey, there is the following passage in Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 204, 205:—"The officers of the army next agreed with the government to join them in contracting with Dr. William Petty, (66) Physician to the Forces, to make accurate maps of the forfeited lands belonging respectively to the government and to the army, in the three several provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Ulster. Connaught was assigned to the Irish, and good maps of most of the lands in that province had been made about fifteen years before, by order of Lord Strafford, when he intended the English plantation there, by which maps the government were enabled to set down the

(65) *Down Survey.*—The *Down* Survey was so called simply to mark its distinction from other preceding surveys, its topographic details being all *laid down* by admeasurement on maps. This is well expressed in a letter from Mr. Weale, in which he says—"Childish as the etymon has always sounded in my ears, I am obliged to admit that the survey obtained its name solely from the continued repetition of the expressions, *by the survey laid down*, laid down by admeasurements, in contradistinction to Worsley's Surveys; the word *down* being so written as often as it occurs in the MS. It must be admitted that the name would have equally applied to the Stafford Survey, which, it is now clear, was also laid down on maps, but for the sake of contrasting Dr. Petty's work by some distinctive cognomen, with the Civil and Gross Surveys. It may also be observed that the name is still used in Ireland among the county surveyors of the old school for any survey laid down on a map, as distinguished from a mere list of areas, which they also call a survey." (Petty's *History of the Down Survey.* Edited by T. A. Larcom; Preface, pp. vii., viii.) "This title, applied to the mapped surveys of the Commonwealth period, is not inappropriate. Petty could not expect them to be called after his own name, as he was but a contractor for about one-half the area (the soldiers' portion) of forfeited lands, the residue being, by an order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, placed under the joint management of the Surveyor-General, Worsley, and Petty. A generic name, therefore, common to both sets of maps, was necessary, and that name was borrowed from the expression that conveys to the mind the operation by which the measurements of the lands in area and form were transferred to paper from the field-books, and that expression was 'laying down.' The name was applied to the maps by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council so early as 1658, and it has been adopted by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and officially retained ever since." Transactions of Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxiv., *Antiquities*, p. 21.

(66) *Dr. William Petty.*—This fortunate physician was born in 1623, and had accumulated a vast fortune when only thirty-six years of age; not, however, by his profession, but by his talented superintendence of the survey of the soldiers' portion of the forfeited lands in Ireland. His coming to this country is thus explained by himself:—"William Petty, Doctor in Physicke, whilst he was Professor of Anatomy in Oxford, and one of the readers of Gresham College, was advised to goe into Ireland in the year 1652, when the war there was near ended, and many endeavours used to regulate, replant, and reduce that country to its former flourishing condition, as a place most wanting such contrivances as tended to the above-mentioned ends, and for which the said Dr. had formerly gained some reputation in the world. Major-Generall Lambert being at that time designed for the government of Ireland, and a favourer of ingeniouse and usefull arts, was pleased to entertain the said Dr. uppon that expedition; but his Lordship being diverted, and Lieutenant-Generall Ffleetwood appointed to go in his stead, the said Dr., having fixed his thoughts uppon that designe for Ireland, found acceptance with the Lord Ffleetwood alsoe, in the quality of physician to the Army, the said Lieutenant-Generall's person, and family." (See Petty's *History of the Down Survey.* Edited by Larcom, p. 1.) Petty, however, soon set about his really intended object—the survey for the soldiers of the lands about to be distributed amongst them. In seven years from the time of his arrival, he had gathered as much of the forfeited lands *to himself* as yielded a yearly revenue of £6,000—a pretty ample provision, considering the value of money at that period. He had picked up choice portions of land in many localities, but from one point on Mangerton mountain, in the county of Kerry, he could see 50,000 of his own acres. He gained enormously, also, by buying up at low rates the Government debentures, given to the common soldiers until the lands could be got divided amongst them. The soldiers, generally speaking, were anxious to return to their families and occupations in England; and, on being disbanded, made haste to get some ready cash for their debentures, and depart from the Irish shores. A law was enacted to forbid the purchase of these debentures at less than eight shillings in the pound; and Dr. Petty was in the habit of boasting that he never bought from the *needy* soldiers, but from the regularly licensed debenture-brokers. He was charged with gathering his immense wealth by corrupt means, and he wrote a long self-defence, entitled *Reflections upon some Persons and Things in Ireland*, in which he ingeniously argues that he would have been a wealthier man had he kept to his original occupation of a doctor, and never set foot in Ireland at all!

transplanted Irish the more readily. It was characteristic of the period, that this great step in perfecting the scheme of plantation was consecrated with all the forms of religion, the articles being signed by Dr. Petty, in the Council Chamber of Dublin Castle, on the 11th of December, 1654, in the presence of many of the chief officers of the army, after a solemn seeking of God, performed by Colonel Tomlinson, for a blessing upon the conclusion of so great a business." (67) For the whole of Prendergast's most interesting account, see pp. 205—220. Appendix XV.

In addition to the four baronies of Kilconway, Glenarm, Carey, and Dunluce, the marquis of Antrim also owned seventeen townlands in the barony of Toome, and every foot of land was swept from him to provide for English adventurers and Cromwellian soldiers. The barony of Dunluce, now divided into upper and lower, excepting the lands then known as the Long Liberties (68) of Coleraine, were given over to about half a dozen adventurers, for a comparatively nominal sum. As much in each of the other baronies as was at the disposal of the commonwealth, together with the Long Liberties was appropriated by the soldiers, the remaining halves being occupied by adventurers. The forfeited lands of Ireland in their several baronies "having been already arranged in a fixed sequence, called a file or string of contiguity, specifying the contents of each townland within the regimental lot, with the lists of the debentures (69) belonging to each troop or company, the com-

(67) *Business.*—Petty despised such sanctimonious tricks of the Cromwellians, being himself a freethinker, and regarding their virulent sects as like maggots in the guts of a commonwealth! They, in turn, looked on him as the very personification of cunning, and blamed him for all their disappointments. "I became," he says, "the Robin-good-fellow and *Oberon* of the whole country. For as heretofore domestic servants in the country, did set on foot the opinion of Robin-good-fellow and the fairies; that when themselves had stolen junkets, they might accuse Robin-good-fellow for it; and when themselves had been revelling at unseasonable hours of the night, they might say the fairies danced; and when by wrapping themselves in white sheets they might go anywhere without opposition or suspicion upon the account of being ghosts or walking spirits. In the same manner, several agents of the army, when they could not give any good account to those that entrusted them, to say Dr. Petty was the cause of the miscarriage, was a ready and credible excuse. If the agent would go from his country quarters to Dublin on free cost, the soldiers must contribute towards it, upon account of getting justice from Dr. Petty there. If the poor soldiers would have their lands set out before necessity compelled them to sell, it was but saying Dr. Petty would not send them a surveyor. If the surveyor do not lay the house and orchard on the right side, the party disappointed need but say, Dr. Petty employs insufficient instruments. When one party hath by good cheare and gratuities biassed a poor fellow, it was a good ground for the other to say, Dr. Petty employs such as take bribes, and perhaps shares with them himself. There be persons who have shown a poor soldier a bog, or other piece of coarse land, telling him that it was the lot set him out by Dr. Petty, and by that means bought the good land, which really was the poor man's at the price of bog." See Petty's *Reflections on Some Persons and Things in Ireland*, 1790, pp. 112—114, *et seq.*

(68) *Long Liberties.*—For a definition of the *Liberties* of Coleraine, see p. 257, *supra.* The lands known as the *Long* Liberties were quite distinct from the former, extending in a northern direction from thence to the sea, and included the following denominations, viz., Carnalbangh, South Rossreagh, North Rossreagh, Tullaghmurry, Cappagh, South Galbally, Mullaghacall, West Galbally, North Galbally, Narr or East Galbally, North Ballyleec, South Ballyleec, Kiltinny, Doweybegg, Lower Kiltinny, Islandverdon, East Ballyemont, West Ballyemont, Little Rosalick, Bigg Rosalick, East Cregtown, West Cregtown, East Ballygellagh, West Ballygellagh, Ballyreagh, Carnanrigg, North Maddybeany, South Maddybeany, the Earl of Antrim's Turf Bogg (170 acres), Island Taserty, Islandflacky, Loagstown, Glenmanus, Machremenagh, Machrebuey, and Ballymakelvenan. These denominations are copied from an old map of the Long Liberties, made by Archibald Stewart about the year 1733. On this map, which was found at Ballymagarry, and brought to Glenarm, the Irish Society's lands (lying in a circuit of three miles around Coleraine, the centre of which circuit is the Diamond), intervene of course between the town and the Long Liberties. The last-named lands are represented on this map as stretching from the Bann eastward as far as the old road to Dunluce from Coleraine, and as intersected by the old road from Coleraine to Portrush. The Society's Turf Bog adjoined that of the earl of Antrim. The Long Liberties were thus bounded on the South by the Society's lands or Liberties, on the North by the sea, on the West by the Bann and sea, and on the East by Portrush, Corrstown, and Islandmore. Archibald Stewart, the maker of this map, surveyed the Antrim estates in 1734, and was surveyor for the Irish Society.

(69) *Debentures.*—The debenture (from debeo) was merely an acknowledgment on the part of the Government of a debt due to each soldier, to be satisfied in land; but it conveyed none, though the land set out for it, in every

missioners for setting out the lands to the particular regiment, proceeded on the day appointed to the place of drawing, generally some town nearest to the chief baronies, and there, in the presence of the officers and soldiers of the regiment, drew the lots for the first barony. They were directed only to draw out one lot at once, and opening it, to read it aloud in the hearing of all persons present, and then to file the lot on the file of that barony, entering the same in their record, fairly and distinctly, before another lot was drawn; and so to proceed, lot by lot, until as many lots were drawn as contained all the number of acres in the barony in the disposal of the Commonwealth, according to the (civil) survey, with a copy of which they came provided. As soon as the lot was drawn, all persons into whose share the barony fell were to deliver up their debentures upon the spot, in order that they might be cancelled; but each man was to receive in exchange a certificate, stating the fact of the debenture having been delivered up, and declaring the amount of arrears in the debenture, and the number of acres to be set out in the barony to satisfy it." (Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 208—211.) The following list of the officers to whom lands were granted, on behalf of themselves and their several companies, in the Antrim estates, is extracted from the *Carte MSS.*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. xliv., p. 284 :—

"The Earle (marquis) of Antrims Lands sett out in ye county of Antrim as followeth :—

	A.	R.	P.
"To Captain Barrington (70) and his company in ye Barony of Kilconway	7315	0	0
"To Capt. Claypoole (71) and his Troop in ye Bar : of Kilconway & Cary	21452	0	0
"To Capt. Sterne (72) and his Comp. in the Bar : of Cary	7055	0	0
"To the particular persons of severall Lotts in ye said Bar :	4003	0	0

case, was familiarly called *a debenture*. As soon as a lot of land was drawn for, all persons into whose shares such lot fell, were required to deliver up their debentures in order that they might be cancelled; but each man was to receive in exchange a certificate, stating the fact of the debenture having been delivered up, and declaring the amount of arrears in the debenture, and the number of acres to be set out to satisfy it. Although such was the legal arrangement to be observed, it was not by any means formally carried out; for although 33,419 debentures were issued by the government of the commonwealth, only 11,804 were returned. The soldiers, or their representatives, thus retained in their hands 21,615, although lands had been given out in satisfaction. "In the interval between the surrender of the principal Irish armies, in 1652, and the perfecting of the scheme for the setting out the lands in Ireland, which was not published till Michaelmas, 1653, the distresses of the men, and even officers, for want of payment of their arrears, became very great. To raise money for their assistance, they were found to be selling their debentures, the poor soldiers' dearly-earned wages, at inconsiderable sums." The act for the satisfaction of adventurers for lands in Ireland and arrears due to the soldiery there, had forbidden, it is true, the sale of debentures until the soldiers were actually in possession of their several allotments, but the prohibition was comparatively unheeded, for soldiers sold, and officers purchased, debentures, in large numbers. "Often the government were obliged to advance money from the treasury on security of the debenture, as in the case of distressed widows of men or officers whose husbands had been killed in the service, often 'slaine by the Toryes,' leaving them a great charge of small children behind." See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 196, 197, 201, 221, 222.

(70) *Barrington.*—Captain Thomas Barrington was one of a number of agents, appointed by the several regiments to look after their interests, in this distribution of lands among the soldiers. (See Petty's *History of the Down Survey*, edited by Larcom, p. 196.) Barrington's company was disbanded in 1653. See *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 216.

(71) *Claypoole.*—This officer was no doubt a kinsman of Cromwell's son-in-law. The ample provision made for him and his troop, as above stated, would imply that he had powerful influence at head-quarters. His troop was disbanded in 1653. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

(72) *Sterne.*—This officer's christian name was either John or Robert. Two brothers, John and Robert Sterne, are named in a grant of lands in the county of Kerry, under the act of settlement, given, no doubt, as a reprise for the loss of lands in county Antrim, when the marquis

	A.	R.	P.
"To Capt. Francklin (73) and his Troope in ye Bar: of Cary, Glenarm, & Antrim	20350	0	0
"To Major Smith (74) and his companie in ye Barronies of Glenarm and Antrim (75) — —	6623	0	0
"To Capt. Galland (76) and his company in ye Bar: of Killconway, and Liberties of Coleraine in ye Co. of Londonderrie — —	7764	3	0
"Totall acres in ye foresaid Barronies —	74563	1	0"

"By his contract, Dr. Petty engaged to mark out upon the map the subdivision of the lands, into so many parcels as might satisfy each man his particular arrears, thus showing each officer's and soldier's particular lot, with an index of their names and position on the map. But this provision was afterwards dispensed with, as the army were not ready to sub-divide at the time of the Survey being taken, and the sub-divisions were only returned by the officers in descriptive lists to

of Antrim was restored to his estates. See *Fifteenth Report of Commissioners on Public Records*, p. 180.

(73) *Francklin.*—Captain Richard Francklin was one of the regimental agents. (See Petty's *History of the Down Survey*, edited by Larcom, pp. 92, 101.) He obtained as a reprise, under the act of settlement, lands in the counties of Wexford and Mayo. See *Fifteenth Report on the Public Records*, p. 209.

(74) *Smith.*—This major Smith was an influential officer, a member of councils of war and committees appointed to arrange all important matters connected with the survey and distribution of the forfeited lands. (See Petty's *History of the Down Survey*, edited by Larcom, pp. 19, 30, 39.) He was also a member of the committee appointed to hear applications from persons unable to transplant to Connaught at the time required by the Act. (*Ibid.*, p. 123.) Among the many individuals named Smith, who obtained grants under the Act of Settlement, we are unable to state where this major Smith got his reprise in compensation for lands lost to him in this county, on the restoration of the marquis of Antrim to his estates, in 1665.

(75) *And Antrim.*—The portions of the barony of Antrim forfeited were the parishes of Skerrie-Racavan, Kells, and Connor.

(76) *Galland.*—Captain John Galland was a regimental agent. (See Petty's *History of the Down Survey*, edited by Larcom, pp. 92, 101, 196.) The lands that fell by lot to him had belonged to sir James Macdonnell of Kilconway, and instead of seeking a reprise elsewhere, Galland remained in occupation of his lot, sir James never being restored to his estate in that locality. The latter received some partial compensation elsewhere, being afterwards permitted to reside in the neighbourhood of the Bann, near Ballymoney, and to retain a small patch of his hereditary lands. (See Appendix VII.) Galland is traditionally reported to have been a Cromwellian of the true type, stern in his political principles, and sternly brave in the assertion of them. According to the act of settlement afterwards passed, an adventurer or soldier known to be opposed on principle to the restoration of Charles II., was required instantly to move off any lands such adventurer or soldier might have acquired by lot, and even without the right, as in other cases, of being reprised. Galland, however, stoutly held by his Cromwellan, or republican doctrines, and there was some serious difficulty in connexion with his case, the particulars of which are unknown, or forgotten. He succeeded in obtaining a grant under the act of settlement, of lands in the parish of Rasharkan, and resided at a place called the *Vow*, near a ferry on the Bann, in that locality. The following are the names of his lands and their extent, as secured to him by the act of settlement in the barony of Kilconway:—Shanaghy, 105 acres; Ardlowman, 102 acres; Tonabrock, 112; Kellins, 195; Rossnashane, 149; Desertdearin, 150; Lisseahan, 131 profitable and 178 unprofitable; Ballycunny, 82; Cultyfehan, 309 profitable and 232 unprofitable; and Eden, 364; enrolled 15th March, 1666. (*Fifteenth Report on Public Records*, pp. 124, 125.) Captain Galland's granddaughter became the wife of the Rev. Robert Haltridge. Mr. and Mrs. Haltridge left an only child, a daughter, who married James M'Peake, Esq., of Ardnacross. By his wife, the latter had issue a son and daughter. His son, Neil M'Peake, married a Miss Adair of Ballymena, and was the founder of a highly respectable family resident in the vicinity of that town. Sir Robert Adair of Ballymena settled certain jointure lands on his wife, Martha Colville, in 1688. His deed of settlement was produced in the course of a lawsuit that arose between lord Mountcashel and William Adair. On the back of the document is written—"This Deed was exhibited to Neal M'Peak, Esqr., at the time of his examination in this cause." Neal M'Peak's signature is affixed. The daughter of James M'Peake, Esq., of Ardnacross, became the wife of William Robinson, Esq., whose son, Dr. Robinson of Ballymoney, was a well-known physician. Dr. Robinson's daughter married a Mr. Taylor of the Laney, near Ballymoney, and one of their children is the present highly-respectable and much-esteemed Dr. Taylor of that place. Dr. Taylor's nephew, the Rev. Mr. Macintosh, is the worthy successor of the late Rev. Dr. Cooke, in the congregation of May Street, Belfast.

the Chancery. These being sent at the Restoration to the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement, they remained amongst the documents they had recourse to, and were destroyed in a great fire that burned down the Council office, where they were then deposited, in the year 1711 —an irreparable loss. Had they been marked in the Down Survey, there would have been seen regiment by regiment, troop by troop, and company by company, encamping almost on the lands they had conquered; for they were thus set down without intervals, and without picking or choosing, the lot of the first regiment ending where the lot of the second regiment began." (Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 205). The burning above mentioned has been naturally the source of much and sincere regret ever since its occurrence. Of authenticated copies of maps, connected with Petty's survey, there exist about fourteen hundred and thirty, two hundred and sixty of which are maps of baronies, the remainder being maps of parishes. Sixty-seven of the baronial maps are burned, some partially and others almost entirely; but one hundred and thirty have escaped the fire. Of the maps of parishes, three hundred and ninety are more or less injured, whilst about seven hundred and eighty have escaped, although the whole lot saved from the fire has suffered sadly from damp, dirt, and careless management. In almost all the damaged maps, the scales are destroyed, with their titles and authentications by Petty. The maps representing the Antrim estates are generally in good preservation, excepting those of the barony and parishes of *Dunluce*, which are "all in detached sheets, the edges burned, being the parts preserved of an original book. The certificate and index are wanting." Besides the barony map of *Cary*, there are six parochial ones preserved. The island of Rathlin was included in the survey, being confiscated in 1641, notwithstanding its isolation. The district around Ballintoy is not in Petty's survey, being what was known as *concealed land*, (77) but Petty discovered it, and took it to himself as a reward of his own patriotic acuteness. His appropriation of these lands was one of the charges brought against him afterwards by his accusers. (See p. 281, *supra;* see also *History of the Down Survey*, edited by Larcom, p. 260). In Dunluce barony, the parishes of Killaghan and Killraghts are mapped on one sheet, the edges of which are all burned off. Curiously enough, the map of Loughguile parish is burned in the *centre*, being thus an exception to the others connected with the same barony of Dunluce. The map of Glenarm barony, together with the maps of six parishes therein, were uninjured by the fire, and remain in a tolerably good state of preservation. The same may also be said of the map of Kilconway barony, and the maps of six parishes in it. The parish of Dunaghy and the Grange of Dundermott are mapped on one sheet. See Mason's *Parochial Survey*, vol. ii., Preface.

(77) *Concealed land.*—This subject is referred to in the act of settlement as follows:—"If any adventurer, or assignee of such, shall neglect to make a return of the lands set out to him, the number of acres profitable or unprofitable, &c., or shall fraudulently return a false certificate, he shall forfeit the rents and profits of such lands for three years—one moity to the king, and the other to defray expenses." . . . "Many have made private settlements of their estates, and many of our protestant subjects having formerly mortgaged their houses and lands unto such as have forfeited the same, have notwithstanding entered upon and kept possession of our right. You are therefore in the best manner you can to make a discovery of all such or any other concealments to our prejudice" *Irish Statutes*, vol. ii., pp. 265, 269.

The following table, stating the amount of lands let out to soldiers, in the several baronies named, is taken from *Transcripts of State Papers, Liber C*, p. 287, Record Tower :—

"*Lands upon ye Transplantation.*

Counties.	Baronies.	Tot. of Acres.	Set out to Souldiers.	Remane surplus.	Set out by private grants.	
	Toome (78).....	2376 2 0	1067 1 20	1309 0 20		
	Antrim (79) ...	5942 1 5	5942 1 15			
		per order	449 0 0	412 0 0		
Antrim...	Kilconway	4460 0 0	23595 0 0			
	Glenarm	24896 0 0	21411 0 0	3485 0 16		Memorandum. In this Barrony 2194 3 32 more than the admeasurement being a discovery of part of Lord Antrim's estate being discovered by Mr. King." (80)
	Carey	20809 0 8	20809 0 8			
	Totall,...	78483 3 31	73277 3 3	52060 0 36		

(78) *Toome.*—Thirty-seven townlands belonging to the marquis of Antrim in this barony, besides some church lands, were confiscated. The following are the names of these subdivisions :—Toome, Moneglash, Ballyallagh, Ballydugman, Mullygan, Ballynasey, Ballygorcan, Ballydonnellan Etragh, Ballinyrod, Ballyderryhollagh, Ballymonick, Ballygarngin, Tullaghbeg, Ballycanullon, Annaghmore, and Ballydrumcullyn. Besides these lands, the church property, situated in the parishes of Drumaul and Macharieochill (now Ahoghill) parishes, barony of Toome, was also confiscated. The denominational names of these lands were Cullysydagh, Drumaule, Tumleagh, Clady, Clowndu, Caryn M'Moyne, Killeene, and Lismorneghan. *Down Survey of Toome Barony.*

(79) *Antrim.*—This barony contained part of the estates of sir Henry O'Neill, also a portion of Charles O'Hara's property, and these, together with the church-lands in the same barony, were confiscated. The property confiscated in the barony of Antrim belonged respectively to Charles O'Hara, the heirs of Henry O'Neill, and the bishop of Down and Connor. O'Hara's lands, in the parish of Kells, were Slat, Crumkill, Ballee, Tullaghgarley, Tamnaghbreck, and Gilgade. The O'Neills' lands, in the parish then called Skerrierocat, were Aughehull, Brackte, Loghcontide, Mogheremully, Ballylige, Gillenecolpagh, Loghbane, Carnekeiran, Tullymore, and Ballymenoch. The church-lands, in the parish of Conner, were Sculooe, Dunany, Carnery, Inshycowan, Cragankell, Connor, Carnecam, Rosse, Cossillnagore, Ballymcgennan, Crewganiffornan, Barnes, Ardry, and Aughlesse. *Down Survey of Antrim Barony.*

(80) *Mr. King.*—This discoverer was Dr. Ralph King, of whom we shall hear more anon. The portion of concealed land which he thus hunted up in the barony of Carey, constituted, perhaps, the only patch which had remained to the owner of all his estates. When Cromwell and his harpies came, they soon snatched even such small boons from their victims. This last robbery left Antrim free to declare that not even one foot of his property then remained to him.

The following Table, taken from the *Carte MSS.*, vol. xliv., p. 285, presents "Adventurers Lotts in ye Barrony of Donluce, where they were by ye Act of king and Parliament to have, for every £100 500 acres Irish measure :—

How the Lotts fell.	Names of those that drew the Lotts being either Adventurers or that brought from them or that dubbled. (81)	The originall Adventurers' money paid.	The 5th part that was added for which the whole summe was dubbled in Land.	The whole summe that was paid.	To what vallue the Land was granted.	The number of acres the originall adventure comes to.	The number of acres the whole summe paid comes to.	The whole number of acres granted for originall and dubblings.
North-East Quarter Number 1	Morris and George Thompson of London Merchants	979 3 8	195 16 4	1175 0 0	2350 0 0	4895 0 0	5875 0 0	11750 0 0
South-East Quarter Number 2	Sr John Clotworthy bought from Andrews.	611 19 9	122 7 11	734 7 6	1168 15 0	3059 0 0	3671 1 0	5843 3 0
	Chas Doe of London sold to Sr John Clotworthy.	375 0 0	75 0 0	450 0 0	900 0 0	1875 0 0	2250 0 0	4500 0 0
South-West Quarter Number 3	John Faries of London, Mercer. John Brookhaven, of London, sold to Erasmus Smith.	437 10 0	87 10 0	525 0 0 600 0 0	650 0 0 600 0 0	2187 2 0	2625 0 0	3250 0 0 3000 0 0
	Nathaniel Overton sold to Henry Overtonne.	26 10 0	5 4 2	31 5 0	62 10 0	130 0 0	156 1 0	312 2 0
North-West Quarter Number 4	John Wood Assignee to James Edwards.	52 1 8	10 8 4	62 10 0	125 0 0	260 0 0	312 2 0	625 0 0
	Summe Tot.	2481 15 11	496 6 9	3678 2 6	5856 5 0	12406 2 0	14890 0 0	29281 8 0

(81) *Dubbled.*—"To explain this affair of the *doubling ordinance*, it must be observed that the English parliament in 1643, being in great streights for want of money to recruit their armies, after a long debate, at last resolved upon this expedient. They passed an ordinance of both Houses proposing the forfeited lands in Ireland for the security of such as should make new advancements of money to them. The execution of this ordinance was referred to a Committee of both Houses, wherein sir J. Clotworthy, a substantial adventurer, and concerned little less than 100l. a year in the doubling, was the *primum mobile*. This ordinance consisted chiefly of two branches. The one was, that whatever Adventurer would advance a fourth part more than his original adventure, should have the whole doubled on accompt, and receive lands for the same (according to the rates and proportions mentioned in the act of 17 Car. I.) as for so much money *bona fide* paid upon the nail. For instance, whoever adventured 1200l. upon his advancing 300l. more, he had 3,000l. allowed him upon account, and for this 3,000l so allowed, received satisfaction in land according to the rates for every respective Province mentioned in the Act. The second branch of the ordinance was, that if any original Adventurer refused to advance a fourth part, as aforesaid, then whatsoever third person would advance it, should reap the same benefit (deducting only the original principal money) that the original Adventurer should have done, had he advanced the aforesaid fourth part. For instance, a third person upon another's adventure of 1,200l. advances 300l., for which he has allowed him upon accompt, 1800l., and for that sum receives 3,000 acres of land in Leinster, or treble that quantity if

Thus, the whole great barony of Dunluce, now upper and lower, with slight exceptions, was held by half a dozen adventurers, and at a merely nominal sum. The expulsion of the marquis of Antrim, and the appropriation of his lands, in the manner so sweepingly and so simply exhibited by the foregoing tables, illustrate the unhappy fate which then befel the catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland, "It cannot," says lord Clarendon, "be imagined, in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, that whole great nation was taken from the just owners and proprietors, and divided among those who had no right to it, but that they had the power to keep it." (*Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii., p. 117.) There was even no such quality as "honour bright" exhibited in this gigantic theft. Of the two classes who thus got almost universal possession of the lands, the adventurers, or lenders of money, were by far the more unscrupulous and insatiable. In satisfying the latter, the greatest abuses, originally, even so early as 1643, had occurred, for these greedy hucksters from the principal towns in England then insisted on having whole baronies set out to them by lump, afterwards employing their own surveyors to make their measurements. (See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 278, 301 ; Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, pp. 387, 388.) In lieu of their own estates, the native landlords were compelled to transplant to Connaught, where each was alloted a small portion of land which their own families were compelled to cultivate, all farm-labourers and artisans being encouraged to remain among the new settlers. Clarendon's account of the transplantation is as follows :—"There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river (the Shannon), and which, by the plague and many massacres, remained almost desolate. Into this space and circuit of land, they (Cromwell and his council) required all the Irish to retire by a certain day, under the penalty of death ; and all who, after that time should be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, might be killed by any body who saw, or met them. The land within this circuit, the most barren in the kingdom, was, out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors, assigned to those of the nation who were enclosed in such porportions as might, with great industry, preserve their lives ; and to those persons from whom they had taken great quantities of land in other provinces, they assigned greater proportions within this precinct. And that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they should all give releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned them, and so they should for ever bar themselves and their heirs from laying claim to their old inheritances." (*Life of Clarendon*, vol. i., p. 116.) In the celebrated Peter Walshe's *Reply to a Person of Quality*, p. 145, he thus refers to the miserable fate of these victims of Cromwellian rapacity :—"These gentlemen were thus transplanted, without cattle to stock the land, without seed to sow, or plough to manure it; without servants, without shelter, without house or cabin to dwell in, or defend them from wolves, or from robbers, or from heat or cold, or other injuries of the air. And the miserable Irish, so transplanted, must not pitch in any place, or fix their dwelling-houses, or take any lands within two miles of the

his lot fell in Ulster. Now, this was in all reason to be deemed a new adventure, which his Majesty was no way concerned to make good, because it was not founded upon the Adventurer's Act in 17 Car. I., but was only an ordinance of Parliament, and no longer binding than whilst the Parliament was sitting." Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 224, 225.

Shannon, four of the sea, or four of Galway, the only city within their precinct; they must not enter this town, or any other corporate or garrisoned place, without particular orders, at their peril, even of being taken by the throat." This Cromwellian act *for settling Ireland*, contemplated nothing short of the extinction of the native race. On the day which required the transplantation to commence, there occurred a scene, "not witnessed in Europe," says the distinguished historian of the Cromwellian settlement, "since the conquest of Spain by the Vandals. Indeed, it is injustice to the Vandals to compare them to the English of 1652, for the Vandals came as strangers and conquerors, in an age of force and barbarism, nor did they banish the people, though they seized and divided their lands by lot; but the English of 1652 were of the same nation as half the chief families in Ireland, and at that time had had the island under their sway for five hundred years." Although the members of the Antrim family were able to find other homes than in Connaught, the marquis and his brother, Alexander Macdonnell, and their kinsman, sir James Macdonnell of Kilconway, had lands assigned to them beyond the Shannon, in lieu of the estates they had lost in their native county.

The marquis of Antrim was married to his second wife, Rose O'Neill, about the year 1653. She was the daughter of sir Henry O'Neill of Shane's castle, and grand-daughter by her mother of sir Francis Stafford, governor of Ulster. (See p. 178, *supra*.) She was great grand-daughter by her father of that sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill, who had usurped, by the connivance of the English, the chieftainship of both upper and lower Clannaboy, during the imprisonment of his uncle, sir Con, and his own elder brother Hugh, the rightful lords of these territories. The treacherous manner in which sir Brian was seized by Essex, at a banquet given by the former in Belfast, has been already mentioned at p. 147, *supra*. Sir Brian MacFelim left two sons, viz., Shane, known better as Shane MacBrian, who succeeded his father at Edenduffcarrick; and Con, better known as Con MacBrian, who became lord of a territory called the Feevagh, situated on the eastern shore of Loughneagh, between Randalstown and Toome. The elder brother, Shane, was twice married; first, to a daughter of sir Arthur Magennis, afterwards viscount Iveagh; and secondly to Anne, daughter of Brian Carragh O'Neill of the Bann. He left five sons, of whom sir Henry was the oldest, the names of the others being Arthur, Felim Dubh, Hugh, and Shane Oge. He also left two daughters, named respectively Mary and Honora. Sir Henry, who married Martha, the daughter of sir Francis Stafford, left three sons, viz., Arthur, Henry, and Conway; and two daughters, viz., Bridget and Rose, the last mentioned being the only sane child in the family. (82)

(82) *The Family.*—See an interesting series of letters on the O'Neill family, written by the late Charles O'Neill, Esq., barrister-at-law, and published in the *Belfast Daily Mercury*. Sir Henry O'Neill was known as an amiable man, and his daughter, the marchioness of Antrim, evidently inherited this most attractive of human qualities—amiability. The following letter from secretary Conway to the Irish deputy, Wentworth, is a somewhat curious and interesting memorial of this son of the Northern Hy-Niall:—

"My Lord,—Although your justice and courtesy be sufficiently manifested in Ireland to make all men know that it is an harder matter for them to temper their Desires to ask fitt things, than to obtain just and convenient Requests; yet this Gentleman, Sir Henry O'Neale, as if he were a Papist, and did think it sauciness to come to the Supreame Power immediately, without an Intercessor, hath desyred mee to be an humble suitor to you, to be pleased hear and put an end to a Difference that he hath with his brother-in-Law, Mr. Stafford. His cause he will best relate himself; for his Person, every one will say he is an honest Man, and I assure you, you will find him *an Israelite in whom there is no Guile.* "Conway and Kilulta.

"London, April 25, 1635." *Strafford's Letters and Dispatches*, vol. i., p. 414.

The period from 1660 to 1665, was perhaps the most anxious and distracting in Antrim's eventful life. In the former year Charles II. was restored to his throne, and the government of the commonwealth under which the marquis enjoyed his little pension had been swept away. He was thus, once more, suddenly deprived of all means of support, except the small annuity of his wife, and he saw that his enemies had got thoroughly the ear of the new king. These enemies, the principal of whom were sir Charles Coote, lord Broghill, sir Audley Mervyn, and sir John Clotworthy, had formed themselves into a convention at Dublin to assist in the restoration of the king, although they had been notoriously opposed to such an event, so long as they were under the impression that it was not likely to occur. They were able, however, to read the signs of the times earlier than most people, and saw that the crisis was really approaching. · It required the exercise of much political cunning and some sagacity, to enable them to declare *early enough*, and yet not *too early*, for the king's restoration. They had been such traitors to both parties, that nothing could have saved them but the tact with which they were able to meet the crisis. Roger Boyle, then known as lord Broghill, afterwards earl of Orrery, had almost committed himself a few months too soon, but he got out of the scrape by writing to secretary Thurlow that he had no intention whatever of "making Ireland a back door to let Charles Stewart into England, and thereby, at one blow to cut up by the roots the precious rights they had been so long contending for." By way of showing his innocence in this matter, he even advocated that a test should be applied to the officers of the army, with a view to turn out all who would not swear to defend the government as it was then established under the protector, Richard Cromwell, and the parliament. (83) As for sir Charles Coote, afterwards created earl of Mountrath, he took an opportunity of sending a secret express to the coming king, with a tender of implicit obedience, and also with many cautions to his princely friend as to the *time* of appearing ; asking also for a commission from him, which he (Coote) might have, to be used for his majesty's service whenever a proper conjuncture would arise. Until that juncture came, however, Coote remained the zealous emissary of the commonwealth. A fitting associate of these men was sir John Clotworthy, afterwards created viscount Massereene, who, although not so cunning, perhaps, as Coote or Boyle, was quite as selfishly opposed to the just claims of his catholic countrymen. As the restoration came to be almost an accomplished fact, the English parliament began to draw up a declaration of oblivion and general pardon for themselves and others, to be signed by the new king on his arrival, or immediately after his being proclaimed. The convention in Ireland were afraid that the Irish might be included in the act of general pardon, and they forthwith dispatched Clotworthy and others to prevent this simple matter of justice. And these emissaries did actually prevent it, although the confederated catholics had fought loyally for the king, whilst Coote, Clotworthy, and their confreres, had deserted him, and had given their most zealous services to the commonwealth. But they were now a powerful party, and their flagrant misrepresentations could not be gainsayed. They were thus not only the means of outlawing the catholics of Ireland, but soon afterwards contrived to have many of the latter proclaimed once more as rebels and traitors. When the restoration came, many of the catholic nobles and gentry whom the commonwealth had imprisoned

(83) *The parliament.*—See *Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery*, by Morrice, his panegyrist and chaplain, as quoted in Curry's *Review*, p. 402.

in Connaught, broke out from their thraldom, determined to resume possession of their own lands. In doing so, the Irish landowners were only following the examples of the same class in England, where the rightful possessors of estates had already retaken their lands from the puritanical usurpers thereof. But the convention in Dublin represented the Irish owners as "robbing, despoiling, and murdering several of the protestants there planted, and others by force entering upon and disquieting the possessions of the adventurers and soldiers, to the great and manifest disturbance of the English plantation; and they desired that a proclamation might be issued to repress these attempts." Charles had no choice but to issue such proclamation, which denounced all as rebels and traitors who endeavoured to get back into their own estates, these unhappy people being imprisoned or driven into exile, whilst the usurpers remained in the enjoyment of their lands, and were thus enabled to choose such representatives for the first parliament of 1661 as confirmed them in their unjust possession. (84)

The marquis of Antrim, being a catholic, stood outside the act of oblivion, although there was not, in his case, the twentieth part to be forgotten or forgiven, of the disloyalty that had been practised by any one of the persons abovementioned. His connexion with the authorities of the commonwealth had been very slight and transient, indeed, compared with theirs. He had made sacrifices for Charles I. and Charles II., and was now an outcast, whereas, they had been the enemies of both, and were now loaded with honours and emoluments. He determined, however, to fight them single-handed—they in the possession of vast estates and sustained by their associates, he in absolute poverty and standing alone. On his going to pay his duty visit to the court, after the restoration, as other loyalists were doing, he found that his enemies—the commissioners of the Irish convention—had been already at work, and had so misrepresented him to Charles II. that the latter not only prevented Antrim's admission to his presence, but ordered him to be imprisoned in the Tower. These commissioners (among whom was sir John Clotworthy, who had got hold of a large portion of Antrim's estates), continued their misrepresentations for several months, during which time the marquis was still held a close prisoner, although the evidence of his guilt which they had confidently promised to produce was not forthcoming. At length, in the month of March, 1661, the marchioness presented a petition to the king, asking his release, and it was arranged that he should be released, lords Moore, Dillon, and Taaffe becoming securities in the sum of £20,000 for his appearance within six weeks after the date of the recognisance. The marquis was commanded, in the meantime, not to appear in the king's presence; whilst the attorney-general was forthwith engaged in the examination of witnesses on the contemplated charges, transmitting copies of the evidence to the lords-justices in Ireland, whither also Antrim was sent for trial. His case was kept on hands for the long space of fourteen months, during which time he had only a small pittance weekly, as the king's prisoner, for his support, the king, at this period, in no way relenting his cruel treatment of the accused, nor interposing on his behalf. From the stories Charles had heard of Antrim's disloyalty and defamation of the memory of Charles I., he confidently expected that certain heinous illustrations of these crimes would soon be brought to light, but what must have been the

(84) *Unjust Possession.*—See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 205, 206, 398; Curry's *Review*, pp. 404—406.

king's astonishment when Antrim presented himself once more in London, boldly to demand the restoration of his estate. The lords-justices had not ventured to transmit any charges whatever against him on the evidence which had been produced. He was accused, indeed, of having mentioned in the presence of colonel Reynolds and the bishop of Clogher, that Charles I. had been implicated in the Irish rebellion, but these persons were not produced as witnesses, and Antrim himself utterly denied having ever stated "that abominable falsehood, and that the laying an aspersion on the late king concerning the Irish rebellion was a baseness so horrid, and so far from his intentions, that it never entered into his thoughts." He was accused also of becoming a rebel in 1643, because he had then joined the catholic confederacy, but he easily made it clear to the lords-justices on what grounds he had become a member of that association. In fact, there was no trial whatever, for there was nothing to be tried.

But this was not enough. He could not have got possession of his estate unless by first proving his innocency; and even then, it would have been impossible to re-enter his lands, because there were no means at that time of getting reprisals for those who would thus have been obliged to remove. The king now began to see the case in its proper light; and although at first he had acted ungratefully and unworthily towards Antrim, he afterwards made amends by his friendly and steady determination to see his grievous and protracted wrongs removed at last. With this view, the king wrote to Ormonde in December, 1662, ordering him, as lord lieutenant, and his council, to prepare and transmit a bill for Antrim's immediate restoration to his estate. The council, however, in reply, was unanimously of opinion that such a bill ought not to be transmitted. On hearing this reply, Antrim immediately presented a petition to the king, of which the following is a correct copy, extracted from *Transcripts of State Papers, Liber E*, pp. 141, 143, Record Tower, Dublin castle, and now printed for the first time :—

"The humble peticon of Randall Marquess of Antrim,

"Sheweth,—That your Maties Petr. being by your late Royall father of ever blessed memorie commanded in ye year 1643 to goe into Ireland, and there to endeavour by all meanes possible to make those of ye Irish then in armes to become serviceable to his Maties Interest, which ye Petr. did to the best of his power, not acting anything in ye management of that trust, but what he had his Maties express directions for, as shall be made appear by missive Letters' Instrucõns, and verball commands from his Matie, and the same known to persons above exception, particularly to your Maties most Royall mother. That your Petr. by undergoing and observing the said commands is like to be debarred from ye Benefitt of his Qualificacon of Innocencie, and consequentlie loose his Estate, because of transaction with ye said Irish Partie, if not prevented by your Maties Certificate for preserving your said Petr. as Lord Dongan is at this time preserved by a Certificate from the Lord Lieutenant of your Kingdome of Ireland, a coppie whereof is hereunto annexed, (85) who employed the said Lord Dongan his father and brother upon the like accompt that your Petr. was employed by your Royall father, so that ye Petr. humblie hopes that your Matie will be pleased in your clemencie and goodness, and if he may be bold to say it, something he conceives you are

(85) *Hereunto annexed.*—See p. 275, *supra;* see also Appendix XVI.

bound in Justice to preserve the Petr. both in his Estate and Reputacõn, seeing what he did was in obedience to the Royall Authoritie, the concernment whereof ever was and shall be dearer to him than his life and fortune, and to have his actions otherwise construed is noe better to him than death itself, he being soe innocent as will appear by the said papers and other proofs, besides the incouragement promised by your most Royall father to the Petr. for restoring him to his ancient estate and inheritance in the Kingdom of Scotland, with divers other marks of favour conferred upon and promised to the Petr., whereby his Service and Deportment did appear acceptable to his Matie, as the Petr. is hopefull will likewise be to your sacred Matie when seriously considered. Your Petrs. most humble request is yt your Royall Matie would be graciously pleased to peruse the above-mentioned missive Letters' Instructions, and hear the persons who can testifie the verball commands given the Petr. by your Royall father. Alsoe to read the coppie of the Certificate given in the behalf of the Lord Dongan, And if your Maties occasions will not allow time to doe the same, That you would be pleased to refer the doeing thereof to such of the Lords of your privie Councell as your Matie shall think fitt, who after serious examinacõn of the premises may give your Matie an exact accompt thereof, with their opinion of the whole matter whereby your Matie may more easilie conceive the way to preserve your Petr. from loosing his estate in Ireland, and allow him that promised in Scotland. And the Petr. as in duty bound shall ever pray," &c.

"Whitehall, Feb. 24, 1662.

"His Matie is graciously pleased to referr the examinacõn of what is alleged in this peticõn unto the Right Honble the Lord High Chancellor of England, (86) his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, (87) the Right Honble the Earl of Northumberland, (88) the Earl of St. Albans, (89)

(86) *Chancellor of England.*—This was Edward Hyde, viscount Cornbury, afterwards created earl of Clarendon. In 1665, John Evelyn speaks of Clarendon House as, "without hyperbole, the best contrived, the most usefull, graceful, and magnificent house in England." In 1683 this mansion and its occupier had passed away. "After dinner," says Evelyn, "I walked to survey the sad demolition of Clarendon House, that costly and sumptuous palace of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, where I have been so often cheerfull with him, and sometimes so sad: happening to make him a visit but the day before he fled from the angry Parliament, accusing him of mal-administration, and being envious at his grandeur, who from a private lawyer came to be father-in-law to the Duke of York, and, as some would suggest, designing his Maties marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, not apt to breed; to this they imputed much of our unhappiness, and that his being sole minister and favourite at his Maties Restauration, neglected to gratify the King's suffering party, preferring those who were the cause of our troubles." Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. i., pp. 560, 561.

(87) *The Duke of Albemarle.*—This was the notorious general Monk, a younger son of sir Thomas Monk of Potheridge, in Devonshire. He betrayed every party with whom he had acted. He deserted the service of Charles I., and, whilst serving under the commonwealth, was more than suspected for being secretly intriguing with Charles II. Cromwell when writing, on one occasion, to Monk in Scotland, added the following remarkable post-script to his letter:—"There be that tell me that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stewart. I pray you, use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me." Monk was the principal agent afterwards in the restoration of Charles II. The latter, on landing at Dover from his exile, embraced Monk and kissed him, and the country loaded him with wealth and honours. He was made master of the horse, a privy councillor, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, a knight of the garter, first lord of the treasury, baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, earl of Torrington, and duke of Albemarle.

(88) *Northumberland.*—Algernon Percy, tenth earl of Northumberland. This nobleman had two magnificent residences in the vicinity of London—one, Suffolk House, remarkable for its fine collection of paintings; the other called Sion, where the council of Charles II. sat during the continnance of the plague in London. John Evelyn says:—"I viewed that seate (Sion) belonging to ye Earl of Northumberland, built out of an old Nunnerie, of stone, and faire enough, but more celebrated for the garden than it deserves." *Memoirs*, vol., p. 379. This earl died in 1668.

(89) *St. Albans.*—The well known Henry lord Jermyn was created earl of St. Albans in 1660. We have the following brief but characteristic notice of him in Evelyn's

and the Lord Hollis, (90) or any three or more of them, who are to call the Petr. before them, and hear him in the contents of his Peticõn, and for the proofs which he will produce for making good the same, and certifie unto his Matie their opinions upon the whole matter, and what they conceive equitable and proper for his Matie to doe for the Petrs. satisfacõn, in order to the restoring him unto his Lands and estate in Ireland, if they find good cause for the same.

"HENRY BENNET."

This distinguished committee of council forthwith met, and having summoned the marquis of Antrim, they patiently heard his statements, and examined his documentary proofs, but reserved their report, until they could hear the reasons on which the council in Ireland based its refusal to transmit the proposed bill. These reasons were forwarded in a letter of the 18th March, enclosing several petitions that had been presented to the lord lieutenant and council in Dublin by the adventurers and soldiers. The Irish council justified their refusal of a bill because "they were informed the Marquis had put in his claim before the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement, and if his innocency were such as he alledged, there was no need for transmitting such a Bill as was desired, and if he were nocent, it consisted not with their duty to his Majesty to transmit such a Bill, as if it should pass into a law, must needs draw a great prejudice upon so many Adventurers and Soldiers, as were alledged to be therein concerned." (See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., p. 281). The main point dwelt upon in the petitions from the adventurers and soldiers was, that they had been for seven or eight years past in peaceable possession of Antrim's estates, and that they would be exposed to grevious inconvenience and loss if they were now compelled to remove! These petitions against Antrim were at first generally presented to the king, but so soon as the petitioners discovered in that quarter a determination to understand the real merits of the case, they afterwards forwarded all their calumnious papers to Ormonde, knowing that he would gladly receive them. Sir John Clotworthy, viscount Massereene, was the manufacturer-in-chief of these petitions, being an extensive adventurer, and having quite a religious horror of papists—especially when they happened to have valuable landed properties. (91)

Memoirs, vol. i., p. 560:—"I went to London to visite the Duchesse of Grafton, a most virtuous and beautifull ladye. Dining with her at my Lord Chamberlaine's, met my Lord St. Albans, now grown so blind that he could not see to take his meate. He has lived a most easy life, in plenty even abroad, whilst the king was a sufferer; he has lost immense sums at play, which yet, at 80 years old, he continues, having one that sits by him to name the spots in the cards He eate and dranke with extraorndinarie appetite. He is a prudent old courtier, and much enriched since his Maties returne." This lord St. Albans, who died in 1683, was supposed to have been married to the queen dowager.

(90) *Lord Hollis.*—Denzil Hollis was second son of John first earl of Clare. In 1661, he was created *Baron* Hollis of Ifield. He was employed in various public offices of trust, among others as Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Breda. He died in 1680.

(91) *Properties.*—Sir John Clotworthy, viscount Massereene, was a zealous presbyterian, and as such, was employed by the convention in Dublin at the time of the re toration to go into England for the purpose of arousing and embittering his co-religionists there, as a means of preventing any attempt on the part of the government towards even the partial restoration of Irish catholics to their estates. The latter had shown a determination to break from their prison enclosures in Connaught, and re-enter their former lands. Referring to the prominent part enacted by Clotworthy in this business, the well-known Dr. French, in his work entitled the *Settlement and Sale of Ireland*, p. 79, says:—"It was also concluded that a man of parts and faction among the Presbyterian party should be employed into England to prepossess the dangers and inconveniences which the restoring of the Irish Natives to their ancient estates would infallibly bring on the new English interest in that Kingdom. In pursuance of these resolutions all the prisons were filled with the Nobility and gentry of that Nation, whom no Imbecillity of age, nor indisposition of body could excuse, nor any offered security answer, for Sir John Clotworthy, a man famous for plundering Somerset House, murdering the king's subjects, and committing many other treasons and horrid crimes, was despatched into England."

The committee of council appears to have heard Antrim's and his opponents' statements with great patience. He produced very many letters of instruction from Charles I. and his queen, in 1643 and 1644, requiring him to treat with the Irish, with a view to bring them back to their allegiance, and to obtain forces from them for the king's service in England and Scotland. The council soon came to a unanimous conclusion that it would be great injustice to punish Antrim for his transactions with the Irish confederates, and also that any mistakes he had made might be well excused, his motives having been so good, and the objects aimed at so desirable. Fortunately for him, Daniel O'Neill was in court—the very man who had been sent with Antrim as his associate and assistant in these affairs, and an unexceptionable witness to his fidelity and zeal. Charles I. had also so highly approved of Antrim's conduct as to advance him to the dignity of a marquis; whilst, on the other hand, his accusers had as yet brought forward no evidence to convict him on this or any other part of his public career. Accordingly, the council had no other course, in common justice, than to certify that they "found him innocent from any malice or rebellious purposes against the Crown, and what he did by way of correspondence and compliance with the Irish, was in order to the service of the late king, and warranted by his instructions and the trust reposed in him, and the benefit thereof accrued to the service of the Crown, and not to the particular advantage of the marquis." This decision of the council was expressed more at large in a letter from the king, counter-signed by sir H. Bennett, to Ormonde and the council of Ireland, who were required to transmit it to the commissioners of claims, "that they might know the judgment of his majesty and the Council of England in this case, and proceed accordingly." (See Appendix XVII.; also Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 181, 182.) The earl of Clarendon, when writing to the duke of Ormonde, July 18, 1662, has the following reference to Antrim's case:—"I know not whether you have yet received the king's letter about my lord Antrim, of whom you know I was never fond. But really upon examination of that whole affair, I know not how he can be destroyed with any shadow and colour of justice; except you have something there against him which we do not know; and then it is as strange, that you have never sent the information to us; for we know the king was not more inclined towards him than law and justice required."

On the first of August, Clarendon writes again as follows, in reply to a communication from Ormonde:—"You make a right judgment of the consequence, that if the king hath done amiss in his testimony and desire, the fault must lie on your Board, for not informing him better. I do assure you, and I think you know, the king hath not been transported with any vehement inclination to preserve the marquis, right or wrong; nor could the extraordinary opportunity of his few (though powerful) friends, have prevailed with the king for that dispatch, if he could in justice longer have refused. After he had been sent to you in Ireland uppon such positive suggestions and undertakings of the Commissioners, could it be imagined he would have been suffered by authority to return hither, if there remained any charge against him? From that time the augmentation was; the Marquis is an innocent man; he hath never done anything but by the king's command, and is ruined purely by obeying the king. It was answered why doth he not make his innocence appear upon his claim? The reply is, his innocence must appear from his being owned and justified; and then they produce your certificate on the behalf of the Lord Dungan, by which alone he is adjudged innocent.

And the Queen asks how the King can refuse the like certificate for the Marquis? When not only all the king's letters are produced, but what else was done, was by her order upon the king's instructions to her. If this be true, and that really he hath done nothing, but in pursuance of the king's Directions, and that the king had the effect of it, and that he never did anything to his Majesty's disservice, how was it possible for the king to deny his testimony? And what justice can there be that this man should be undone after the king's return, and when it is conceived to be in his power to preserve him? Yet upon a supposition, that there was something objected against him, which was unknown to us, the king could not be persuaded to do anything in his behalf; till after long expectation, he received the letter from the Board, in which there was no charge against him, but only a reference of his innocence to the Court of Claims. Then the king could not refuse him his testimony upon the evidence he produced; yet would not direct it to the Commissioners, but to you and the Board: and if the grounds be not true, there can be no conclusion. I am taken here by him to be the only obstructor of his pretences; which I am far from affecting, and desired nothing but that the king might weigh all he did; and I am sure he could do no more for his own information. This is all I can say upon that affair." Ormonde saw that his disgraceful manœuvering against Antrim was nearly at an end. He writes to Daniel O'Neill as follows:— "I am much troubled that my Lord of Antrim's *unskilfullness, or his affectation of the splendour of a victory*, should have put a necessity upon me and the Board to make such a return to the king's letter in his favour as must displease, and perhaps disappoint, him; when by obtaining his Majesties directions to the Commissioners, he might have had his end, and we had been less obliged by our duty to oppose him." But Antrim had nothing to do with the king's act in addressing his letter to Ormonde and the council; indeed had this not been done, Ormonde would have made a long story on the subject. See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 282—283.

Antrim's enemies could not meet the argument of which lord Dungan's case was such an apt illustration. (See p. 275, *supra.*) Ormonde secretly and specially felt its force, but he dared not admit as much in the presence of the party which then ruled with a Cromwellian rod of iron at Dublin. That party literally gnashed with their teeth on catholic landowners, such as the marquis of Antrim, and rather than permit his restoration, many of them would have willingly plunged the country once more in blood. The adventurers and soldiers, besides their religious and political hatred of catholics, were rendered still fiercer in this instance, by the disappointment of their selfish designs, and the Uptons, Rowleys, Clotworthys, and Beresfords, were literally, though not openly, in arms. Ormonde, therefore, had no other course than to continue his opposition, endeavouring to break the force of the argument from lord Dungan's case, by representing it as quite different from that of lord Antrim. The difference, however, only consisted in this, that the Dungans, father and sons, were Ormonde's humble servants, always asking him what they were to do, and when told, doing it. Ormonde also accused Antrim of not corresponding with him more freely and frequently; or rather of not holding any communications with him whatever. To this accusation the great northern lord was not long in furnishing his reply, a rough draft of which has fortunately been preserved among the family papers at Glenarm castle, and which, at the time, must have awakened awkward memories, that Ormonde and his party might have been well pleased to let

sleep. The following is as correct a copy as could be made of the original draft, which appears to have been written hastily, and in the marquis of Antrim's own hand :—

"*Answere to the Lord Leefts. Objections.*

"Whereas, it is objected that I did not at any time coresponde with the Lord Leeftn. in any affaires relateing to the Kingis busines in Ireland, dureing the distempers then there. I shall as followeth offer my resons in answere, Being driven thereunto for my owne vindication—

"After my goeing into Ireland from Oxford in 1644, which was the first beginning of my transactions with the Irish (see p. 271, *supra*), my orders from the late King beinge then to send 2000 men into Scotland, which I did performe, and alsoe to bring 1000 men into England, as appears by his Maties commission, which greate engagement I promised to his Matie my best endeavours to performe, provided I had a sea-port granted mee, to drawe my men together, which his Matie said should be provided, either in the garisons in Munster, or about Dublin; And after the men were sent away into Scotland, I did privatly prevaile with my friends to spare 1000 into England for the Kingis service, to which they did willingly consent; And haveing assurance of their engagements, theareupon I desired my cosen O'Neale (92) to gett me a secure place for shipping my men aboute Dublin, according to his Maties instructions to that purpose, which my cosen did labour to obtaine from the Lord Leeftnt., but he could not prevaile, neither aboute Dublin, nor in any of the garisons in Munster, which prevented mee in that attempte to serve his Matie in that designe. As the Lord Glamorgan (93) was disappointed in the like undertaking of an expedition into England for his Maties service, And faileing therein, it putt an ende to any particular designe I then had for the Kingis advantage to coresponde with the Lord Leefnt. (94)

"Afterwards I went back to Oxford; from thence into Ffrance and Fflanders, at which time I provided two Ffrigotts for the service of Scotland. (95) And returning again from those countreys into England and Ireland, to endeavour the releeveing the Kingis party in Scotland, and haveing arrived in Ireland, I was preparing for my jorney into Scotland, And after I had drawne some forces as far as the castle of Grenagh, (96) I was disapointed of Boates by the Cantyre people in Munster,

(92) *Cosen O'Neale.*—This was Daniel O'Neill (see p. 267, *supra*), who had great influence, or was supposed to have great influence with Ormonde. The marquis of Antrim styles Daniel O'Neill his cousin, but this was a term which generally implied nothing more than relationship, sometimes hardly appreciable. Daniel O'Neill by his mother was a nephew of Owen Roe, the latter was a grand nephew of Hugh earl of Tyrone, and the marquis of Antrim was Tyrone's grandson. The relationship, therefore, between Antrim and Daniel O'Neill was a very slight sort of cousinship. They were both anxious at the time referred to about sending even a small force to the king, but Ormonde appears to have been perfectly helpless in the affair.

(93) *Lord Glamorgan.*—This lord Herbert, earl of Glamorgan, had abundantly proved the sincerity of his wishes (although a Roman catholic), for the stability of the royal cause, by his actually expending £100,000 in raising, equipping, and maintaining a large force for the king during the first year of the great rebellion in England. Among the patents and commissions signed by the king and brought by Glamorgan into Ireland, on his coming in the summer of 1645, there was one appointing him lord lieutenant of Ireland, on the expiration of Ormonde's term of office. When it was known, however, that Glamorgan had come to get better and more tolerant terms for the catholics in the peace soon to be proclaimed, the protestant ascendancy party brought such a pressure on Ormonde, and secretly to Ormonde's delight, that Glamorgan was thrown into prison, and the king so handled as to make him deny his own acts. See Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 274.

(94) *Lord Leefnt.*—In other words, there was nothing that Ormonde could or would do to advance the special object Antrim and Glamorgan had in view—namely, the forwarding of assistance to the king, and therefore Antrim had no particular fancy for writing useless letters to the chief governor.

(95) *Service of Scotland.*—See p. 271, *supra*.

(96) *Castle of Grenagh.*—This castle, of which there are still some ruins, was situated in the barony of Barrymore, county of Cork.

which forced all my men to scatter; And when I was myselfe readye to take shipping, there came an order from such of the Supreame Councell as were allways opposit to my wayes, whose relations and indulgence to the Lord Leefnt. is generally known to all the nation; (97) And then it was intended by the Captaine of the ffort of Passage (98) to take the sailes from my shipps, to stopp my voyage, which forced mee to cutt my cables, being a second cause for mee to suspect that it was a Designe that all service for the King should be endeavoured to be obstructed that should pass through my hands, which hindered mee likewise from having coresponded at that time with the Lord Leefnt.

"Att my returne out of Scotland, I was not long in the country in Ireland, where I was crediblye informed that the Lord Leefnt. was then treating with the Parliament of England, for the surrender of the castle and cittie of Dublin, (99) which was much endeavoured, to my owne knowledge, by all the Irish partye to prevent such a destructive course. It being visible to bee not only the ruine of Ireland, but alsoe one of the cheef encouragements to the Kingis enemies to take away his life; And findinge the same to be true I did forbeare to communicat for the said resons with the Lord Leefnt. (100)

"After being imployed into ffrance with the nowe Lord Clancartie, (101) and Mr. Gefferie

(97) *All the nation.*—Ormonde, from his position and connexions, was able to manipulate the luckless confederacy so as to suit his own ends. The council of the confederacy consisted of twelve members, of whom six were Ormonde's trusty friends. They were, Richard lord Mountgarret, brother to Ormonde's grandmother; Donough lord Muskerry, who married Ormonde's eldest sister; Belling, secretary to the council, and married to Mountgarret's daughter; Dr. Ffennell, Ormonde's physician and personal friend; Patrick Darcy, law-agent and legal authority for Ormonde and his connexions; Geoffry Browne and sir Lucas Dillon, estimable men, but both brought to esteem Ormonde's policy as perfect. Dr. French, referring to this fact, says:—"These wise men were deceived, and wee with them; our repentance is too late, and without remedy, and wee find our error *fatall* and irrevocable; and wee have lived to see Ormond close with our deadly enemys, and himself the greatest enemy of them all." (*Works*, edition of 1846, vol. ii., p. 155.) The members of the council abovenamed invariably opposed and abused Antrim, simply because the latter freely canvassed Ormonde's policy, and frequently pointed out its fatuity, and its deceitfulness towards the catholics.

(98) *Ffort of Passage.*—See p. 80, *supra*. After the surrender of the town of Ross to Cromwell, he ordered a bridge of boats to be placed on the Barrow, which is there a broad stream. Over this temporary bridge he passed his army and cannon, and marched on Passage without delay. The governor therein was a major Townsley, who would not surrender, so Passage was stormed, and its gallant defenders put to the sword.

(99) *Dublin.*—See p. 277, *supra*. The king and council had forbidden Ormonde to treat with the parliament's commissioners on any terms. Yet Ormonde publicly offered to put the king's garrisons into their hands on conditions which Carte, Ormonde's apologist and panegyrist, had previously stated "no protestant could accept, without forfeiting his allegiance." He offered hostages to the parliament for the faithful performance of his proferred services, and actually sent over to England, in March, 1646, as hostages, the earl of Roscommon, colonel Chichester, sir James Ware, and sir Richard Butler, one of his own sons, afterwards earl of Arran. See Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 324.

(100) *Lord Leefnt.*—The opinion here expressed by Antrim, in reference to this ruinous policy of Ormonde, soon came to be the settled conviction even of Ormonde's apologists. Richard Belling himself, who, although a catholic, had been his warmest and most judicious advocate, was compelled to own (*Vindiciæ Cathol. et MSS.*) that this surrender of Dublin, and the other garrisons, did indeed pave the way, not only to the destruction of the people of Ireland, but also to the king's murder in England! Strange, however, that Belling (in common with such partisan writers as Clarendon, Carte, and Hume,) affirms that the king had sent Ormonde private instructions to make the fatal surrender. The letters of Ormonde himself, however, clearly contradict such affirmation, containing, as they do, ample and laboured apologies on the part of the writer for having made the surrender, and representing it as having been done by him "on the presumption that it was more for his majesty's honour and service, and consequently more agreeable to his pleasure, which he had neither means nor time to consult." See Curry's *Review*, p. 334.

(101) *Lord Clancartie.*—The viscount Muskerry, married to Ormonde's sister, had now been raised to the dignity of the earl of Clancarty, but did not advance in his admiration of Ormonde. On this mission, in which he was associated with Antrim, he became jealous and suspicious of the latter, simply because Antrim wished to have Ormonde removed, and some trustworthy person appointed. (See p. 276, *supra*.) But Muskerry, or Clancarty, "seemed sore vexed on his dying

Browne, (102) And uppon our returne from thence backe into Ireland, the Ulster Irish armey, and the best of the Scotch officers of the Kingis partye in the North, invited me thither, and made mee an offer of the forces then in armes, of that Province; And I went to embrace that occasion for the advancement of his Maties service; I then met the Irish bishop of Clogher at Belturbut in the North, with the Lord Leefnts. commission to bee generall of Ulster, which was at a time that his Maties interest in Ireland was in a very low condition, and that command being given to the said bishop, it gave a great occasion of scandall and ruine to the Kingis affaires; uppon which useadge (103) I did then forbeare to corespond with the Lord Leefnt.

"It is aleadged, that by restoreing of mee, it will bring a greate prejudice and inconveniencye, which I can not see how that can bee, seeinge soe few souldiers and adventurers concearned in my estate. (104) This particular I leave to Cap: Ross. (105)

"I will not trouble myselfe to expose the charges of Ireton and Reynolds against mee—that matter will meett with no greate opposission; I leave the answere to you who has all the Papers concearning it; I shall only offer you some heads to answere the Lord Leefnts objections, who interests himselfe in these following particulars:—First, it is imputed to mee that I should reject the Peace in 46. Which undoubtedlie was the act of the Clergie partie (106) before my landing in

bed for having placed trust in Ormonde (an error destructive to his nation), and tould his Excellency (then was the time not to dissemble) the heaviest fear that possest his soul going into another world was for confiding soe much in him, who deceaved them all, and lost his poore country and countrymen." See Dr. French's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 88.

(102) *Browne.*—See p. 298, *supra.* Jeffrey Brown having been a leading member of the catholic confederacy, and employed on certain important missions, his papers were eagerly sought after by Carte, whilst engaged in writing the *Life of Ormonde.* These papers were then in the possession of Browne's grandson, Mr. Jeffrey Browne, of Castle M'Garret, to whom lord Athenry applied, on Carte's behalf, for the loan of the papers. To this application Browne gruffly replied that he had too much business upon his hands of his own, his children's, and his grandchildren's, to take up his time in rummaging among old papers! The well-known Dr. Sheridan, of Dublin, in writing to Carte afterwards, says:—"Mr. Browne confesses he has letters and memoirs for Carte's purpose, but he is such a lazy Irish brute that he refuses to give himself the trouble of a search. They had cost him a whole winter to look over them, and, although he was at that pains, he was not ashamed to own that he never put them in order." See Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, p. 12.

(103) *Which useadge.*—Antrim here refers to another of Ormonde's misdeeds, which was done specially to disappoint and humiliate Antrim himself. Ever or Heber M'Mahon, the luckless catholic bishop of Clogher, was another of Ormonde's political admirers, and, in an evil hour for himself, furiously defended Ormonde at a congregation of catholic archbishops and bishops in December, 1649. In his defence he assailed Antrim in particular, which so delighted Ormonde that he actually appointed this ecclesiastic to be general of the Ulster forces, although the officers had invited Antrim to that post. Ormonde, as lord lieutenant, however, had the right of appointment, which he exercised most unworthly on that occasion. Poor Ever was wounded and taken prisoner at his first (and last) engagement near Enniskillen, and, very soon after ignominiously put to death, by the blood-stained and cruel sir Charles Coote. Referring to Heber M'Mahon's election at Belturbet, the officer in sir John Clotworthy's regiment thus writes:—"To which meeting an Agent, one Mr. Humphrey Galbraith, a minister and a prudent man, was sent by sir George Monro and the Scottish party at Inniskillen, to acquaint them with their inclination and resolution, that, if they would elect the lord of Antrim general, they would join with them in the king's services, and obey his commands; but if they made choice of any else, especially the Bishop, or any Bishop, they would not. On which the Bishop played his game privately with such of the officers and gentry as he thought would keep his secret, and showed them his Commission for being General from the Lord Lieutenant, dated six weeks before, and so made himself Cocksure of the Election by Votes, and seemed as nothing concerned at what the Scottish Agent in public declared. So that when the Voting came on, some voted for the Lord of Antrim, some for Hugh Duff O'Neill, and the rest for the Bishop, being unexpected and much to their dissatisfaction, especially to those who voted for the Lord of Antrim." *Warr of Ireland*, pp. 114, 115.

(104) *In my estate.*—See pp. 283, 284, 287, *supra.*

(105) *Cap: Ross.*—This was probably captain Willian Ross, who obtained a pension of £200 a-year, August 16, 1665. See Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, p. 228.

(106) *Clergie partie.*—This peace of Ormonde's, in 1646, was very properly rejected by the cathplic clergy at Jamestown, because, as they stated, there "was no provision for the Catholic Religion, or safety thereof, nor any

Ireland out of Scotland, as may easilie bee proved, especiallie by the late Kingis letters from Newcastle; But that Peace afterwards was attempted to bee renewed in the Assemblie then sitting in Kilkenny, whither I was come before they were dissolved, but the Clergie power was soe much too strong for the Kingis partie, that all the interest his Matie had then in Ireland was not able by votes or by long speeches to bring again that Peace about.

"And the Lord Leefnt. himselfe, who had the kingis authoritie, and a greate part of his armey in Dublin, under the command of Sr Ffran: Willobey, (107) besides the power and strength hee had amongst the Irish; and alsoe haveing been receaved into the castle and cittie of Kilkenny, yet hee was not able to make good the Peace, nor protect those who had then adhered to him, but uppon the approache of the Northern armey under Owen Roes command, and by some horse of Thomas, hee was forced to fly out of Kilkenny castle to Dublin, and leave all things in greater disorder than hee found it before his coming thither; (108) and those called the sufferers, and are now of the thirtie six restorable in his Maties Declaration, wer after ther release forced to complye; and more than they I did not. (109)

respect had for the preservation of the kingdom's privileges, as were promised in the oath of Association; but, to the contrary, all remitted and referred to the King's will and pleasure, from whome, (as the case stands at present with his Majestie) noe certaintie of things can be had or expected. Yet in the meantime all the armes, armies, fortifications, even the very Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks are, and is to be, subjected to the authoritie and rule of his Majestie's Councel of State, and protestant officers; from whome that wee may be safe and secure, wee have taken that oath." On this question Dr. French says:—"What then did he (Ormonde) intend by intruding this peace upon us? What other but to cheat and deceave us by getting from us upon consideration of such a peace (as in effect he did) all our forts, citties, towns, armes, armies, and nauvy under his owne commande, and by dissolving our association and government. Was not this a handsome trick and plott for undoeing us by taking away all our defence for noe other consideration than that of those plaistred articles, perfected without any commission (for Ormonde's commission had been actually revoked at this crisis) that could, and lightly would, be disavowed in parliament by his Majestie, as concluded without his authoritie, and consequentlie wee could gain noe grace or pardon by them." *Works*, vol. ii., pp. 56, 57.

(107) *Sr Ffran: Willobey.*—For references to this officer, see Strafford's *Letters and Despatches*, vol. ii., pp. 333, 346, 349, 352, 353.

(108) *Coming thither.*—The clergy, who had met at Jamestown, in order to prevent the acceptance by the nation of this deceitful peace which Ormonde had induced a large party in the confederate assembly to assist him in having passed, issued their excommunication against all who would support it, or fight for it. This had the effect of drawing off numbers of the common soldiers, and it so frightened general Preston and his officers, who had already submitted to and proclaimed the peace at the head of his army, that he and all his men went over to the side of the clergy. Besides the fear of excommunication, they reasonably felt outraged at the failure of their commissioners to insist at least on the public exercise of their religion, or their right to enjoy freedom of public worship. But yet, all the confederate nobility and gentry being the descendants of the old English, and even all the old bishops and regulars appear to have been content, and Ormonde was actually invited to Kilkenny, his simple presence being represented by a majority of the confederates as likely to remove the cause, or suppress the effect of the clergy's discontent. On his going to Kilkenny he was received joyfully, as he himself stated, but he discovered evidences of discontent throughout the country which thoroughly frightened him. He also heard that Owen Roe O'Neill was approaching with his Ulster forces to cut off his return, so without waiting for any additional demonstrations of delight in Kilkenny, he beat a very hasty retreat towards the metropolis. He need not, therefore, have made such serious objections to Antrim for not being able to rule the ecclesiastical storm, when he, having the command of all the king's and confederates' forces, was swept away before its violence. Dr. French remarks:—"He (Ormonde) trembled with feare where there was no occasion of feare; however since this greate man departed to Dublin, he fostered an inveterate odium against the Bishops and Cleargy, swearing and protesting he will be avenged of that stinking crew (soe he is heard to call them); which is an unusual forme of speech to an intire, and of an intire body of Bishops, vertuous, learned, and honourable men (diverse of them being noblie descended). If this bee, I say, a language beseeming a noble man of Ormond's qualitie, or rather the language of a rash, profane, and insolent person, let any discreet man judge." *Works*, vol. ii., p. 68.

(109) *I did not.*—In other words, these thirty-six favoured people, since restored to their estates, had thought it necessary, no less or more than Antrim, to bow to the clergy's decision. These restored persons to whom Antrim refers were—the earl of Clanrickard, the earl of Westmeath, the earl of Fingal, the earl of Clancartie, viscount Gormanstown, viscount Mountgarret, viscount Dillon, viscount Taaffe, viscount Ikerryn, viscount Netterville, viscount Galmoy, viscount Mayo, baron Dun-

"And at that conjuncture of time it was necessarie in order to the kingis service to comply outwardlye with the Clergie, when in effect I could not obstruct the streame of their violence; And how was it consistent with my Designes then to procure considerable supplyes for Scotland, without I, with the rest of the kingis partie, had then complyed with the prevalent Clergie, by which meane, I procured an order to raise 5000 men for Scotland and £5000 for the expences of that charge, as appears by a coppie of this attested Paper out of the Book of Records of Kilkenny; (110) Haveing prevailed therein, I persuaded the Earle of Crawford (111) to goe first to the Queene into Ffrance, as may appeare by the nowe kingis letter, being then Prince; And afterwards I dispatched one Mr. James Boyd (112) for new commissions to her Matie and the nowe king; And at that time an occasion happened that must manifest that I did not joyne with the Nuncio (113) or his Interest, who did strive with all his power to have Prestons command taken from him, to have it united to Owen Roes forces, which designe I did maynlie oppose, whereby Preston kept his owne place, which was afterwards a greate cause to lessen the Clergie power and their interest; And most of my time after that Assemblie, I retyred to Waterford. (114)

"And it is further objected that I should say that none of the Ulster men should goe into England as part of the ayde which the kingdom was obliged to send upon the conclusion of the Peace; I suppose all the nation knew how little kindness was between Owen Roe and mee, and how little power I had with his partie, who often foyled and slighted mee, and all my undertakings with them for the kingis service. (115) It is strange that all Ireland being then in armes could not make up that proportion of men allotted uppon Ulster, if they should still have continued refractory, rather than soe great a prejudice should happen to the kingis affaires, but this is as likelie to be true as all other informations of those who enjoy my estate and other loyall subjects in Ireland: It were unpardonable in men to obstruct such a designe, who have had my breeding from my youth under the late king, and who suffered two years hard

boyne, baron Trimletstown, baron Dunsany, baron Upper Ossory, baron of Athenry, baron of Strabane, colonel Richard Butler, sir Geo. Hamilton, baronet, sir R. Barnwell, baronet, sir Redmond Everhard, baronet, sir Valentine Brown, sir Thomas Sherlock, sir Dermod O'Shaughnessy, sir Daniel O'Bryan, col. C. O'Bryan, Mr. Richard Belling, Richard Lane, Esq., Mr. Edmund Fitzgerald, Mr. Thomas Butler, Mr. — Macnamara, Mr. David Powre, Mr. D. O'Callaghan, Mr. James Coppinger, Mr. George Fitzgerald, Mr. Bernard Talbot, Mr. Conly Geoghegan. See *Act of Settlement*, clause xxv.

(110) *Of Kilkenny.*—The paper abovenamed is not preserved at Glenarm castle.

(111) *Crawford.*—See p. 273, *supra.*

(112) *Mr. James Boyd.*—There were many respectable families of this surname in the Route, to one of which, probably, this gentleman belonged, but we have not found any clue by which to identify him.

(113) *The Nuncio.*—For references to this ecclesiastic's coming to Ireland and return to Italy, see pp. 272, 274, *supra.*

(114) *Waterford.*—Antrim takes some credit to himself for assisting to prevent this junction of the forces of Preston and Owen Roe, under the sole leadership of the latter. Ormonde dreaded this contingency, which was feared also by all the old English catholics. Antrim and Owen Roe appear to have disliked each other, and the former, on this account principally, had used his influence in preventing any accession of strength to his opponent. Lord Digby, writing to Ormonde on the 13th of October, 1646, says:—"Preston will not join O'Nial, but hath sent me word, that if he may have but any reasonable assurance of what was offered concerning the security of religion, he will obey the marquis of Ormond entirely, and join all his forces against O'Nial's; besides the hatred of the generals, their men have a greater animosity, one against another, than those of Dublin have against either." Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. iii., p. 505.

(115) *King's service.*—Owen Roe, and the Ormondists of the confederacy appear to have agreed only in one point—the preventing of Antrim from getting any men forwarded for the assistance of the king either in England or Scotland. Hence the urgent prohibition addressed to mayors of seaport towns, see p. 274, *supra*; and hence also the threat of having the cables of Antrim's ships 'cut'—a threat which appears to have satisfied him that any further efforts in the same direction were fruitless. Owen Roe dreaded that Ireland might be left too bare of soldiers.

imprisonment under the Scots in Ireland (116), besides the loss of my whole fortune these three and twentie yeares past (117), which I could certainlie never hope to recover but by the kingis meanes and favour, notwithstanding all which (and whether it be consistent with my preservation that I should wittengly obstruct the kingis service, as is aleadged) I leave you to judge.

"It is further objected that I tooke the oath of Association, (118) but not in the first week or month of the Rebellion, as some have don who are nowe by the kingis favour quietlie in possession of their whole estats, (119) and of more than ever was their owne, (none haveing commission from his Matie for soe doeinge); three years after the rebellion broake out I was directed into Ireland when the whole partie of the confederats concluded association with his Matie, (120) but in case I should have taken it, I acknowledge I would not scruple it, nor the covenant (121) upon such a strait as the king was in at that time; but grant I had taken it, I suppose that all indifferent persons, who after peruseinge my instructions and letters from his late Matie will acknowledge that I had as much warrant to improve my owne interest with the Irish for the kingis advantage as the nowe Lord Leefnt had to treat with the longe Parliament commissioners to surrender up Dublin, and consequentlie the whole kingdom of Ireland, and not only to put the castle, cittie, and countrie into their hands, But to take a considerable sum of money before he would conclude that treaty, (122) which

(116) *In Ireland.*—See pp. 73, 261, *supra.*

(117) *Years past.*—Or from 1641 until the time of writing the above statement.

(118) *Oath of Association.*—The following was the oath of confederacy or association so often referred to:—"I do, in the presence of Almighty God, and all the saints and angels in heaven, promise, vow, swear, and protest, to maintain and defend, so far as I may, with my life, power, and estate, the public and free exercise of the true Roman Catholic religion, against all persons that shall oppose the same. I further swear, that I will bear faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord King Charles, his heirs and successors; and that I will defend him and them, as far as I may, with my life, power, and estate, against all such persons as shall attempt anything against their royal persons, honours, estates, and dignities; and against all such as shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their royal prerogatives, or do any act or acts contrary to the regal government; as also the power and privileges of parliament, or the lawful rights and privileges of the subject; and every person that makes this vow, oath, and protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty, and estate, all such as shall, either by force. practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise, do attempt anything to the contrary of any article, clause, or anything in this article, clause, or anything in this present vow, oath, or protestation—so help me God." See Borlase's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 74.

(119) *Whole estats.*—The marquis here refers to the thirty-six restored nobility and gentry whose names are given at p. 301, *supra.*

(120) *With his Matie.*—This refers to the cessation agreed upon between the king and the Irish Confederacy (see p. 79, *supra*).

(121) *The covenant.*—Antrim here affirms that in the interests of the king, he would have even accepted the Solemn League and Covenant, which aimed at, "without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever might be considered contrary to sound doctrine." Many people then took or refused the Covenant, simply as the political necessities of their several parties dictated. Of this fact, the following hitherto unprinted paper supplies curious evidence :—

"24° April, 1645,
Att ye Comitee of ye house
Of Comons for Examinācons.

"These are to certifye that ye Gents whose names are hereunder written, have before this Comitee taken and subscribed ye Vow and Covenant and shewen sufficient certificate of theire takeinge ye nacōnall Covenant. Laur: Whitaker, Roger Lo: Broghill, Sr. Hardres Waller, Sr. Arthur Loftus, Captain Ffran: Speene, Mr. Thomas Bettsworth, Sr. Charles Coote, Sr. Ffran: Hamilton, Sr. Wm. Cole, Michael Beresford, Walter Loftus Lieut. Coll., Lieut. Coll. Wingfield, Sr. Percy Smith, Mr. James Trail, Mr. John Davis, Mr. Wm. Dobbins." (*Carte MSS.*, vol. xiv., p. 244.) Several of the abovenamed, although thus subscribing to the Solemn League and Covenant, afterwards belonged to the party who voted for its being burned by the common hangman on the restoration of Charles II.!

(122) *That treaty.*—Antrim returns again to this sore point in Ormonde's career. The latter received for his treachery of surrendering the castle, city, and government to the parliamentarians, the sum of £5000 in hand, with the allowance of £2000 per annum for five years, until he could receive this amount at least out of his estate. He was then virtually kicked out of the castle, the commissioners not allowing either him or his lady to remain even until a servant could arrive with money for the discharge of some pressing debts in Dublin. In this style did he deliver up the king's authority to a party, who soon

was done by a warrant or allowance from his late Matie. And now I desire all men to judge of both these particulars, and if any uninterested person will looke indifferentlie uppon my correspondence and actings with the Irish None of them had ever a commission from the late king to joyne with the Irish and his Maties thankes in a letter for so doeinge, which are readie to bee produced for mee, which of either passage has proved more destructive to the kingis safetie and interest, or more criminall in point of breach of trust according to our instructions. (123)

"Concearning the peace of '48, it is evident that none of anie persons considerable in all Ireland opposed it but the Ulster partie, who submitted at last, (124) and for my own particular, I lived then privatlie at Wexford; By the nowe Lord Leefnts. orders, and petitions of mine it shall appeare that there was noe question then made of my submitting to that peace. Directions was sent the maior and governour of Coulraine, to deliver that towne into my hands, as the parties certificats will prove, and in further proof thereof the nowe Lord Leefnt sent Sr Edmond Butler to mee, who was at Wexford, to interpose with the Irish to make them fall off from the Ulster partie, which I did endeavour to doe but failed therein, yet I prevailed with them to consent to association, of which the Lord Leefnt. approved, on whom I waited at Kilkenny with an account of that particular. The Nuncio at the time was reduced to nothing, who retyred to Galway; (125) and I returned to Wexford where I stayed privatlie, and shortlye after my wife died at Waterford. (126) I pray Capt Ross to have this article enlarged."

In the meantime, the marquis of Antrim made such preparations for the conflict as were

afterwards became, as he himself expresses it, "murderers of his royal person, usurpers of his rights, and destroyers of the Irish nation; by whom the nobility and gentry of it were massacred at home, and led into slavery, or driven into beggary abroad." Sir Edward Walker's reflection on this transaction, as recorded in his *Historical Discourses* is—"Had the kingdom been given up to the Confederate Catholics, and not as it was to the parliamentarians, the balance of government would have been kept more even, and these Irish would have become the better subjects." See Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 327.

(123) *Our instructions.*—Antrim, indeed, could thus truly challenge a comparison in the great point of fidelity, between his own course and that pursued by Ormonde.

(124) *Submitted at last.*—There were other difficulties about getting the peace of 1648 concluded and proclaimed besides the objections raised by the "Ulster partie." Thus, some leading officers of lord Inchiquin's army, not only endeavoured to obstruct the proceedings connected with this affair, but also to induce the soldiers under them to contend for a treaty and submission to the English parliament. As Inchiquin himself stood firm, this difficulty was smoothed over. Then arose another among the catholics, who justly complained that their right to the free exercise of their religion had not been fully and clearly enough established. "But an incident happening at this juncture united the differing parties in that assembly. Some copies of the remonstrance of the independent army in England, which had publickly avowed their design of subverting everything that had been hitherto known for government in these nations, were then brought to Kilkenny, and read with universal abhorrence. This immediately removed all the difficulties which some of the Roman Catholics, in their zeal for their religion, had thrown in the way of the peace. The general assembly receded from their demands on that point. And on the 28th of December, upon consideration of his Majesty's present condition, and their own hearty desires, says Carte, of spending their lives and fortunes, in maintaining his rights and interests, they resolved unanimously to accept of the Marquis of Ormonde's answer to their propositions for religion." See Curry's *Review*, p. 344.

(125) *To Galway.*—At this place, early in February, 1648, the nuncio was awaiting the first fair wind to waft him from Ireland, where, as he expressed it, "the sun is hardly ever seen." At the commencement of that year he had issued the sentence of excommunication against all and every one not of his party—against even many of the prelates of his own Church. The results of this measure soon rendered the country too hot for him, and he took his departure in the midst of a fearful political and religious storm. The state of the country is described as having been truly appalling, rent as it was between two conflicting factions, "one maintaining the Nunzio's censures, and the other insisting on the cessation with Inchiquin." Dr. French, who himself witnessed the state of affairs, says:—"Altar was arrayed against altar, the clergy inveighing against each other, and the bishops and best theologians in the land maintaining different views of the validity of the censures. As for the populace, they hardly knew what side to take, or what guide to follow, for in one church they heard the advocates of the censures proclaim 'Christ is here,' and in another, 'He is not *there*.'" See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 131.

(126) *At Waterford.*—See p. 274, *supra*.

deemed prudent under the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. Among other means employed, he collected a number of certificates to sustain that sent by the king, from persons who had known him intimately during the whole course of his public life, and whose characters were ample guarantees for the truth of their statements. Many of these certificates are lost, or at least not now known to exist, but three of the number have been preserved at Glenarm castle, and are here printed for the first time, as curious documents in connexion with this celebrated case:—

"*The Earle of Castlehavens* (127) *Affidavit.*

"James Earle of Castlehaven maketh othe that hee was constantlie conversant with Randle Marquesse of Antrim, dureing his liveing in Maydenston, (128) in the countie of Kildare, in the beginning of the rebellion of Ireland, and that hee never did see, nor could learne that ever Rorie O'More (129) did come to the said House of Maydenston, dureing my Lord of Antrim being there; And further declares that to his knowledge the Marquesse had no correspondance with anie of those in rebellion, during his being in that county. And the deponent further declares that the late Sir Charles Coote did never come in to doe anything in attempting untill hee came with the now Lord Lieut.; nor doth he believe that ever the Marquesse of Antrim did see Sir Charles Coote dureing his being in that county, other than with the nowe Lord Lieut. then commanding the armey; and the reason of deponents knowledge is, Maydenston was his own house, and the Marquisse lived with him during his being in that county, and hardlie one hour out of the Marquess his companie excepting sleeping time during his being in that county. (130)

"*Thomas Lord Dillon's* (131) *Affidavit.*

"Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon maketh oathe that he, this deponent, in the year of our Lord God 1641, was then a privie Councellor in Ireland, and did know that the lord Marquisse of Antrim

(127) *Castlehaven.*—See p. 258, *supra.* Many of Castlehaven's letters to Ormonde are preserved in the noble collection at Kilkenny castle. See *Third Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 429.

(128) *In Maydenston.*—See p. 257, *supra.*

(129) *Rorie O'More.*—Rorie or Roger O'More was considered the prime mover in the rebellion of 1641. In the reign of Mary, his ancestors had been expelled from their princely possessions by violence and fraud, whilst the whole sept or clan bearing his name was virtually extirpated by military executions. (See p. 160, *supra*). Whilst living in destitution himself, he was doomed daily to see strangers rioting in the spoils of his family, and hence the headlong desperation with which he sought redress for his wrongs. (See Leland's *History of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 93.) This statement by Castlehaven in behalf of Antrim was given in contradiction of a calumny frequently put forward by the adventurers. They accused him for that he, whilst residing at Maddenstown with the earl of Castlehaven, "kept correspondence with Rorie O'More, the rebells' generall for Leinster, as well by conferences held with himself, and other ways of intelligence, as with commanders and parties of the said Rorie O'More's army, to whom the said marquis gave all encouragement, as well by tenders of money in the field, as promises for supply of gunpowder, they being then in want of the same." *Statement of Adventurers*, delivered 28th June, 1665. This statement was solemnly contradicted as above.

(130) *In that county.*—This statement of lord Castlehaven was put forth in contradiction to another charge made against Antrim to the effect that he had warned the rebels who garrisoned Tollymore House, in King's county, against an attack which was to have been secretly made upon them by sir Charles Coote, the elder. Antrim was said to have recommended the rebels to send parties to guard the several passes, "which ye said Rebells did accordingly, and thereby prevented ye designe of his Maties army on that country. Att which time ye said Marquesse gave moneys to ye soldiers of the said garrison, and encouraged them to persist in their rebellion, assuring them that within a short time they should have great supplye, Owen Roe O'Neall being then daily expected, and reported to have come from Spaine." *Statement of Adventurers*, delivered 28th of June, 1665.

(131) *Viscount Dillon.*—This was the *fourth* viscount Dillon who succeeded to the title and estates in 1630, at the age of 15, on the death of his *nephew*, Theobald, the third viscount who died in that year when only three months old. The latter was a nephew of the marquis of Antrim. (See p. 248, *supra.*) The Dillon family estates were extensive, extending into the counties of Mayo, Roscommon, and Westmeath. This fourth viscount Thomas renounced catholicism when only fifteen years

did live in Dublin, with his Duchess and ffamily, before the Rebellion, in the Lord of Elye's house, (132) and that he, the said Marquisse, did make severall applications to the Lords-Justices and Councall, in the said yeare of our Lord God 1641, after the Rebellion broake out, desireing them that they would give him their directions and assistance, and he would use his utmost endeavours to suppress the rebellion in the North of Ireland, being then newly begunne; (133) but the Lords-Justices deferring to lay any commands upon him, he, the said Lord Marquisse did live privatlie with his Duchess and family in and about Dublin, untill imployed, as this deponent was informed, by his Maties comand into the North of Ireland to promote the Kings interest, which the said Marquisse did with all fidelity and loyalty, to the preservation and reliefe of the towne of Couleraine and other Besieged places; (134) and this deponent further deposeth that he never knew of any occasion the said Marquesse had to doe with those in the Rebellion further than to promote his Maties interest amongst the Irish, as this deponent was informed.

"Jurat decimo quinto die May, 1663 coram me
"THOMAS ESTCOURT."

"DILLON.

"*Sir James Dillon's* (135) *Affidavit.*

[Sir James Dillon gave evidence on the same day, and before the same magistrate, as the above. The depositions of lord Dillon and sir James are also given in the same words, excepting that the latter makes no mention of lord Antrim's occupation of Ely house in Dublin, and instead of stating that Antrim relieved Coleraine and other besieged places, he simply affirms that his lordship's efforts were used for the relief of "many Protestants" in the north.]

old, and afterwards, in 1646, was reconciled to the church of his fathers, through the agency of Rinuccini, the nuncio. He was expelled from all his estates by the Cromwellians, and restored again in 1661. He died in 1672. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iv., p. 185.

(132) *Elye's house.*—Sir Adam Loftus, a descendant of the archbishop of that name, was appointed lord chancellor of Ireland in 1619, and created viscount Loftus of Elye in 1622. He lost largely on the outbreak of 1641, and then left Ireland, dying soon afterwards at Midlam in Yorkshire. His Dublin residence had been evidently let to lord Antrim previously to the commencement of the war. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. vii. p. 274.

(133) *Newly begunne.*—See p. 62, *supra*. The outbreak began on the 23rd of October, and Antrim's tender of assistance to the government was made in the course of a day or two afterwards, but declined. He then retired first to Slane, and afterwards to Maddenstown. See pp. 257, 258, *supra*. On Sunday, the 24th, Archibald Stewart, his agent, announced the commencement of the war, whilst attending Dervock church, but there was probably no actual fighting in the Route for some weeks afterwards. Lord Antrim went northward towards the end of April, in obedience to an order from the king, and also to assist in alleviating the distresses produced by the conflict at various places on his estates. See pp. 73, 74, *supra*.

(134) *Besieged places.*—These places were Coleraine, Dunluce, and Ballintoy. (See p. 63, *supra*.) There is a tradition still known on the coast which affirms that, during the siege of Ballintoy castle, the adjoining church was crowded by a trembling multitude of protestant women and children. In their dire extremity, a good Roman catholic priest, named *M'Glaime*, at great personal risk, interfered for their preservation. Having obtained permission to supply them with water, he secretly filled the water-vessels with oatmeal, merely covering it with a few inches depth of water on the top. In this fashion he daily conveyed to the captives as much food as kept them from starvation until the siege was raised. Nothing is known of this good Samaritan save this one noble christian act; it is enough, however, to preserve his name in everlasting remembrance.

(135) *Sir James Dillon.*—There were two knights of this name living in 1640, and kinsmen. One of them was sent by Ormonde to the English parliament as a hostage for the due and faithful performance of his (Ormonde's) treasonable promises. (See p. 298, *supra*.) That sir J. Dillon died before 1652, but was nevertheless excepted by the Cromwellians from pardon of life and estate in the year abovenamed. The sir James here mentioned, as giving his affidavit for the marquis of Antrim, was captain of a company in 1641, but, with his namesake, went into the rebellion. After the restoration he obtained a pension of £500 a year, and retired to France. The date of his grant was May 25, 1665. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iv., pp. 182—184.

"*James Lord Lindores* (136) *Affidavit.*

"James Lord Lindores maketh othe that in the yeare of our Lord God 1646, this deponent being then of the title of Sr James Lasley, and of the gentlemen of the privie Chamber to his late Matie of ever blessed memory, was by his said Matie imployed in two severall messages to the Marquess of Antrim, who was then in Kentayre (137) in Scotland, with a considerable party for the Kings interest. And this deponent further saith that his said Matie did send by him a verball instruction in the second message, by way of token to the Marquiss (besides letters) in the following words :—'Show Antrim that as he trusted my verball promise to protect him from any inconveniency that should be offered to him or his ffamily, by the taking the oath of Association with those in the late Irish rebellion, which begott that interest with them to afford us that party from Ireland to Montross, for our own service, soe by that token wee doe expect that hee will disband those people under his command, and trust to our word for the lands of Kentayre, which shall bee given to him soe soon as the Marquiss of Arguile is forfeited ; And this wee promise him uppon the faith and word of a King. And also shall make all our other promises good to him.'

"And this deponent further saith, that upon the delivery of the said secrett message, the said Marquiss presentlie gave order to disband his people, who did mutiny highly to leave the Marquiss of Arguiles country, he being then possessed of a great deal of the said Marquiss of Antrims Estate in Ireland, (138) notwithstanding which the said Marquiss of Antrim expressed these words following before his people :—'If itt were my Life as well as Arguiles Lands that my master commanded mee to part with, I should doe itt before I would disobey the orders that hee hath privatlie sent mee by Sir James Lasley.' And this deponent further deponeth that the said Marquiss of Antrim did keepe that body of men above a twelvemonth together uppon his owne account, without any expense to his Matie or his loyall subjects; And that itt was the Marquiss of Antrim his interest that principally promoted the Kings interest and service in Scotland ever since the beginning of the late rebellion, and that it was the said Marquiss of Antrim his friends and their interest that carried on the Kings service under the comand of the Marquis of Montross. And this deponent likewise further saith that hee did, in the yeare 1646, heare his late Royall Matie often express as great and as high a

(136) *Lindores.*—This was sir James Leslie, a younger son of the duke of Rothes, and sixth lord Lindores. The barony from which he derived the title is situate in the forest of Ernside, on the Tay, Fifeshire. It was erected into a barony by James VI., in the year 1600. The first baron was Patrick Leslie, son of Andrew earl of Rothes. See Camden's *Britannia*, edited by Gough, vol. iv., pp. 111, 116.

(137) *Kentayre.*—This meeting took place after the battle of Kilsythe, when the marquis of Antrim met sir Alaster Macdonnell in Argyleshire, and was charged by his enemies with drawing off the latter from Montrose. This libellous charge was afterwards repeated by Carte, and even by Wishart, although it was abundantly refuted by Antrim's conduct at the time, and immediately afterwards by his urging a new expedition for the very purpose of carrying out the objects in Scotland which Montrose had so utterly failed, notwithstanding his brilliant victories, to accomplish. Bishop Wishart, when stating Montrose's reasons for laying down his arms, says :—"At the same time the Earl of Antrim, who had newly come from Ireland into the Highlands of Scotland, without men or arms, was endeavouring to recal all the Highlanders, over whom he pretended to have some authority and influence, as being his relations and allies, from Montrose's army, whom, by way of derision, he called the governor of the low country (the lowlands) ; an attempt very unseasonable at that time, and which proved afterwards very destructive to his friends in those parts." Wishart's *Memoirs of James Graham*, 1819, p. 263.

(138) *In Ireland.*—This was said in the year 1646, so that Argyle had been holding "a great deal" of the Antrim estates from June, 1642. (See p. 74, *supra.*) He no doubt held on until Monro was caught in bed at Carrickfergus, and sent to the tower. The capture was made by sir Robert Adair, who had been sent by Monk for this purpose from Lisburn. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edit., p. 169.

sence of the Marquiss of Antrims Loyalty and sufferings, as ever hee, this deponent, heard his said Matie speake of any subjecte : And that hee never knew the least disloyalty by the said Marquiss to his said Maties interest : And that the reason of his, this deponents knowledge of the truth of the premisses abovesaid, is because hee hath particularly known many of the said Marquiss his actings in these late times, besides his being employed in the manner above expressed. (139)

"May 15, 1663, coram "LINDORES.

"THO. ESTCOURT."

After the Restoration, no fewer than three courts of claims were concerned in the settlement of this unhappy country. The first consisted of a number of commissioners appointed to carry out the king's well-known declaration of the 30th of November, 1660; the second to execute the act of settlement passed in 1662; and the third, a newer commission appointed to superintend the working of the act of explanation passed in 1665. It is with the second of these tribunals that we have now to do. The commissioners or judges in this court were five in number, namely, sir Richard Rainsford, sir T. Beverly, sir Allan Broderick, sir Winston Churchill, and sir Edward Deering. The last mentioned gentleman fortunately drew up minutes of the trial of Antrim's claim, and an accurate copy of these minutes, we are now about to submit for the satisfaction of our readers. In 1713, "Carte employed his brother-in-law, Dr. Thomas Brett, to transcribe the Minutes of the hearing of the Marquis of Antrim's claim, taken by Sir Edward Deering, commissioner of the Court of Claims, preserved among his papers at Surrenden-Deering, in the county of Kent. But on being afterwards employed by the Earl of Arran to write the life of James Duke of Ormonde, he sought access for himself to these minute books, from Sir Edward Deering, great grandson of the commissioner. Sir Edward seems to have been unaware of the contents of his library, for he could not find them, and meeting Dr. Brett, he asked him about them. Dr. Brett thereupon applied to Carte in much surprise at their being lost, and anxious to relieve himself of any responsibility, as appears by the following letter :— "'Spring Grove, March 3, 173$\frac{3}{4}$.

"'DEAR BROTHER,—When you desired me some years ago to transcribe the Minutes of the Marquis of Antrim's trial, as taken by Sir Edward Deering, great grandfather to the present Sir Edward Deering, I having no acquaintance with Mr. William Deering, Sir Edward's uncle and guardian, and Fellow of some College in Oxford (I think All Souls), who then resided at Surrenden, applied myself to Mr. Edward Deering, vicar of Charing, a relation and neighbour of the family, who procured the book for me. The book I remember was a quarto, bound in parchment, containing about two quires of paper. And Mr. Edward Deering told me there were a great many (I think he said twenty) all relating to the Irish affairs, and that he and Mr. Deering took down many of them before he found the Marquiss of Antrim's case. I was not, therefore, so much as at the house on this occasion, but received the book from Mr. Edward Deering, at his house, and returned it to him again. But I kept no copy of what I transmitted to you. Last summer Sir Edward Deering came to visit a gentleman where I happened to be, and he then asked me about those MSS., and I gave him the same account I now send you. There is no good understanding between

(139) *Above expressed.*—This statement of lord Lindores is a very warm testimony to the zeal and fidelity of Antrim in the king's service. It is similar to that which had been given previously by Clarendon. See p. 83, *supra.*

Sir Edward and his uncle, and, therefore, I suppose he has not written to his uncle about them. It is certain these MSS. were in the library under Mr. A. Deering's care. I am glad to hear you are safely returned from Ireland, and am, dear brother, yours, &c., 'THO. BRETT.'"

Carte subsequently got access to these books, and, with his usual diligence, proceeded to copy largely from them. (140)

According to these Minutes, made by sir Edward Deering, and copied, probably, word for word, by the indefatigable Carte, our readers will observe that the trial of Antrim's claim was proceeded with according to arrangement, on the 20th of August, 1663. First of all the king's letter was read in court, after which sir Nicholas Plunket, counsel for Antrim, the plaintiff, asked the judges to decide the case at once on its statements. A majority of them stated their opinion that the king's wishes, as declared in his letter, constituted sufficient grounds for a judgment in favour of Antrim's innocence, without hearing any evidence from the defendants—the adventurers and soldiers; but the minority were of opinion that it would be only justice to hear what could be said against the plantiff, and afterwards to consider whether, what would be alleged by witnesses was comprehended in the instructions brought by the king's letter. The case was, therefore, gone into, and argued by the counsel on both sides. Sir Nicholas Plunket supported his motion by adducing several authorities, namely, Coke's *Third Institutes*, fol. 239; together with the cases of *Henry Lee*, the *archbishop of York*, the *bishop of London*, and *lord Aubigny*. The opposing counsel, Messrs. Whitefield, Brown, and Reynolds, quoted, in behalf of their clients, the *Second Institutes*, fol. 56; the statute of Edward III., requiring that judges must not forbear judgment, even although it may be opposed to a king's letter; and Hobart's *Reports* in the case of granting a consultation. They, also, went minutely into the evidence against Antrim, dwelling specially and at great length on his opposition to the peaces of 1646 and 1648, which opposition, they contended, according to the act of settlement, completely excluded him from a decree of innocence. "The judges being divided in their sentiments, three questions were put, viz. whether the whole matter should be referred to the King? Whether they should take time to consider till the next morning? Whether they should acquaint the Lord Lieutenant, and give the defendants time to produce the answer which the Council sent to the King's letter, and all were carried in the negative. At last the main question was put, whether the Marquis was innocent or nocent? and by the majority he was adjudged innocent." (141)

The following are sir Edward Deering's Minutes, which, being authentic, are of great historical value, and are here printed for the first time :—

Carte MS. lxvii., p. 18[6].

"MONDAY, 17 AUG., 1663.

"*Ld. Marquess of Antrim——plt.*

"CLAIMS INNOCENCE.

Kg's letter, 10 July, 1663. } "To prove his innocence they rely upon the Kings letters declaring him innocent from any malicious intention or rebellion; and y[t] y[e] benefit of the correspondence

(140) *From them.*—See *Report on the Carte MSS.* by Russell and Prendergast, pp. 151, 154.
(141) *Adjudged innocent.*—See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 289—291.

he had with the Irish was wholly for the King's service, and not for his particular advantage, and commanding ye Ld. Lt. and Councell to transmit the letter to us.

"This letter being directed to ye Ld. Lt. and Councell to be transmitted to us, and they having not thought fit to transmit it, the Court would not proceed upon ye cause or receive the letter his copy of it as evidence.

"But they give time till Thursday next.

(442) Carte MS. lxvii., p. 25. *et seq.*

"THURSDAY, AUG. 20, 1663.

"*Ld. Marquess of Antrim, plt.*

King's letters, 11 Aug., 1663. To us. (See Appendix XVIII.)

"Declaring that he finds him innocent from any malice or rebellious purpose, and that what he did was warranted by his instructions, and for the advantage of the English, and adjudging him innocent, and requiring us to take notice of his Judgment, and to proceed accordingly, when the Ld Marquess should come before us.

"The plts. desire Judgment of the Court upon this letter.

"Sr Nic. Plunket fortifies it with several authorities in law, 3d institutes 239; Archp. of Yorkes case, Bp. of Londons case, Ld. Aubignys case, 10 Jac. Henry Lee.

"For the Defts.—2d Institutes fol. 56. Statute Edw. 3, for no letter of the King shall you forbear judgment. Fitzherbert, tho' under Privy Seal, 20 E. 3. cap., 1., expresse. Hobarts reports, in case of granting a consultation. In treason the King only concerned; in this, other parties. The Act of Settlemt confirms the Adventurers, unless the person shall be declared innocent. (This is between partie and partie) wch the Comrs have sworne to put faithfully in execution. By 17° Caroli all pardons are made void, and this amounts to a pardon. This may avoid the whole intent of the Act. To wh purpose are the Comrs. The King hath reserved no such power to himself. The Judgment given by the King was only upon hearing the Marquess and not the other partie.

"Mr. Attorney Genl.—That where the king doth certify matter of fact, no evidence ought to be received to the contrary; and that was the reason of the judgmt in the Ld. Aubignyes case, which was also between party and party.

"Mr. Whitefield, for the Defts.—We have already thought fit to reserve this point of the Kings letters to the Council in Sarsfield's case. Where an informer prosecute *tam pro Domino rege quam pro seipso* the king cannot remit the suit. In Aubignys case the Kings certificate was upon a point referred to himself. Negative words in the act of Settlemt., that the Comrs. and no others shall put this Act in execution, and moves that we would refer it to the Ld. Lt. and Council. If he may declare one innocent why not all. If he pleased he could as well command the sheriffs to put him in possession, as us to declare him innocent, but if he send this letter to the sheriff would he obey? He absolves him from any malice or rebellious purpose, he may be so and yet not innocent by this Act. Sr. Tho: Sherlock living in the quarters. Sarsfields case and his pardon from the King. If the King should command us to hear one that took land in Conaught before those who took none, should we obey? (142) No privy signet to this paper, but the loose

(142) *Should we obey?*—"Innocents who sued out no decrees at Athlone were to be restored forthwith; those who took out decrees were to be postponed, and only to be restored after a reprize of equal worth and purchase

cover. The parties have not been heard. The adventurers have a freehold conditional, if he be not innocent, by the qualifications of this Act. There may be some qualifications wch by this Act exclude all favour.

"Mr. Browne for the Defts.—We are to observe further directions of the King pursuant to this Act. The Letter first sent to the Ld. Lt. and Council to be transmitted to us, wch they have not done nor think fitt to do.

"Mr. Reynolds—p. 116 Act of Settlemt. The Ld. marquess shall be restored as the Ld. Nettervil (143) and Ld. Galmoy, and not otherwise. The King entitled to the Rent, and he cannot give it away by his privy Signet. The Letter is directed to the comrs. appointed for the Declaration, not for us.

"The Question being put wr we shd refer the matter to ye Ld. Lt. and Council, It was carried in the negative.

"The Question being put wr we shd hear any evidence of the Defts. part, It was carried in the affirmative.

"The Defts produce—1. A letter from the Ld. Lt. and Council wrote to his Majesty in answer to his letter to them in behalf of the Ld. of Antrim.

"The Attorney Genl. opposeth it and saith that he moveth in behalf of the Ld. Lt. that the secrets of the Council shd not be disclosed without his leave.

"Being put to the question wr we shd read the copy of the sd. letter, It is carried in the negative.

"Ld. Bp. of Meath, refuseth to be sworne, saying he is told of all sides that it is very dangerous, and therefore is not free to do it. (144)

"Then they desire to have the deposition of the said Bp. of Meath read, but he being in Court, the Court would not admit it.

"Discriminations:

"Thomas Trane—heard some say that the E. of Antrim shd have been walking in the castle of Dublin the 22 Oct., 1641, and been instrumental in betraying the said castle. This deposition taken 12 Feb. 1641.

"Timothy Miller—deposeth he hath been robbed of several goods, and a soldier of Sr

should be found, for the adventurer or soldier who had possession of the Innocent's estate."—Russell's and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte MSS.*, p. 155.

(143) *Ld. Nettervil and Ld. Galmoy.*—These noblemen, although declared *nocent* by the Court of Claims, had been restored by a simple act of grace on the part of the king. Netterville was the third viscount, and was entitled to the family estate in tail, the property having been seized and sequestered by reason of his father's and grandfather's complicity in the war of 1641. This third viscount, whose name was Nicholas, on being thus stripped of his estate, went off to England, and made a personal appeal to the king, who was quite alive to the hardship of Netterville's case, and so well convinced of the loyalty of his father and grandfather that he gave positive commands to have him restored to his lands by the Act of Explanation. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iv., p. 215. For the family of Butler, viscount Galmoy, see *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 48.

(144) *To do it.*—This bishop of Meath was the notorious Henry Jones, who had acted as *Scout-Master General for Cromwell* in Ireland. He was now the devoted servant of Charles II., so much so, that he would not give any evidence in this case which he supposed might annoy the king. His words implied that he *could* give such evidence against the marquis, but if so, the adventurers were not the men to let him off. They would have either bribed him, or bullied him into the witness-box. For an account of this man's cruelty and turpitude, see Prendergast's admirable tract entitled *The Tory War in Ulster*, part i., pp. 22—26. For Jones's and Reynold's interview with Antrim in 1650, see Appendix XIV.

Phelim's own company told him that the E. of Antrim was to bear a quarter of this war, but since he had not, he only lent him his head till he met him. (145)

"WITNESSES *Viva voce:*

"John Blair.—Having taken refuge in a castle in the beginning of the war, the castle was sumoned in the name of the Ld Antrim and delivered to him the castle, upon wch many were killed and the rest convoyed to Coleraine. It was Sr James MacDonald the sumons in writing, and a letter came from my Ld Antrim expressing his sorrow that so many were killed, but doth not know my Ld of Antrim's hand, nor where he was at that time. (146)

"DISCRIMINATIONS: (147)

"Geo: Stockdale.—In Jan. 1641, The Earl of Antrim sent one of his gentlemen to Rory Moor (148) to come and speak with him: and a Franciscan Fryer told him that the Earl told Moor yt he had lost some sheep, and that the Earl wished Moor all hapiness in his design, and that he would have been forward as any man, if his tenants would have stuck to him, but they were Scots and not to be trusted. (149)

"Another discrimination that Rory Moor was then Ld Genl of Leinster at this time when the other said the Earl was with him.

"WITNESSES, *Viva voce*:

"Willington —In Feb., 1641, he saw Ld. Antrim with Coll. Daniel, and the E. of Antrim offered the soldiers 5lb., but Daniel refused it, desiring of him some powder. The Earl bid him come on Thursday and he shd see what he could do.

"DISCRIMINATION:

"A letter of the Dutchesse of Buckingham, excusing this meeting with Coll. Moor at Kildare 11 March.

"Conner Donnogh, priest.—June 1642, (150) he saw the Earl of Antrim at Glanmalira, (151) where he had left the night before Roger Moor, &c.

(145) *Met him.*—These hearsay stories were caught at in this corrupt court, when nothing better in the shape of evidence could be produced. It was well-known that persons frequented the sittings of the courts of claims for the purpose of hiring themselves to swear anything that might be wanted for evidence. These witnesses were frequently contradicted by respectable persons not concerned in the cases at all, but who, from personal knowlege, testified that they (the witnesses) were stating falsehoods!

(146) *At that time.*—The castle here referred to was Clough or Oldstone in the Route. See p. 64, *supra.*

(147) *Discriminations.*—This evidence was furnished from the Black Books, or Books of Discriminations.

(148) *Rory Moor.*—See p. 304, *supra.*

(149) *Not to be trusted.*—These tenants are variously represented. Monro's pretext for his seizure of Antrim at Dunluce was, that his tenants were rebels. Very many of them were Irish; but there were also several Scottish settlers on the estate—Boyds, Stewarts, Dunlops, &c., and many of these latter could not have been trusted except in covenanting projects.

(150) *June, 1642.*—At this date the earl of Antrim was at Dunluce.

(151) *Glanmalira.*—This is the usual form of the ancient name of *Clann Maoilurgha*, a territory extending on both sides of the river Barrow into the King's and Queen's county. It contained the barony of Portnahinch in the Queen's county, on the south side of the Barrow, and that of upper Philipstown, in the King's county, on the north side of the same river. Its old inhabitants were the O'Diomasaigh, now O'Dempseys. The viscount Clanmalier, the head of this family was ennobled by Charles II., but the title is long extinct, and the family has fallen into obscurity. See *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, pp. xlviii.. li.

"One Collis a prisoner in Leixlip released upon a letter of the E. of Antrim's to do, saying he was his servant.

"Ant: Enos—Saw the E. of Antrim one night at Tullymore, in April, 1641. There were soldiers in it for the Irish and a garrison. My Ld. lay there but one night, and the garrison was then comanded by Art Moloy. (152) He gave the soldiers some money and bid them be of good cheer, for they should have relief shortly—and one of his men told this witness that Owen Roe would be with them shortly.

"Groston—My Ld Antrim lay one night at Tullymore, and told them that Sr. Cha: Coote was coming, agreeing in so much with the former. They sent soldiers within 2 days to make secure the passage that way yt Sr. Cha: Coote was to come and did come. (153)

"Owen Obraghy—Saw the E. of Antrim at Tullymore in Feb., 1641. He staid there one night. He bid the soldiers be watchfull and have a care of themselves, and gave them all money, and they guarded him part of his way next day. This witness was a soldier there and sent to stop the passage.

"A woman, Ali Connell, Irish.—She saw the Earl *ut supra*. He stayed there but one night.

"Edw: Rolley.—That in April and May, 1642, he was at Dunluce, wch was then garrisoned. The Earl was at home, he had the Earls passe and some of his soldiers to guard him within 2 miles of Colerane. They said they should shortly take Colerane and the Earl was in treaty with them, they being ready to starve, and said yt the Earl did command in those parts, and that Kilketto was under him. (154)

"Dun. Maccab—Dunluce was besieged by the Irish, many English, Scotch, and Irish being there, but when the Earl came the besiegers did quit it to him. (155)

"Tho: Boile—The Irish did besiege Ballintoy: it is 6 mile from Dunluce. The Earl came thither and had conference with Mr. Stuart. They received 2 letters from the Irish signed by the E. of Antrim as they suppose, for Antrim was subscribed. The effect was to. This was in May, 1642.

"Fullerton—The E. of Antrim came to Ballintoy in May, 1642, and sent in 2 letters subscribed Antrim, but knows not it was his sd hand, but afterwards it did appear it was his hand. The effect was yt he wondered they would keep a garrison there to disturb his Tenants. (156) His Tenants had besieged them before the Earl came. Some of the Earls neighbouring Tenants did kill some of the English.

(152) *Art Molloy.*—This was a well known Irish leader.

(153) *And did come.*—See the earl of Castlehaven's testimonial to Antrim's deportment, p. 304, *supra*.

(154) *Was under him.*—"Kilketto," as this witness calls Alaster M'Coll, disappeared from the Route when Monro reached Dunluce, and soon after Antrim arrived there from Maddenstown, so that he could not have been an officer under the latter. Antrim, so far from holding any command among the Northern Irish, induced Alaster M'Coll, and other leaders besieging Coleraine, to relax the severity of the siege. See p. 73, *supra*.

(155) *Quit it to him.*—The Irish burned the town of Dunluce, but it was generally believed that they abandoned the siege of the castle because captain Digby, the officer in command of the garrison there, could not be compelled to surrender. Here, however, we find a witness against Antrim proving what was greatly to his credit—namely, that he induced the Irish to desist from beleaguring Dunluce.

(156) *Disturb his tenants.*—For sir James Macdonnell's letter to certain gentlemen who had shut themselves in Ballintoy castle, see pp. 70, 71, *supra*.

"Walter Linn—The E. of Antrim was at Ballybois (157) in May, 1642.

"Art. Cavenagh—The Earl enjoyed his estate in the Irish Qrs. after the Cessation and Fitzpatrick was turned out of it, that he might come in, and was turned out by order of the Supreme Council, as he did come in. (158) Duffe was one of my Lds receivers and was hanged. (159) James Donald was related to the Earl. (160)

"Barthol. Moloy—The E. of Antrim did sit in the assembly of Kilkenny. There was a controversy between the Earl and the Bp of Tuam, and this witness did see and hear him, and relates several particulars of his speeches, he questioning those who acted for having gone beyond their comission. He seconded Owen Oneal. He was often with the nuncio. Owen Oneale was agst the peace soon after. (161)

"Dan. Maccabe—He saw the E. of Antrim in Kilkenny in the Council in 1644 and 1645. He saw him going in several times, but knows not wt he did there.

"DISCRIMINATIONS:

"A letter to the E. of Antrim from the Supreme Council congratulating his escape, and acknowledging the many obligations they had received from his Lp. and offering all service—Waterford, 1643—not subscribed.

"Dec, 1643. An order of the Supreme Council making the E. of Antrim Lt. Genl. of the Irish, and a member of the Supreme Council, he taking first the Oath of Association. (162)

"The E. of Antrim chosen Lt. Genl. of all the united Catholique forces in Ireland. Order to appoint Comrs. genl. of Leinster 1647—Antrim. Another order of like nature. Antrim.

"Commissions subscribed—Antrim.

"The Earl's name subscribed to the roll of association. The association roll produced. The first name is Antrim, compared with his claime, it seems to me to be the same. Coll. Coote (163) being desired to swear to the hand refused, saying a very wise man had refused before (meaning the Bp. of Meath) saying he held an estate by the King's favour, and therefore desired to be excused.

"Bart. Moloy—Sweareth his belief of the Marquess's hand.

"Dan. Maccab—Sweareth his belief of his hand.

"Mr. Davys (164)—Sweareth his belief. Orders about applotment of money to general officers—signed Antrim.

(157) *At Ballybois.*—Antrim is stated, on several good authorities, to have been at Dunluce at the date here specified. Ballybois was in the neighbourhood of Birr.

(158) *Did come in.*—Fitzpatrick, here said to have been turned out to make way for Antrim, was restored in 1663 "to that part of his ancient patrimony now in possession of one Stubbers, a halbertier, that assisted at that execrable murder of our Royal Father of blessed memory. March 11, 1660—1." Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Papers*, p. 211.

(159) *And was hanged.*—One of the O'Duffies of Bushmills.

(160) *Related to the earl.*—See p. 75, *supra*.

(161) *Soon after.*—See p. 274, *supra*.

(162) *Oath of Association.*—See p. 302, *supra*

(163) *Coll. Coote.*—This was Chidley Coote, a younger brother of the notorious Mountrath. This Chidley was also a Cromwellian officer, and after the restoration obtained grants of lands in the county of Kerry, which he represented in parliament. He married Alice, the only daughter of sir Thomas Philips, of Newtownlimavady, and died in 1668. He frequently figured as a witness in the court of claims. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 68.

(164) *Mr. Davys.*—This witness was, no doubt, the well-known John Davys, son of Ezekiel Davys, of Carrickfergus. The *MS.* left by Henry Gill, an inhabitant of that place, has the following not complimentary reference to him:—"This John Davys was he who raised himself and family by £1300 sterling, being part of the

"Letters from the Supreme Council to the E. of Antrim in June, 1644.

"Another about shipping men, 1644, signed by the Supreme Council.

Viva voce.

"W. Hilton—He saw the E. of Antrim in Kilkenny in 1643 and 1644. He carried the canopy over the Nuncio's head there.

DISCRIMINATION:

"30 July, 1644. Ld Antrim appointed a Comr. to regulate the affairs of the nation, and putting the Judicatories in order and finding subsistence for the army.

"Ld Marquess of Antrim appointed to treat with the Ld of Ormond, and several orders to imploy him about the Committee for several affairs.

"Jan., 1646. The E. of Antrim appointed of a committee to wait upon the illustrious the the Pope's Nuncio, and to confer with him of what things shall Be necessary to the settling of the church.

"Appointed a Comr to treat about the fortifying of Bunratty house. (165)

"Feb., 1646, appointed a Comr for other things.

"Papers brought in by Mr. Barry out of Sr Paul Davys' (166) office not used, for they appealed to Sr Nich. Plunket. (167)

"Woodward—In the latter end of 1648 or beginning of 1649 the E. of Antrim told this witnes that Jones his horse should join with our foot meaning the Irish under Owen Roe, with wch he was and among them.

"Witness—did see the E. of Antrim in Kilkenny in 1644 and he did sit in Council with them there, and he did see him with the nuncio and he did carry the canopy over him.

"W. Newman—He saw the E. at Kilkenny 5 yeare after the war began. He saw him frequent with the nuncio there.

"DISCRIMINATIONS.

"9 April 1647. The E. of Antrim president of the Supreme Council.

Corporation money for which the customs were sold, and never paid one penny for it to the town, nor his successors, though he left a good estate that he acquired by this money he unjustly got, and purchases he made from John Savage's heirs, for which he never paid them one penny." For notices of Davys, see Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 150, 151, *note;* M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, third edition, p. 303; *The Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, pp. 329, 330, *note.*

165) *Bunratty House.*—Bunratty is the name of a barony in the county Clare. The village so called is situate near Meelick. Near the village is 'Bunratty House,' the ancient residence of the earls of Thomond, on the Shannon.

(166) *Sir Paul Davys.*—Sir Paul Davys was clerk of the Privy Council in Dublin, and was succeeded in that office by his son William. See Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte MSS.*, p. 200,

(167) *Sir Nich. Plunket.*—This prominent member of the confederacy was third son of Christopher Plunket, viscount Killeen, by his wife Jane Dillon, sister to the earl of Roscommon. On the outbreak of the rebellion, sir Nicholas, who was a member of parliament for Meath, was forced to escape to Dublin rather than be compelled to join the movement. He was informed on good authority, however, that the wrack awaited him in Dublin, for that Roman catholics who had been employed by the government were suspected of having had a hand in the insurrection, and were being tortured by the lords-justices for the purpose of getting some confessions as to the reality of this representation. "In this condition, his harvest and all that he had in the country for a livelihood was in August or September, 1642, taken away by the English and Irish, his house was burnt, and he was forced to retire into an island for the safety of his person. There, being informed of a general meeting at Kilkenny to employ agents to his Majesty, he went thither with his family, about the latter end of October, 1642. He was chosen chairman of that Assembly (the Confederates), and at the end of it, one of the Supreme Council, which gained subsistence to himself and family." This is his own account. See second *Report on Public Records*, p. 231.

"Feb. 3 1646. Antrim appointed a Comr.

"A Latin letter to the nuncio 20 April, 1647, complaining yt the miseries they endured by meanes of the Ulster party would necessitate them at last to descend *ad pudendam et iniquam nobis cessationem.*

"A letter to the Council for money for his journey, 600lb they had designed him. Some expectance of knowing the nuncio's mind June, 1647.

"A letter to Oneale to exchange an English prisoner for Capt. Terrill of the E. of Westmeath's company, signed Antrim.

"Instructions to Sr Nic. Plunket.—To move the general to garrison Leixlip. To be cautious of treating or conferring with the Ld of Ormond or Ld Digby. Not to permit ye Ld Ormond or Digby to have any influence on the army. To take in Trim if they find it convenient. To beware of blandacions and delays. To guard such places as they think convenient. To beware of Ld Taafe, Milo Power, and others yt are not of our party. Signed at Kilkenny 20th July, 1647—Antrim and others.

"To the Bp. of Fernes, 11 July, 1647, signed Antrim, to complain the Council grew scant.

"A letter to the Father provincial telling him if he did not revoke some orders, he should be looked upon as an infringer of the oath of the Catholique Association.

"A letter of the Ld Fitzwilliams, (168) to invite him into the confederacy and to take the oaths—Antrim. This was March, 1647, when they did hear that the King was reduced to a very low condition by the rebels in Ireland, and that the Ld Ormond would join with those malignants. (169)

"4 April, 1647, a letter to the inhabitants of Catherlogh and of another County to put themselves in a posture of defence—signed Antrim.

"A letter to Genl. Preston, (170) about distressing the enemies quarters—Kilkenny, 5 April, 1647—Antrim.

"Another to somebody, 6 April, 1647—To the comrs. of Conaught giving them directions.

"10 April, 1647, ye Supreme Council. A Comission to make Tho: Skyddy clarke of the ground and clerk of the peace for Limerick and Clare—signed Antrim.

"A report to the Ld. Lt. 11 May, 1649, yt the peticioner the Ld. of Antrim shd not be received till he had given testimony of his submission to the peace. This is signed by his brother Alex. MacDonald. (171)

(168) *Ld Fitzwilliams.*—See p. 276, *supra.* In Nov., 1660, soon after the king's restoration, the latter issued the following order on behalf of this devoted royalist:—"Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion, to have restitution of his lands of Bagotrath, Mill of Donabrook, Cappock, Glancullen, and some other lands, mortgaged by his late father, and now forfeited to us." See Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Papers*, p. 201.

(169) *Those malignants.*—The party thus styled 'malignants' were the parliamentarians to whom Ormonde surrendered in 1647. The covenanters styled the royalists in Scotland by this severe nickname.

(170) *Genl Preston.*—This distinguished officer, who was, after the restoration, created viscount Gormanstown, descended from Philip de Preston, the first of the family who settled in Ireland. His son and heir, sir Robert, was knighted in 1361 by Lionel duke of Clarence, who conferred upon him also the manor of Gormanstown, which extends into the counties of Meath and Dublin. (See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. iii., p. 75.) A memoir of Preston describes him as "a man delicate in his diet, wavering in his resolutions, imperious in his commands, and fiery in his deportment." "We should not forget, however, that Preston's defence of Louvain entitled him to a foremost place among the greatest generals of his age." See Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries*, p. 383, *note.*

(171) *Alexr. MacDonald.*—See p. 247, *supra.*

"Corbet & Waller, &c.—Upon hearing of his cause did judge him within the 6th qualification, he having signed the instructions and been Lt Genl of the Irish in 1644.

"Living Witnesses:

"Ld Coloony (172)—At Charlemont 1653. The Earl came to the English camp, and discoursed about transporting soldiers into Scotland.

"Discriminations:

"Instructions to the Ld of Antrim yt he should not do any thing agst the peace concluded at Sigginstown, (173) as Lt Genl of all the confederate forces of Ireland. To execute martial law. Taxes, garrisons, &c. Not to make truce above 30 days, or cessation without leave. To observe such farther directions as he should receive from them. One part signed by the Supreme Council, the other by Antrim.

"A patent to Hugh Oneale (174) to be Major Genl to Owen Oneale, signed Antrim.

"To Genl Preston to scatter some papers about privately in the enemies quarters, signed Antrim.

"This is 2 July, 1647.

"*Viva voce:*

"Sr. Tho. Stanley.—In 1650, the E. of Antrim wrote to him that he desired to come in upon protection, and by the consent of the Governors then he did come in; That he heard what discontented the Earl was, that he was not chosen general after Oneales death, but this he heard from others, not from the Earl.

"Major Ormesby—Saw him come in about 1651. He had a passe from Ireton.

"Mr. Attorney Genl.—The E. of Antrim had the letters of the king to transport the men into Scotland.

(172) *Ld Colooney.*—Richard Coote, third son of sir Charles Coote, the elder, and brother of sir Charles, created earl of Mountrath. Richard was ennobled by the title of viscount Coloony.

(173) *Sigginstown.*—This was St. Johnston, sometimes called Ballnaree, in the barony of Granard, county of Longford. The place was called St. Johnston from the circumstance that a grey friary dedicated to John the Baptist once stood there.

(174) *Hugh Oneale.*—This Hugh O'Neill, nicknamed dubh or 'duff,' was supposed by some to have been a son of Owen Roe, by others his nephew, and by others a grandson of the famous earl of Tyrone. As major-general to Owen Roe, he distinguished himself very highly, especially at Clonmell and Limerick. When he was forced to surrender the latter place, it was generally believed that Ireton, the Cromwellian general, had determined to have him executed, and only abandoned this cruel purpose when remonstrated with by his officers. A tract, however, has been lately found among the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, which gives us a different, and probably a more correct account of the matter. This manuscript production is entitled *Aphorismical discovery of treasonable Faction*, by N.S., styling himself secretary to Owen Roe O'Neile. According to this authority, Major-General Hugh O'Neill offered the pommel of his sword to Ireton, and sought the benefit of the law of arms "in behalfe of a souldier of fortune voluntarily yielding himself and the lives of such other souldiers as served under his command, to his lordship's mercy and favour," whereupon Ireton gently embraced O'Neill, bade him be of good cheer, told he would receive no prejudice, and commanding his men to ride forward, held alone a serious private discourse with him. "Earthon (Ireton) was so tender of major Neyle's safetie," says the writer, "that before he parted with him he did commande his propper guarde upon perill of deathe to attend only that gentleman and retire him to a place of safetie, where, at their said perill, he did not receive the least prejudice, which was exactly performed." (See Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 593.) After the fall of Clonmel, where 2,000 of Cromwell's men were slain before Hugh Duff O'Neill would surrender, Cromwell was furious when he heard that his brave opponent had escaped from his clutches. He asked the mayor of Clonmel what that Duff O'Neill was; and when the mayor answered that he was "an over-sea soldier, born in Spain," Cromwell exclaimed "Damn you and your over-sea!" and with blasphemous growl added that he would "follow that Duff O Neill, wheresoever he went!" *Irish Warr of*

"The Defts. would make no reply.

"The first Question was, whether we should refer the whole matter to the king. Carried in the negative.

"Then to take time to consider till to-morrow morning. Carried in the negative.

"Then to acquaint the Ld Lt, and to give the Defts. time to produce the answer the council sent to the king's letter. Carried in the negative.

"The main question being put, whether the marquess is innocent or nocent. Adjudged innocent."

For Decree of Innocence in favour of Antrim, see Appendix XI.

Hardly had the proceedings in the court of claims been brought to a close, when some pamphleteer—probably a discomfited lawyer—clutched his pen for the purpose of announcing to his friend in England the disastrous result. His letter was forthwith published, having the king's certificate in Antrim's favour annexed, the whole production bearing the title of—"*Murder Will Out; or The King's Letter, justifying the Marquess of Antrim, and declaring, That what he did in the Irish Rebellion was by direction from his Royal Father and Mother, and for the service of the Crown.* The scribe, whoever he may have been, (175) garnished his title-page with two texts of Scripture, one from the Old, and the other from the New Testament. The former is taken from Jeremiah ii., 12.—"Be astonished, O ye heavens at this, and be ye horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord." The latter, Matthew x., 26, was expected to confirm all the lying rumours and suspicions that had been set afloat to fix on Charles I. the responsibility of having originated the Irish war of 1641—"For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, nor anything hid which shall not be known, or come abroad." With this sanctimonious flourish, the pamphleteer proceeds as follows :—

"Ireland, Aug. 22, 1663.

"Ever Honoured Sir,—Last Thursday we came to tryal with my Lord Marquess of Antrim, but according to my fears (which you always surmised to be in vain), he was, by the king's extraordinary and peremptory letter of favour, restored to his estate as an innocent papist. (176) We proved eight qualifications in the act of Settlement against him, the least of which made him uncapable of being restored as innocent—

"1. That he was to have a hand in surprising the castle of Dublin, in the year 1641.

1641, by an officer in sir John Clotworthy's regiment, p. 111.

(175) *May have been.*—General Ludlow was supposed by many to have been the author of *Murder Will Out*, but the tract has nothing of the dignity of style exhibited in that old soldier's well-known *Memoirs*. That Ludlow did *not* write it is evident from the fact of the real author announcing himself as then being "young, and scarce yet brought upon the stage;" whereas Ludlow was an old "stager" in 1663. He had always been a sternly consistent republican. At the Restoration he was driven into exile, and he spent the closing years of his life in the preparation of his three volumes of *Memoirs*. About the year 1665 the republicans of the three kingdoms had all but completed a plan for an insurrection to commence in England, Ireland, and Scotland at the same time. Forty members of parliament were to lend their services; and Ludlow was to be general-in-chief of an army to be formed from the old Cromwellian forces. See Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, pp. 446, 447.

(176) *Innocent papist.*—Innocent papists were such as could show that they had not been in the rebellion in 1641, and had not afterwards joined the confederated catholics. The tests of innocence were so prepared as to exclude from the benefits of this plea the greatest possible number of Roman catholics. "Eleven qualifications were ordered for their trial, and those so rigid and severe that Clotworthy and his companions (who had the wording of them) did verily believe there could not be a man found in all Ireland that should pass untoucht through so many pikes." See French's *Narrative of the Earl of Clarendon's Settlement and Sale of Ireland*, p. 85.

(2.) That he was of the rebells party before 1643, which we made appear by his hourly and frequent intercourse with Renny (Rory) O'Moore and many others, being himself the most notorious of the said rebels. (3.) That he entered into the Roman-Catholick Confederacy before the peace in 1643. (4.) That he constantly adhered to the Nuncio's party in opposition to his Majesties authority. (5.) That he sate from time to time in the Supreme Council of Kilkenny. (6.) That he signed that execrable oath of Association. (177) (7.) That he was commissionated and acted as Lieut.-general from the said assembly at Kilkenny. (8.) That he declared, by several letters of his own penning, himself in conjunction with Owen Ro. O'Neale, and a constant opposer to the several peaces made by the lord lieutenant with the Irish. (178)

"We were seven hours by the clock in proving our evidence against him, but at last, the king's letter being opened and read in Court, Rainsford, one of the commissioners said to us that the king's letter on his behalf was evidence without exception, and thereupon declared him to be an innocent papist. This cause, Sir, hath (though many reflections were cast upon the commissioners before), more startled the judgments of all men, than all the trials since the beginning of their sitting, (179) and it is very strange and wonderful to all of the long robe, that the king should give such a letter, having divested himself of that authority, and reposed the trust in the commissioners for that purpose; and likewise it is admitted that the commissioners having taking solemn oaths to execute nothing but according to, and in pursuance of, the act of Settlement, should, barely upon his majesties letter, declare the marquess innocent. To be short, there never was so great a rebel that had so much favour from so good a king. And it is very evident to me, though young, and

(177) *Association.*—See p. 302, *supra.*

(178) *With the Irish.*—See Antrim's account of his own motives and proceedings in reference to the peaces of 1646 and 1648, at pp. 299, 302, *supra.*

(179) *Of their sitting.*—The decisions of the commissioners had, in many previous cases, been very startling and unsatisfactory to the Cromwellian settlers; the operation of the court being such as they had never dreamed of. About eight thousand catholics at once put in claims of innocence, and the adventurers and soldiers were absolutely dismayed to find that the commissioners had given decrees of innocence to no fewer than *seven hundred* persons, where these settlers had supposed there could not have been decrees granted to more than twenty. "The framers of the King's Declaration for carrying out the Act of Settlement had forgotten, or were perhaps unable to exclude, jointresses and children under age or born since the rebellion, and entitled to remainders or portions under settlements made before the war. The commissioners could not refuse them decrees of innocence. The loudest outcries were now raised against the judgments of the court of claims. In the former court of the commissioners, for executing the King's Declaration, Francis lord Aungier found himself called a 'friend of Teig and an enemy to the English interest,' for soliciting the cases of those the King wished to see speedily restored to their estates, and that were named for that purpose in the Declaration." Four of the commissioners of the court for executing the act of settlement were now also aspersed for their conduct, though only performing their sworn duty; they also were taunted as 'friends of Teig,' and respectively styled 'M'Rainsford, O'Beverley, M'Churchill, and O'Broderick,'" "The time limited for hearing claims of innocence was to expire on the 21st of August, 1663. Of about seven thousand claims, six-sevenths were still unheard. Those in the English interest were opposed to any extension of the time. In spite of all remonstrance the time was not enlarged, and hundreds of well-born people died broken-hearted or from starvation." Such was the shocking exhibition of selfishness on the part of the victors, that even Broghill (now Orrery) himself became frightened for the consequences that he believed must follow from such heartless robbery of this small remnant of the Irish nation! We may fancy how matters were being settled when such a man as this Roger Boyle stood appalled at the scene! "God forbid," said he (when writing to Clarendon, on March, 1663), "that any Innocent should be precluded for want of time to hear him. If any Englishman, were he my brother or my son, desired one foot of an Irishman's land that should be found innocent, I wish he might be buried in it. And from my soul I declare if Ireland should be settled on any foundations but those of justice, I think it will never prosper, but moulder to nothing." (See Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, pp. 153, 154). The court of claims, however, was rigorously shut up on August 22, and the victims left to their fate; the puritanical scribe, who wrote *Murder Will Out*, pretending to be afraid of the judgments of heaven for the sin of permitting that tribunal to exist even for the short space of eleven months!

scarce yet brought upon the stage, that the consequence of these things will be very bad; and if God of his extraordinary mercy do not prevent it, war, and if possible, greater judgments cannot be far from us, when vice is patronized, and Antrim, a rebel upon record, and so lately and clearly proved one, should have no colour for his actions but the king's own letter, which takes all imputations from Antrim, and lays them totally upon his own father. Sir, I shall by the next post, if possible, send you over one of our briefs against my Lord, by some friend. Its too large for a pacquet, it being no less in bulk than a book of Martyrs. (180) I have no more at present, but refer you to the king's letter hereunto annexed." (181)

The object of printing the foregoing letter so promptly for circulation, in a tract-shape, with several similar productions written at the time by adventurers, was to fix, as already stated, on Charles I., the blame of the Irish war. The alleged proof against the deceased king was, that his son, Charles II., had pardoned Antrim, the agent or instrument employed by the former in this bloody business! The well-known Richard Baxter, author of the *Saint's Rest*, if he did not actually originate, gave much currency to this odious charge against the king. The accusation, as put forward by Baxter, and afterwards repeated by Calamy, was, that as Antrim acted on the authority of a commission from Charles I., *therefore*, the latter was responsible for those massacres so freely perpetrated by English, Irish, and Scotch, upon each other, (182) during the fatal year of 1641, and subsequently. But the simple and unanswerable fact is, that *of all the commissions and letters of instruction issued to Lord Antrim by the king, not one was ever known, or could be produced for the object or purpose thus alleged by the puritanical faction in England.* Baxter's account of the business is as follows:—

"I had forgotten one passage in the former war of great remark, which put me into amazement: The Duke of Ormond and councell had the cause of the Marquess of Antrim before them, who had been one of the Irish rebels in the beginning of that war, when in the horrid massacre two hundred thousand protestants were murthered. His estate being sequestred, he sought his restitution of it when Charles II. was restored. Ormond and the councell judged against him as one of the rebels: He brought his cause over to the King, and affirmed that what he did was by his father's consent and authority. The King referred it to some worthy members of his privy councell to examine what he had to show: upon examination they reported that they found that he had the King's consent or letter of instructions for what he did, which amazed many: Hereupon his majesty Charles II. wrote to the Duke of Ormond and councell to restore his estate, because it appeared to those appointed to examine it, that what he did was by his father's order or consent. Upon this the parliament's old adherents grew more confident than ever of the righteousness of their wars; and

(180) *Martyrs.*—This must indeed have been a formidable "pacquet," if at all comparable in size to Fox's *Martyrology*. The case must have been thus a good thing for the lawyers.

(181) *Annexed.*—See lord Somers's *Tracts*, vol. v., pp. 624—626. For copies of the king's letters, or certificates, in favour of Antrim—first to Ormonde and the council, and secondly to the commissioners—see Appendices XVII. and XVIII.

(182) *Upon each other.*—Sir William Petty, the servant of the Cromwellian faction in Ireland, and not certainly disposed to favour the Irish, is, nevertheless, forced to the following conclusion, looking back to the beginning of the struggle in 1641:—"But upon the playing of this grand game or match, upon so great odds, the English won; and have, among and besides other pretences, a gamester's right at least to their (the Irish) estates; but as for the blood shed in the contest, God best knows who did occasion it."

the very destroyers of the King (whom the first parliamentarians called rebels) did presume also to justify *their* cause, and said that the law of nature did warrant them. But it stopt not here: For the Lord Mazarine and others of Ireland did so far prosecute the cause, as that the Marquess of Antrim was forced to produce in the parliament of England, in the house of commons, a letter of the King's, (Cha. I.) by which he gave him orders for taking up arms: which being read in the house, did put them into a silence. But yet so egregious was their loyalty and veneration to majesty, that it put them not at all one step out of the way which they had gone in. But the people without doors did talke strangely: Some said, did you not persuade us that the King was against the Irish rebellion? And that the rebels belied him when they said that they had his warrant or commission? Do we not now see with what mind he would have gone himself with an army into Ireland to fight against them? *A great deal more not here to be mentioned* was vended seditiously among the people, the sum of which was intimated in a pamphlet which was printed, called 'Murder Will Out,' in which they printed the King's letter and animadversions on it. Some that were still loyal to the King, did wish that the King that now is had rather declared that his father did only give the Marquess of Antrim commission to raise an army as to have helped him against the Scots, and his turning against the English protestants in Ireland, and the murthering of so many hundred thousand there, was against his will; but *quod scriptum erat, scriptum erat.* And though the old parliamentarians expounded the actions and declarations both of the then King and parliament by the commentary of this letter, yet so did not the loyal royalists; or at least thought it no reason to make any change in their judgments, or stop in their proceedings against the English presbyterians and other non-conformable protestants." *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, part iii., p. 83. London, 1696, fol.

In the foregoing extract, the reader will observe how Baxter avoids the point at issue by telling us that *a great deal more* than he could conveniently mention was seditiously vended among the people, and found expression in a pamphlet called *Murder Will Out!* We have given the whole of that pamphlet above, and the reader may, therefore, judge how much more was said on this question by its author than had been advanced by Baxter, and whether they both have succeeded in fastening the responsibility of the Irish outbreak on Charles I.? Baxter's story about Massereene forcing Antrim to produce a letter "in the parliament of England, in the house of commons," by which Charles gave Antrim orders either to commence, or go on with the Irish war of 1641, is the meerest moonshine. Antrim had already submitted every letter and paper bearing upon the case to the lords of the privy council, but Baxter would make the world believe that he had still reserved some one *damning letter*, which he was at last compelled to produce! There was no mystery whatever about the letter, and no wonder that those members of the house who expected "extraordinary disclosures" from it were, as Baxter says, "put into a silence." The letter, although ordering Antrim, in conjunction with Ormonde, to collect an army, was written with an object very different from that which was ascribed to the king by Baxter and his faction. (183)

(183) *His faction.*—See the true object of this contemplated movement at p. 280, *supra*; see also Appendix XIV. Carte never attempted to question Antrim's statements made to Jones and Reynolds, and to Jones and Owens, in 1650; nor did Ormonde. See also lord Somers's Tracts, vol. v. pp. 639—664.

The young author of the tract entitled *Murder Will Out*, who predicted an approaching war because of the number of adventurers and soldiers removed by the court of claims to make way for the return of the former owners to their lands, had soon the gratification of seeing his prophecy come to pass. A band of selfish fanatics quickly leagued themselves together for the purpose of seizing Dublin castle, and overturning the government. Their conspiracy was known as *Blood's Plot*, from a desperado of that name, who took the most prominent part in the business. Blood had been converted to presbyterianism by one Lecky, his brother-in-law, a preacher, and he, in turn, appears to have converted Lecky to his political creed. Together, they came to the north, where they awakened some sympathy among presbyterians, and were able to draw two or three ministers into their conspiracy. When the 'Plot' was discovered, the following leaders were instantly seized, viz.:—Mr. Bond, a native of Scotland; colonel Thomas Scott, M.P.; colonel Edward Warren; major Henry Jones; captain John Chambers, M.P.; major Richard Thompson, deputy provost-marshall of Leinster; John Foulk, son to the former governor of Drogheda; James Tanner, clerk to Henry Cromwell's private secretary, and about fourteen others. Blood escaped, but Lecky and several others were executed. The following persons, being members of parliament, were expelled from the house, viz.:—John Ruxton, John Chambers, Thomas Scott, Abel Warren, Robert Shapcote, Alexander Staples, and Thomas Boyd. (184)

As might have been expected, the adventurers and soldiers more immediately concerned in the trial of Antrim's claim felt deeply disappointed at the result. They did not accept defeat with calmness or dignity; but, although without much hope, they feebly continued the struggle for a period of eighteen months longer. During this time, they literally inundated Whitehall and Dublin castle with petitions, each document, if possible, more strongly expressed than its predecessor, and all bristling with charges against Antrim, and threats of the evil consequences that might ensue by his restoration. They succeeded, however, in raising one or two new issues, which the king and his council in England had either overlooked, or did not consider at first of any importance. Antrim, to his great credit be it told, had endeavoured to dissuade the confederated catholics from concluding any peace with Ormonde, either in 1646, or 1648, unless on the grounds of freedom of worship for the Irish people; but Ormonde was afterwards able to have a clause introduced into the act of Settlement, to prevent all who had thus opposed themselves, from ever being restored to their forfeited estates. Antrim had objected to these peaces, not in opposition to the interests of the king, but, on the contrary, that by insisting on a just arrangement between the government and the Irish nation, he (Antrim) might thus be enabled to enlist the whole sympathies and resources of the latter on the side of the sovereign. He had no *immediate instructions* from Charles, however, in his persevering efforts to carry out this policy, which, indeed, would have been the only just and wise course under the circumstances. Ormonde was afraid to adopt it, however, although he kept constantly professing to believe in it; but, in the end, he basely endeavoured to ruin all its honest advocates.

Antrim, then, had clearly compromised himself in this matter, having violated at least the letter,

(184) *Thomas Boyd.*—See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 275, 281; Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 269; *Commons' Journals*, vol. ii., p. 340; *The Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, pp. 236—238.

though not the spirit of the act; and on this point Ormonde and his council, backed up by the adventurers, ungenerously determined to insist, knowing that Antrim had no explicit directions from Charles I. to produce. Having had no other accusation which they could substantiate against him, they kept to this one clause in the act, representing to the king that, if Antrim would be restored to his estate, and adjudged innocent, it could only be done by an infringement of the act of Settlement, which act was the very foundation of the kingdom's peace and security. The king naturally became frightened at the idea of disturbing that act; and he soon saw, besides, the danger and inconvenience that might arise from such a precedent being established in the court of claims, that court having adjudged the marquis innocent on the grounds of the king's letter, although he was condemned by the letter of the act now mentioned. Charles, therefore, shrunk from the responsibility of saving Antrim in that way. The adventurers kept imploring the king and council to grant a new trial of the whole case, and after much time spent in deliberation, this point was conceded. For a new trial, therefore, both sides were in active preparation, when it occurred to Antrim's friends that he could not likely escape the letter of the act on the one point referred to—viz., his opposing the peaces, and that it would be much better for him simply to acknowledge that he had erred, although unintentionally, and to trust entirely to the king's sense of justice for his preservation. This was a wise, and, as it turned out, a fortunate suggestion. To the numerous petitions of his enemies he had occasionally replied, when a reply appeared to be necessary. He now determined to send a final petition to the king. In it, whilst acknowledging that he had acted in some respects incautiously, he tells the king not to pardon him, unless thoroughly convinced that he (Antrim) had honestly done his duty. The following is this petition :—

"That your Petr. in ye beginning of ye late heynous rebellion in Ireland, haveing left that kingdome by reason thereof, and retiring into England, he did, by his Matie of happy memories positive command, and armed with his instructions, returne thither, for ye carying on of such services there, and in Scotland, as were given him in charge; his endeavors wherein were so well accepted, that his Maty was pleased thereupon to dignify him with ye title he now beares, and did (dureing his life) graciously owne and regard him; as on the contrary, for his adhering to his Matie, he was deprived by ye Irish and usurpers of his whole estate, and lived in great misery, till ye time of your Maties most happy restoracõn; when, not doubting of reliefe suitable to his long and great sufferings, he came hither to attend your Matie, but upon some informacõn that he had, in ye time of ye usurpers, aspersed ye memory of ye late King, his gracious master, (185) he was denied admittance to your Royall personne, committed upon that accusation to ye Tower, and sent thence prisoner into Ireland to abide tryall for ye same; where, after he had continued long in a condition worse than death, haveing no support but a weekly allowance (186) as your Maties prisoner, nothing

(185) *Gracious master.*—This calumny against Antrim was said to have been circulated by Henry Jones, bishop of Meath (see p. 310, *supra*), but neither he nor any other witness was brought to prove it against him.

(186) *Weekly allowance.*—A king's letter of May 9, 1661, entered at the Signet Office, required the lord-justices to send to London a true account of the marquis of Antrim's estate, and by whom possessed. This letter indicates the first move of the king in Antrim's case. July 19, 1661, a king's letter entered also at the signet Office, requiring that Antrim be given an allowance of £10 per week. This was the sum referred to in the above petition, and was granted while Antrim continued a prisoner. October, 24, 1662, a king's letter, enrolled in chancery, in Ireland, ordering the marquis of Antrim to have £40 a-year of the creation money of a baron.

being made appear against him, in justificacõn of ye said accusacõn, he was discharged, and permitted to repair into England, where your Matie in a compassionate sence of his long and sharp sufferings, and reflecting upon his services to your Royall ffather, and yourselfe, vouchsafed to name him in ye act of settlement for restoracõn for his whole estate, without any proof of his Innocency, after reprizalls, but previous reprizalls being in his way (ye Court of Claymes then sitting in Ireland), the Petr. was willing to abide another tryall of his behaviour dureing ye Rebellion there before he was restored to his estate, whereupon your Matie was graciously pleased to give him your Royall Certificate concerning his imployments in Ireland dureing ye Rebellion, that thereby his service there to ye crowne might not (by reason of his necessitated converse with the Rebells in that Kingdome in order thereunto) involve him in nocency for any unwitting miscarriage or weakness in ye execucõn of ye Royall comand, when his heart and intencõns were alwaies faithfull to ye crowne. Upon which testimony, and there being no evidence of weight against him, ye commissioners of claymes did adjudge your Petr. innocent, and decreed him to be restored to his estate, since which time ye Lord Lt. and Councell in Ireland have returned a certificate and informăcon to your Matie of severall acts done by your Petr. dureing ye time of ye rebellion, and complyance with ye Rebells, which in truth your Petr., too much trusting to his owne understanding, and in order to performe eminent service to his late Matie as he believed, did unwarily, and is thereby become capable of being preserved onely by your Maties mercy; upon which letter from ye Lord Lt. and Councell, an order being made that your Petrs. cause should have a new tryall, wherein he is to stand barely upon his innocence, which cannot support him, It being likewise the highest affliction to him, that from his cause, any wicked spirits should cast an odious scandall upon ye memory of his last sacred Matie, who never gave any word of direction to your Petr. to act anything without ye privity of or advice of my Lord of Ormond, or, indeed, that could warrant or patronize him in ye least crime or evill, so that your Petr, himselfe entirely takes ye guilt of all his miscarriages in Ireland. He doth, therefore, in all humility, cast himselfe at your sacred Maties feet; and not insisting on ye benefitt of ye said Decree of innocency, doth humbly confess and acknowledge that by his unwary execucõn of ye said powers he was intrusted with in Ireland, where he intended faithfull services to ye crowne, he hath involved himselfe in guilt, if ye strictness of ye law, whereupon the commissioners in Ireland did proceed, should take place against him; yett he hopes he is not in a worse condition than many others who lay obnoxious to ye same judgment, till your Maties clemency, passing by their offences, owning their endeavours to redeeme themselves by service, hath engaged them and their posterity for ever to a faithfulness and obedience.

This sum had been granted in 1664 out of the customs of Coleraine, when he (Antrim) was raised to the dignity of a marquis (see p. 268, *supra*), but it had been forfeited like every other property in his possession. April 30, 1663, a king's letter entered on the rolls of chancery, ordering the marquis of Antrim to have a custodiam of so much of his estate as was within the king's disposal, not being in the hands of adventurers or soldiers. This portion in the king's gift probably consisted of what had belonged to a regicide named Andrews, and which, although belonging to the duke of York, appears to have been given over again to Antrim. April 8, 1661, a king's letter, ordering the marchioness of Antrim to have the rents of the baronies of Dunluce, Carey, Glenarm, and Kilconway. These must have been *quit-rents*, which only could have been disposed of by the king, and which amounted to a penny or three-halfpence per acre. The adventurers or soldiers absorbed everything else in the shape of rents. See Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, pp. 212, 213, 215, 222, 224.

"Your Petr. therefore, doth nowe most humbly implore your Maties mercy, compassion, and pardon, for his many errors, and humbly desires your Maty would accept his own confession, and save the formality of a tryall to finde him guilty; And that since he hath undergon so many yeares deep affliction for his errors, your Matie would yourselfe judge what shall become of him, wherein he beggs no favour if, upon ye observacõn your Matie hath made, and ye knowledge you have of his whole course, your Matie can suspect that there ever entred into his heart a thought of malice or disservice to his late blessed Matie, your Matie, or ye crowne of England. But if, notwithstanding his miscarriages in service, there be left in your Royall heart a beliefe that your Petr. was an honest well-meaning, though weak servant, lett him by your Royall hand be kept from sinking, and putt in a condicõn of serving you all his daies, with his life and restored fortune.

"And he shall ever pray, &c., "ANTRIM."

Extracted from *Transcripts of State Papers*, *Liber F*, pp. 144—147, Record Tower, Dublin castle.

The foregoing petition was very forcibly sustained by another soon afterwards presented from the creditors of the marquis, who were determined that the adventurers should not quietly be permitted to appropriate the Antrim estates to themselves. The following is the last petition of several presented by his creditors, all of whom, whose names are appended, were probably resident in England :—

"To the King's most Excellent Matie

"The humble peticõn of ye Creditors of Randal Lord Marquess of Antrim,

"HUMBLY SHEWETH,—That your Maties Petrs, being very numerous, the most part thereof citizens of London, have been frustrated of a great part of their estates this three and twenty yeares past by ye said marquess of Antrim, who stands indebted to your Petrs in about £40,000, as we have more particularly demonstrated the same in a former peticõn to your Maties Honble Councell, to whome your Matie was pleased to referr ye examinacõn of the Deportment of ye said Marquess of Antrim, and after the Petrs long hope for success in that affair, did finde by ye common course of justice that ye said Marquess of Antrim was, by ye judgment of ye Court of Claimes in your Maties kingdom of Ireland, restored to his estates as an Innocent papist, whereupon the Petrs made applicacõn to the said marquess for satisfying their debts, who willingly condescended that the estate should be immediately disposed of towards the payment of the Petrs debts, whereby they in hope to be satisfyed without further trouble being confident that the late possessors or pretenders to the said estate, who are few in number, rich men, and such as hath received their moneys over and over; but your Petrs are very many, and both their owne and many more families Depending thereon, their creditors hath with long patience forborn them in hopes of this. If now they be deprived of their hopes of reliefe in this case, they may then justly expect that their creditors will violently fall upon them to their utter ruine. And the Petrs well hoped that the purchasers (adventurers) would have been convinced that they ought not to make further application to hold the same any longer considering the weakness of their title, and the great advantages they have received out of that estate these 12 or 13 years past, the yearly rent being nearly worth, in one year, all the Adventures and Debentures which the souldiers and Adventurers had that estate given them for.

"Notwithstanding all which your Maties Petrs are crediblie informed that the said soldiers and adventurers are removed from the said estate, and by the judgment of the Court of Claymes (which as your Petrs. are informed by Councell ought to be finall in this case) doe insist still upon their illegal pretences to obstruct the said Marquess of Antrim's restauracõn, whereby the Petrs. will be deprived of their just debts, and they and their numerous families absolutely ruined, if not prevented by your Maties accustomed justice and favour.

"Therefore your Petrs most humbly pray that your Matie would be graciously pleased to consider the miserable condicõn of your poor Petrs who have upon all occasions evidenced their loyalty to your Matie, in case the Decree for the said marquess his Innocence should be recalled, for that a greater number of your Maties loyall Protestant English subjects will be absolutely thereby ruined. The Petrs doe therefor humbly implore your Maties justice not to alter the judgment of Innocence given for the said Marquess upon any application of the late possessors, the rather for that the just satisfaction of the Petrs dependeth on the continuance of the said judgment.

"And your Petrs, &c.

"Thomas Heath, Jo : Bradbourn, Edward Bradbourn, Christopher Barry, Jo : Vamboltampe, Rand. Graham, John Benskin, exr. of Bambridge, Thos. Carleton, Roger Noll, Jo : Churchman, Anne Wakeman, Hugh Woodward, Hen. Woodward, Tho. Smithsboy, Nick. Nichols, Charles and Abraham Coxellis, exrs. to Abraham Coxellis deceased, Thomas Fage, Will. Barnes, J. Chamberlin, Edwd. Nichols, R. Frogpoole, Sa: Taylor, Pe: Golding, Wm. Morehead, Tho. Sonne, Elnor Ward, Ja. Chapman, for Rand. Bird, Mary Grinder, Mary Lile, Nich. Nicholls, Pen. Stoddard, Ja: Borrage, Jo: Bagger, Jo: Overman, for Jo. Ross."

Extracted from *Transcripts of State Papers, Liber* E, pp. 139, 140, Record Tower, Dublin castle. For a list of Antrim's creditors in 1637, see Appendix XIX.

The case of these petitioners was a hard one, although the marquis of Antrim was by no means to blame in the matter. So early as the year 1637, he had surrendered an important portion of his estate for the payment of his debts; but, unfortunately soon after this arrangement had been made, his whole property was swept from him, first by the Scots, and afterwards by the adventurers and soldiers. This provision for his creditors was recognised in the act of Settlement, and secured in the following terms by clause CLIX :—"Be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, That one grant or lease made by Randall, now marquess of Antrim, on or about the 20th of Nov., 1637, of the Barony of Carey, the lordship of Bally Castle, and the island of Rachlins, and all his lands and hereditaments within the said barony, lordship, and island, or any of them, unto Alexander M'Donnell, John Moore, Archibald Stewart, and John Trayleman, for 99 years, from Michaelmas, 1637, which lease was made in and for payment of, and counter-security against his debts, shall be and remain of the like effect and force in law, and no other, as the same was before the making of this act. And that the said estate and term of years of and in the said demissed premisses shall be and is hereby transferred from the aforesaid lessees unto and vested and settled in Martin Noel, Esq., Thomas Charleton, citizen and mercer in London, and John Bardborn, of the Middle Temple, London, who shall hold and enjoy the said demised premisses from henceforth, for and during such

interest as they legally have by the said lease upon the trust reposed in them; that they, their executors and administrators, shall from time to time, dispose and imploy, such moneys as they shall raise or receive by or out of the said premisses for and towards the satisfaction and payment of all such debts of the said marquis as are yet unpaid, and were intended by the said lease of 99 years to be secured; and that all and every person or persons now seized or possessed of any part of the said premisses, and reprizable by the rules of the declaration and instructions in this present act, shall be forthwith reprized for so much as shall be adjudged for them by virtue of the said lease."

The adventurers had frequently, in their petitions, expressed their regrets that the king did not know of *all* the charges which they had intended to bring forward against the marquis in the court of claims, but were prevented from so doing by his majesty's letter. At length the king graciously invited them, 21st June, 1665, to forward a complete list, a full and particular account, of all the sins they were disposed to heap upon Antrim's devoted head. This request on the part of the king appears to have pleased them exceedingly; if indeed, it did not in a great measure reconcile them to their grievous disappointments. They immediately acknowledged this royal favour in another petition, asking the appointment of a commission for a new trial, which commission would save them much expense and trouble. After long delays, the great roll of their accusations was forthcoming. We have secured a correct copy of this document, and we here submit it *in extenso* for the satisfaction of our readers, as it contains every thing that these adventurers and soldiers could imagine in the shape of a charge against the marquis of Antrim. It is very carefully drawn up, and whilst it contains no charges that had not been previously explained, or utterly exploded, we meet in it many curious allusions to the leading actors and the principal events of the period:—

"To the Kings most Excellent Maty.

Delivd in ye 28th day of June, 1665.

"In obedience to yor Maties order of ye 21st of this instant, ordering the Adventurers and Soldiers interested in ye estate claymed by Randall lord Marquesse of Antrim, to sett down ye crimes with their proofes which they can suggest against ye said Marquesse, They do humbly exhibit ye crimes following, with which they charge ye said Marquesse, viz:—

Proofs

Lord bishop of Meath, Col. Owen, Thos. Grant, Timothy Miller, and Charles Campbell.

"That ye said Marquesse in ye yeare 1641, designed the takeing of ye castle of Dublin, and surprising his Maties Lords-Justices of Ireland, which ye said Marquesse communicated to severall of ye eminent heads and principall conspirators both of ye Pale and Northerne Rebells, who afterwards were chiefe Actors in ye horrid Rebellion. (187)

"That the said marquesse findeing ye designe on ye said castle of Dublin miraculously discovered, (188) did then apply himselfe, as ye Lords and many others

(187) *Rebellion.*—The contemplated seizure of Dublin castle by Ormonde and Antrim, in 1641, had no connexion whatever with the insurrection soon afterwards commenced by O'Moore, Maguire, and others. The capture of the lords-justices, Parsons and Borlase, was only to be made in case they should rebelliously oppose the sending of troops to the king's assistance. See Antrim's account of this affair, which neither Ormonde nor Carte ever ventured to deny in Appendix XIV.

(188) *Discovered.*—This "miraculously discovered" event was made known to the lords-justices, Parsons and Borlase, by a person named Owen O'Connally, who was

of yor Pale did, unto ye said Lords-Justices, professing their loyalty and detestacõn of ye said Rebellion, and did continue for some time his habitacõn in Dublin, but soone after ye said Lords of ye Pale went into open rebellion, (189) and ye said marquesse residing at Maddenstowne, in the county of Kildare, kept correspondence with Rory O'More a great murderer, (190) and ye Rebells Genll for Leinster, as well by conferences held with himselfe, as other ways of intelligence, and with comanders and parties of ye said Rory O'Mores army, to whome ye said marquisse gave all encouragement, as well by tenders of money, as promises for supply of powder, they being then in want of ye same. (191)

Proofs.

Wm. Millington, Geo. Stockdale, and Susanna his wife, and Connor Donoghy, priest.

"That in Aprill, 1642, ye said marquesse resorted to severall of ye Rebells garrisons, particularly Tynekill, comanded by one James MacDonnell, (192) Clone-

suspected of being himself in the plot, and who was cunning enough to use his knowledge of the leaders, M'Mahon and Maguire, to his own personal aggrandisement. O'Connally is described as "a mere Irishman, born in the county of Monaghan, and bred one of lord Massereene's servants." For his story the government gave him a large sum of money in hand, a yearly pension, and command of a regiment, which he raised principally in the neighbourhood of Antrim. He became a great covenanter, and afterwards as great a Cromwellian. He was taken prisoner in a skirmish at Dunadry against some royalists, and on that occasion his career came suddenly and ingloriously to a close. His captors gave him quarter, and sent him off under a guard to Coleraine. "But," says the author of the *Irish Warr in* 1641, pp. 93, 94, "being suffered to be on his own fleet Mare, as they thought he was safe, for the Horseman kept next to him, the rest of the guard being at some distance, he gave him a Leg and struck him backwards with his hand and tossed him off his Horse; on which he would be away, but there being one on the guard had an eye after him, being well mounted, and named Hamilton, whose Brother O'Connally, upon a sudden falling out at Lisnegarvy the year before, went into the Backside to decide the matter, after the first or second pass killed him, whose name was Captain Hamilton, of Sir James Montgomerie's Regiment—which his Brother now revenged, and gave Connally a kick and killed him, which by the law of Arms he might do, in Regard he broke his quarters. Then Connally's Body was carried like a sack on a Horse to ——— that night, and next Day was sent for and interred at Antrim." The officer, who thus kicked Connally to death, was known as *Club-foot* Hamilton.

(189) *Open rebellion.*—It is to be observed, that there were really two insurrections, the one preceding the other by several months. The *first* was that which, although commencing in Dublin on the 23rd of October, 1641, was only taken up and continued in Ulster under the leadership of Felim Roe O'Neill. The *second* was that "general defection which happened some months after in the other provinces, and was occasioned by a continuation and increase of those grievances and oppressions which had produced the first." These grievances and oppressions were made the subjects of innumerable protests and remonstrances on the part of the natives, who "had endured a continual servitude rather than the freedom of subjects." Yet the lords of the Pale, that is, the catholic nobility and gentry around Dublin, came promptly forward and offered their services to the government to assist in putting down the rebellion in Ulster, or at least preventing it from spreading into the other provinces. Their services, however, were declined, and the government, or rather the two lords-justices, instead of showing any wish to redress the grievances, as they were commanded by the king to do, commenced an inhuman slaughter of the excited but unarmed mobs around Dublin. This conduct drove the lords of the Pale, and, indeed, the natives throughout Ireland, into the rebellion. The oppressions of Chichester, Falkland, and Wentworth in hunting for defective titles among the catholics, followed by the insolence and rapacity of such men as Parsons, Clotworthy, Broghill, Coote, St. Leger, and a swarm of the same class, had laid the foundations of revolt wide and deep.

(190) *Murderer.*—See p. 304, *supra*. O'More was, for the reasons formerly mentioned, a most determined rebel, but it is unfair to charge him personally with the acts of others. A letter of this Irish leader is still preserved among the family papers at Birr Castle, and was written by him in reply to a request from lady Anne Parsons, mother of the lord-justice, that O'More would get returned to her certain coach-horses which the insurgents had appropriated. His reply commences thus:—"Much Honoured lady,—I receaved your letter which might easily move me to doe your ladyship any lawfull service or courtesy, which I have always coveted to doe unto all such of your condicion, vertue, and worth." He declines, however, on the grounds that the horses would be used against his party. "But," he concludes, "if I were assured noe such use would be made of them, I would endeavour to gett them restored, which truly I hold but a poore courtesy, and nothing to what I should find myself willing to doe." The reader may find this remarkable letter quoted entire in the *Second Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 218.

(191) *Of ye same.*—This improbable story of Antrim volunteering money and powder when he had notoriously neither one nor other was sworn to in the court of claims (see p. 312, *supra*). Antrim highly disapproved of the rebellion as a hopeless movement, and as having wholly set aside other means of redress which he had hoped more likely to prove effective. See Appendix XIV.

(192) *James MacDonnell.*—This Irish leader was a

Proofs.

Ant. Enos, Geo. Crosden, Owen Breckan Eleanor Connor, and others yet liveing.

gowne the Lord Clonmaleer's house, (193) where ye said Rory O'More, his son, and other notorious Rebells were; As also Tollymoore in ye King's County, a house of Sir Robert Forth's, (194) surprised by ye Rebells, and then garrisoned by one of ye O'Molloys, (195) where (upon advice received from his spies in Dublin) ye said marquesse informed them that Sr Charles Coote ye elder, (196) father to ye late Earl of Mountrath, by comand of his grace ye Duke of Ormond, then Lieut.-generall to ye Army, was with a considerable part of his Maties forces, comeing to destroy their quarters and to take in their garrisons, and, therefore, warned them to send parties of

kinsman of the marquis of Antrim, being descended from a Colla Macdonnell who founded the family at Tennekille, in Queen's county, and was probably a cousin german of Sorley Boy. This Colla died in 1570, and was succeeded in the family estates, consisting of about 1,310 acres, by his eldest son, Hugh Boy. The latter died in August, 1618, his eldest son, Fergus, being then 44 years of age, and married. The latter enjoyed the estate, for which he paid to the crown the yearly rent of £13 19s 6d. At the date of his death in 1637, his eldest son, James, mentioned above, was 20 years of age, and married. This gentleman had obtained a new grant of the family property from the crown in 1631, and his patent, curiously enough, was found some years since among the Antrim papers at Glenarm castle. This may be accounted for by the fact that his estate was forfeited in 1641, and although the family was not scattered until about 1652, they never regained possession, and may, perhaps, have placed any such papers in the keeping of the marquis of Antrim, who was restored in 1665. James Macdonnell's family afterwards probably dwelt in the county of Antrim, the eldest son, Fergus, removing about the year 1690 to a place called Coolavin, near the town of Wicklow. His son, Sorley, or Charles, left this home in 1740, and settled at Baytown, in the county of Meath, and was buried at Kilbride. His son, Richard, resided at Peacockstown, in the same county, and married a daughter of captain Sandys. He died in 1805. Robert, a son of the latter, lived near Cork, where he married a Miss Nugent of Ardmore, who was grand-daughter by her mother of alderman Jellet, of Youghal. He died in 1823, and his son, also named Richard, became provost of Trinity College. The latter married Jane, daughter of dean Graves, descended from a Cromwellian officer. The family is now worthily represented by sir Richard Graves M'Donnell, son of the late provost, who married Blanche, daughter of Francis Skurry, Esq. See *Leinster Inquisitions*, as quoted in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., pp. 42, 121; also *Family Pedigree*, in possession of sir Richard Graves M'Donnell, Curzon Street, May Fair, London.

(193) *Clonmaleer's house.*—See p. 311, *supra*. Lord Clonmaleer was Lewis O'Dempsie, who, in 1641, was much harrassed and delayed in his projects, as an insurgent leader, by the bravery of Lettice Fitzgerald, lady Offaley, who could not be induced by coaxing or threats to surrender her residence of Geashill, King's county. This lady was the widow of sir Robert Digby of Coleshill, and cousin-german to lord Clonmalier. To a summons of surrender, signed by six Irish leaders, besides Clonmalier himself, this heroic lady replies:—"I can think no place safer than my own house, wherein if I perish by your means the guilt will light on you, and I doubt not but I shall receive a crown of martyrdom, dying innocently. God, I trust, will take a poor widow into his protection, from all those who, without cause, are risen up against me." Lady Offaley held on until relieved in the month of October, 1642. See Lodge, vol. vi., p. 282.

(194) *Sir Robert Forth's.*—This knight had been previously a member of the Irish privy council, and held a lucrative appointment in the prerogative court. He was son of Ambrose Forthe, an LL.D. and knight. See the latter's appointments referred to in Erck's *Patent Rolls*, James I., pp. 104, 162, 256. In a letter to Cecil, dated April 13, 1604, and preserved in the Irish State Papers Office, sir Ambrose Forthe states that his "long suit begun to the late sovereign, revised to his Majesty, and referred to the allowance of the right honourable the Lords of Council, is staid upon some imputation of wealth. Most humbly thanks God for his estate, which far exceedeth his deserts (albeit being near beggary), and wishes that his majesty had the wealth of many of his dutiful subjects redoubled. Touching himself, he may justly affirm that, haveing there served these 32 years, hitherto he has neither been burthensome to the crown nor chargeable to the country, making his faculty his revenue, his frugality his thrift, running his whole course without top or top gallant. Dated at my poor farmhouse of the Cabragh, near Dublin." See Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, first series, p. 157.

(195) *O'Molloys.*—There were two O'Molloys Irish leaders, brothers, named Art and Felim, and natives of Fircal, in King's county. The head of the O'Maolinhuaidh or O'Molloys in 1585 was Connell, son of Cahir. Felim O'Molloy intercepted a letter from a Mr. Parsons in 1641, in which the writer informed his correspondent that the head of the colonel of O'Molloy's regiment would not be allowed to stick long on its shoulders. Referring to this threat, O'Molloy replies:—"I will doe this if you please, I will picke out 60 men, and fight against 100 of your choise men, if you doe but pitche your camp one mile out of your towne, and then if you have the victorie you may threaten my Colonell; otherwise do not reckon your chickens before they be hatched." *Second Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 218.

(196) *Sr. C. Coote the elder.*—"Old Sir Charles," the father of the first earl of Mountrath, came to Ireland when a mere youth, and served with distinction in the war against Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone. In 1605, he was appointed provost marshal of Connaught, and in 1641 he was slain at Trim in an engagement with the Irish. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 63, 67.

men to guard ye severall passes against his Maties forces, which ye said Rebells did accordingly, and thereby prevented ye designe of his Maties Army on that country; Att which time ye said marquesse gave moneys to ye soldiers of ye said garrisons, and encouraged them to persist in their rebellion, assuring them that within a short time they should have great supplye, Owen Roe O'Neile being then dayly expected, and reported to have come from Spaine. (197) Proofs.

"That ye said Marquesse, findeing his correspondence with Rory O'More and ye other Rebells to be discovered to his Maties then Lords-Justices and Councell, thought it not longer safe to reside at Maddenstowne, but retired into ye Rebells quarters, and soon after passed through severall counties, to ye armies and garrison of Sir Phelim O'Neile, and his brother Terlough O'Neile, a bloody murderer in ye counties of Tyrone and Ardmagh, where he was entertained and attended with all demonstracõns of joy and affection. (198) Edward Rowley and Michael Harrison, Esqrs., yet liveing, and others. (199)

"That thence he went to his owne country in ye county of Antrim, where he was received by Coll. James MacDonnell, James MacHenry, Gilduff O'Cahan, Tirlagh O'Cahan, and other great commanders, the said marquesses kinsmen and followers, being heads of his country, and of ye worst sort of Rebells, who had most barbarously and inhumanly destroyed multitudes of ye brittish protestants in could blood, without any provocation, and treacherously murdered many of them after quarter given, and convoy assigned for their preservacõn, for which savage cruelties, ye said James MacDonnell and others, were afterwards executed at Carrigfergus, (200) with which murderers ye said marquesse associated himselfe, and attempted by treaty to gett into his hands the Castle of Ballyntoy, the then onely remaining refuge to ye Brittish in that Thos. Boyd, Archdeacon William Fullerton, Walter Lynn, and others, yet liveing.

(197) *From Spaine.*—See p. 312, *supra*. The witnesses who swore these allegations (see their names in the margin) are unknown otherwise than that some of them were employed to swear at other trials in the court of claims—a fact which is not calculated to enhance their evidence. They were probably persons who lingered about that court to accommodate parties requiring witnesses. See Russell's and Prendergast's *Account of the Carte Collection*, p. 158.

(198) *Joy and affection.*—This reception of lord Antrim by the Ulster rebels was a very fortunate circumstance for the English and Scottish prisoners who lay on the line of his route from Dublin to the North. These witnesses, Rowley and Harrison, who were in the rank of gentlemen, overlooked Antrim's disapproval of the rebellion, and his interposition on behalf of sir Wm. Brumlie, lieutenant Thirsbie, and the inhabitants of Coleraine. See pp. 259, 260, *supra*.

(199) *And others.*—Edward Rowley, mentioned among the witnesses of lord Antrim's coming from Maddenstown to the North, was probably a son of the Mr. Rowley slain at Moneymore in 1641 (see p. 259, *supra*). Michael Harrison had lived in the capacity of a clerk or secretary with sir Felim O'Neill, and whilst in the service of the latter had drawn up a commission as if from the king to sir Felim, and affixed to it the royal seal cut from a charter belonging to lord Charlemont. Harrison was a witness against sir Felim on the trial of the latter in 1652, and acknowledged his own share in that transaction. In the presence of the court he said that it was he (Harrison) who "did stitch the silk cord or label of that seal with silk of the colours of the said label, and so fixed the label and seal to the said commission." See Nalson's *Collection*, vol. ii., p. 529.

(200) *Carrigfergus.*—These Irish leaders are here charged with the cruelties, to whatever extent committed, of the infuriated rabble that generally attended the movements of regular troops. The opposing rabble was equally cruel when opportunity permitted. Two of these witnesses, Fullerton and Boyd, were shut up in Ballintoy castle during the time the massacres are alleged to have been so generally perpetrated throughout the district, and could only have received hearsay accounts. For notices of these gentlemen, see pp. 71, 72, *supra*. Several years subsequently to 1641, there was a Rev. Walter Linn residing at Munineagh, in the barony of Kilconway, who may have been probably the son of the third witness here named in the margin. For references to Gillduff O'Cahan and James Macdonnell, see pp. 62, 313, *supra*. This James Macdonnell was son of Coll, son of sir James of Dunluce, son of Sorley Boy.

Proofs.

country, who defended themselves against ye said murderers that kept them a long time besieged. But ye said Brittish protestants stood on their defence, and would not trust to ye terms offered by ye said marquesse, least they should be murdered after quarter given, as severall of their Neighbours in ye like case had beene. (201) In which posture of conjunction with those bloody persons he continued untill major Genll Monroe, about ye ende of May, 1642, with an army of brittish, invaded ye said Marquesses country, at the castle of Dunluce made him prisoner, and sent him thence to his Maties towne of Carrigfergus. (202)

"All which shows ye said marquesses guilt ye first two yeares of ye Rebellion, and that he left not the Kingdome by reason thereof (as he would insinuate as forced thereunto by ye Rebells), but that for his joyning with the bloodyest sort of those Rebells, being taken and imprisoned as aforesaid at Carrigfergus on ye sea-coast, he so continued prisoner, untill he thence made his escape, and found meanes to gett into England. (203)

The original Commission entd in ye Discrimination book at Dublin.

"That after ye said marquesses returne into Irelande, instead of endeavouring to drawe ye Rebells to their due obedience, he again closed with their party, and accepted a commission to be their Lieut. genll of their armies, and signed a counterpart of their Instructions, which limitted him to an observance of their orders and comands (204)

Art Cavanagh, John Duigan, and others, yet liveing.

"That ye said marquesse freely enjoyed his estate within ye Rebells quarters, as of their party, though the said marquesse with confidence suggests ye contrary in his said peticõn to his Maty which was one qualification that rendered him nocent, by ye said Act of parliament. (205)

Bart. Molloy, Danl. M'Kay, Hen. Davies, yett liveing, ye said Davies now in London.

"That ye said marquesse tooke and subscribed the pernicious oath of Association, thereby voluntarily bindeing himselfe up from doeing service for his late Maty and affectionately engaging himselfe to exclude ye established government in church and state, and to bringe in popery and forreigne jurisdiction, which was a signall and eminent act of malice and disservice, by which oath he engaged to defend ye free exercise of ye Roman Catholick religion throughout ye land of Ireland, and ye lives, liberties, and possessions of all that should take ye oath, To ratify and obey all orders of ye confederate Roman Catholiques; Not to receive any pardon or protection for any act done, or to be done without ye consent of ye major part of ye Confederates Councell;

(201) *Had beene.*—Probably the reference here is to the surrender of Clough castle, where some are stated in the 'Depositions' to have been massacred after they had left the place, but not by Irish soldiers. (See pp. 64, 311, *supra.*)

(202) *Carrigfergus.*—See pp. 76, 263, *supra.*

(203) *Into England.*—See p. 263, *supra.*

(204) *And comands.*—See the trial in the court of claims. For an account of the contents of the *Discrimination Books* here produced as evidence, see Russell's and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte MSS.*, p. 146.

(205) *Of Parliament.*—This was considered an unanswerable point against Antrim. According to clause x. of instructions for executing his majesty's declaration, 14 and 15 Chas. ii., cap. 2, none were to be restored as innocent papists who had enjoyed their estates, real or personal, in the rebel quarters; and this was even held to extend to such as lived in the English quarters but received the rents of lands lying in the Irish quarters. See trial in the court of claims, p. 313, *supra.* See *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, p. 152.

not directly or indirectly to do any act or acts that shall prejudice ye said cause, but to the hazard of life and estate to assist, prosecute, and maintaine ye same; Not to accept or submitt to any peace without ye consent and approbation of ye generall assembly of ye said confederate Catholiques; and upon any peace or accommodation to be made by his Maty with ye said confederates to insist upon, and maintaine ye ensueing propositions, viz.:—That ye Roman Catholiques both Clergy and Layety in their severall capacities shall have ye free and publique exercise of ye Roman Catholique Religion and function in Ireland, in as full lustre and splendour as it was in ye raigne of Henry ye 7th or other Catholique Kings, his predecessors, Kings of England. (206) That ye secular clergy of Ireland, vizt, primates, archbishops, deans, and chapters, &c., and their successors, shall have and enjoy all manner of jurisdiction, privilege, &c., in as full manner as they enjoyed ye same in ye raigne of ye said King Henry; That ye said clergy shall have, hold, and enjoy all ye church and church liveings in as large and ample manner as ye protestant clergy enjoyed ye same ye 1st day of October, 1641, together with all ye profitts, &c., as well in all places then in ye confederates' possession, or as should hereafter be recovered by the so confederates from ye advers party, which advers party were his Maties subjects then under his grace ye Duke of Ormond's comand. Proofs.

"That ye said Marquesse, after takeing ye said othe of association, constantly continued in ye Rebells quarters, was eminent in their counsells, and during ye confederates treaty of ye 1646 peace, was all along opposite thereto, and when he saw it drawe neare a conclusion, being disgusted thereat, he forsooke ye kingdom, and in great discontent he retired into ye highlands of Scotland, (207) where he purposed to continue until he should receive advertisemt of ye breach of ye said peace, designed by him before leaving Ireland, which accordingly being effected by his confederates Owen Roe O'Neile and ye pope's nuncio, and clergy party, they sent one Patrick O'Haggerty, (208) a priest, purposely with notice thereof to ye said marquesse, who thereupon immediately returned into Ireland, and joined with ye said Nuntio and Owen Roe, and in an open assembly (purposely called to that end) moved that a declarãcon should be framed for rejection of ye said peace, and being opposed therein by ye Sir N. Plunkett's briefs in the clerk of ye Councill's office in Dublin.

(206) *Kings of England.*—The demands of the Irish clergy on the religious question implied not only toleration for themselves but also the re-establishment of their old ascendancy. See Dr. Trench's *Works*, vol. ii., pp. 45—48.

(207) *Of Scotland.*—On the occasion here referred to, Antrim's leading object in going to Scotland was to meet sir Alaster MacColl, in Argyleshire, after the latter had taken his departure from the marquis of Montrose. Antrim was sojourning for a time in Cantire, when lord Lindores went to request in the king's name that Antrim's party in Scotland would discontinue the war. See p. 306, *supra*.

(208) *O'Haggerty.*—This priest, like O'Crilly, (mentioned at pp. 79—277, *supra*), was also from the county of Derry. The family to which he belonged "was of the race of Eoghan, but never attained to any distinction in the annals of the country. Their habitat in the fourteenth century seems to have been in the north-west of the modern barony of Loughinshollin. In 1458, Nicholas O'Hegarthy was rector of Balliscrine. In 1646 Donald and Cormac, sons of Felim O'Neyll, carried away fifty cows from Patrick Ohegarthy of Ballyscrene. A member of the family is now ennobled in the Austrian Empire, and the name is frequently met with in the counties of Tyrone, Derry, and Donegal, in the form of Hagarty." *Colton's Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves, pp. 21, 22.

Proofs.

moderate party of ye said assembly, ye said marquesse declared, the cause was so good that it feared no opposition, and in that heat of his zeal, pressed that those that object against ye said declarãcon for nulling ye said peace, should be putt from ye said confederate associacõn, which was a signall act of malice and disloyalty. (209)

"That ye said marquiss soone after rejecõn of said peace, was for his active endeavours therein, made president of ye confederate Councell, and signed all orders, and was of all comittees, whereof particular instances may be made, as for drawing up charges against Sr. Thomas Nugent, Sr. James Dillon, major-generall Fitzsimons, and others of ye confederates that submitted to ye peace, and sided with ye enemy, as they then termed his grace, the Ld Duke of Ormond, who by his Maties authority had concluded ye peace with them; for disperseing papers in his Maties quarters; for debauching ye soldiers of his Maties army, and drawing them to ye Rebells party; for restriction of ye Earl of Bristoll, then his Maties principall secretary of state, in his passage through ye confederate quarters to the port he was to take shipping at; (210) for securing Daniel O'Neile, Esqr., and others expressely employed from ye King, and by ye Lord Lieutenant in his Maties service; and multitudes of other instances may be made of like nature, which are ready to be offered and proved if required, shewing his close conjunction with ye pope's Nuntio party in all private Councells, and actions; and in great pomp publiquely, at severall times, holdeing ye Canopy over ye head of ye said Nuntio; as also his constant opposicõn to ye said 1646 peace all along, till his grace ye lord Lt by ye said marquesses orders and Instructions likewise was besieged in Dublin, by ye armies of ye said Nuntio and Owen Roe O'Neile, and thereupon forcibly driven to forsake ye kingdome, which was ye greatest disservice that ye most malicious of the Rebells could do to his Maty. (211)

Bart. Molloy, Wm. Newman, Don. Walshe, — Greene, and others yett living; and the orders signed by ye said marquesse, in ye discrimination Books at Dublin.

(209) *Disloyalty.*—Antrim was under the impression that in opposing Ormonde at this crisis he was really doing the best service that could be rendered to the cause of the king. Referring to Ormonde's conduct during those years between 1645 and 1649, Dr. French pithily remarks:—"I come to my Lord of Ormond, who for some years continued his capitulations and treatings with the Catholics of Ireland, and did indeed wire-draw them to their great losses, both to the disheartning of their souldiers, consumption of their treasures, and letting slip great advantages of service. . . . Anything that seemed to be for the King's interest or for the King's service did much relish with the Catholics, and soe desirous and forward we were to make peace with any partie the King owned to be his own, that we omitted to pursue vigorously a good warr, and at long running wee made noe good peace for libertie, Religion, Fortunes, or honour of the Nation." *Works*, vol. ii., p. 37.

(210) *Shipping at.*—This passage refers to the fatal and well-known dissentions in the confederate assembly, when Ormonde's party was forced to withdraw, being borne down by the nuncio with the clergy at his back; Antrim and Owen Roe O'Neill also lending their aid to drive Ormonde into a fix. There is here a loud outcry against Antrim's prohibiting the earl of Bristol, then lord Digby, from spying in the confederate quarters. Ormonde and Digby aimed for a time at making Antrim an instrument in carrying out their unworthy policy, and when this could not be done, they mutually agreed to oppose him. Their selfish designs upon him are well put in a letter of Digby to Ormonde, of which the following is an extract:—"His Lordship's (Antrim's) other ground is a design to be chosen generalissimo of all the popish party there; a thing in itself of so dangerous a consequence, and of so great a scandall to his magestie, in case he should have occasion to make use of the Irish, that your Lordship must look to the prevention of it vigilantlie and betimes; yet so as to avoyd the disobliging my Lord Antrim. *A principall aim in serving ourselves of the Irish, must be to submit them, if possible, unto your Lordship's command, whereby the scandall will be much removed, and the use of them much improved.* See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. iii., p. 214.

(211) *To his Maty.*—The "New Confederates," as the nuncio's party was called, having discovered Ormonde's treachery in opening negotiations with the English parliament-faction, determined, if possible, to drive him out before he could accomplish the inglorious surrender of the kingdom. Accordingly in October, 1646, the two Irish generals, Owen Roe and Preston, set out

"That in ye yeare 1647, ye Earl of Clancarty, then Lord Viscount Muskerry, and Jeffry Browne, Esq., being imployed by ye moderate part of the Confederates to ye English court then att Paris, for drawing his Grace ye Lord L^t into Ireland to treat of a new peace, the said Marquess of Antrim laboured all he could to obstruct the negotiacõns, (212) and kept at distance from them, all ye while takeing wayes of his owne; and ye said marquess, with monk Crilly, (ye said marquisses confident and intelligencer to ye late usurpers) pretending other commissions from ye clergy party, distinct from theirs, as well to matters of Religion as plantãcon of Ulster, and that for prosecucõn of their designes, the said Monk Crilly was imployed by ye said marquesse to Rome, whereof ye said Lord Clancarty and Jeoffrey Browne, in a high manner, complaine by their letters unto Richard Belleing, Esqr., then secretary to ye Councell of ye said moderate party, which act, even in ye judgment of his owne party, is an apparent instance of his disafection to his Maties service.

"That on ye negotiãcon of ye said Lord Clancarty and Jeoffry Browne, ye Lord Duke of Ormond being commisionated to make peace with ye said confederates, and to that ende arriveing in Ireland about October, 1648, the said marquesse of Antrim being inveterately inclined against all terms of closeing with his Matys government, resolved to resist ye same unto blood. And in prosecucõn thereof immediately entered into a confederacy against makeing ye said peace, and raised ye highlanders, then remaining in Leinster, to join with other forces of Owen Roe O'Neile's party to oppose ye same by force (who by his instigation and power) being drawne together in a body, were mett with by a party of ye moderate confederat's army, commanded by Sr. Thomas Esmond, Knt., and wholly routed, many of ye said highlanders forces being

at the head of 16,000 foot and 600 horse, the nuncio and the new supreme council accompanying the army in its march towards Dublin. On the 2nd of November they sent in propositions to Ormonde, but, unfortunately, they did not follow their propositions promptly, but left Ormonde time to make offers of freedom of religion to the covenanters, exactly what he denied to the confederates, although commanded by the king to grant them. Rather than do his countrymen and kinsmen this justice, he hastily surrendered, and fled from the kingdom. See p. 277, *supra*. See also Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, pp. 313, 314.

(212) *Negotiacõns.*—In a manuscript history of the rebellion, preserved at Birre Castle, near Parsonstown, and supposed to be written by Nich. Plunket, one of Antrim's inveterate enemies in the confederacy, we find the following account of this affair, written so venomously, however, in reference to Antrim:—"The King was prisoner to the Parliament, and none admitted to come at him, so as their application must be to the Queen and prince in France, and one of their instructions was to have a Catholic Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Their agents were the marquis of Anthrim, the viscont Muskry and Geoffry Brown; they made undoubtedly as ill a choice of the marquis of Anthrim as the King did of Glamorgan, and the sequell will show it. At the same time they sent the bishop of Fernes and Nicholas Plunkett to the Pope, who by his Holiness was made a Knight. Antrim, Muskry, and Brown found the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and their Court at St. Germains in France, where these gentlemen at one and the same time received a severe reprimand for their delaying and breaking the peace, the occasion of so much misfortune and misery, and nowe however a welcom for their repentance and willingness to remedye by their future undertakings what the former actions did mischiefe and ruin; and after some days spent in consultation, they were commanded back againe, with instructions to prepare their people hereafter to obedience and loyalty, and to expect a Vice-Roy as soon as they would make choice of one, and dispatch him away for Ireland. Here now appeared the strange weakness of Anthrim, for the Queen and the Prince not declaring who should be Lord Lieutenant, this man fancies to himself (who was neither a statesman nor soldier in the least), that he should be the person, and accordingly set up for a faction upon his return, and closes with those of the Nuncio's party, than which nothing could be more absurd when he knew already whilst he was in France how justly odious those persons were to her Majesty." *Second Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p.

Proofs.

killed, and most of their officers taken prisoners; and ye said marquesse himselfe being with a party of ye said Rebells who had taken a prey, and were pursued by Captain Wolverston (one of Sr. Thomas Esmond's party) narrowly escaped; who fled to Athy, where Owen Roe O'Neile had his army, and joined with ye said Owen Roe O'Neile, continued and joined as a separate party from ye moderate confederates, ye said Marquesse with ye said Owen Roe and his head officers writeing expostulary letters against makeing ye said peace, ye said Marquesse himselfe first signeing to all ye said letters. (213)

Several letters of Sir Thomas Esmond, in Councell's office.

"That ye said marquesse about ye later ende of 1648, and beginning of 1649, after conclusion of ye peace, kept correspondence with Jones at Dublin, in order to a conjunction with Owen Roe O'Neile's forces against his grace ye Duke of Ormond, his Maties Lieutenant, and being himselfe in Jones quarters about that negotiacõn, from whome he had procured a supply of powder for Owen Roe O'Neile's forces, the said Jones ordered a party of horse and foote safely to convoy ye said marquesse to Owen Roe O'Neile's army, at which time ye said marquesse declared to Captain Woodward, who comanded ye said party, that there was an agreement to be made between Owen Roe O'Neile and Coll. Jones, and further said to the said Captain Woodward, that when your horse, meaninge Jones party, and our foote, meaninge Owen Roe's army, and ye Clergy party shall joine, as they are forthwith to do, we shall soon make an end of the warr; immediately after which discourse, the said convoy was mett with by a party of ye Lord Inchiquin's forces then in Leinster, who had designedly waylaid them, and by the said Lord Inchiquin's party, were, after some dispute, wholly routed, the said marquesse during ye fight, shifting for himselfe, and narrowly escaped from being taken prisoner by his Maties forces, and can there be greater malice, with all humble submission it is offered, than to joine with all sorts of Rebells to destroy his Maties armies. (214)

Lord Bpp. of Meath, Capt. Woodward, and others yett liveing.

228. Plunkett, the writer of this, was one of Ormonde's *pets*, and in the foregoing passage greatly misrepresents Antrim's motives and actions.

(213) *Said letters.*—This passage refers, but in an unfair and distorted style, to the movements of Antrim in 1648, who then actively opposed the reckless course of Ormonde, and the party supporting him in the confederacy. The latter were continuing a struggle calculated to waste the country and destroy its inhabitants, even after Ormonde must have believed there could be no other results expected. When Antrim left Scotland, early in 1647, he brought with him a regiment of Scotch Highlanders, under the command of Angus MacDonald of Glengarry, not so much, perhaps, to employ them against his Irish enemies as to take them out of harm's way in Scotland, where David Leslie was cutting off in detail the various fragments into which the royalist forces had separated themselves, after their great victory at Kilsyth. This Highland regiment under Glengarry soon got into trouble here also, for on its march to join the Cavanaghs in Wexford, and thus to assist in opposing the Ormondists, it was set upon by a superior force, under sir Thomas Esmond, and entirely defeated. Four hundred of Glengarry's regiment were killed, with several officers, and the remaining officers, including himself, were taken prisoners. At the restoration Glengarry was elevated to the peerage by the title of lord Macdonnell and Aros, for his services in the royalist cause. See Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., pp. 42, 43; Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, p. 417.

(214) *Maties armies.*—It was at this juncture that Antrim made up his mind to unite with Jones. This distinguished general, Michael Jones, was one of the four sons of Dr. Lewis Jones, a Welshman, who was appointed to the bishoprick of Killaloe in 1633, and died in 1646, at the age of one hundred and four years. His other sons were *Henry*, bishop of Meath (see p. 310, *supra*); *Theophilus*, created a knight and made privy councillor at the Restoration; and *Oliver*, a colonel in the army, and appointed governor of Leighlin in 1651. Michael Jones mentioned above was one of Cromwell's most trusted and efficient generals. On the surrender of Dublin by Ormonde in 1647, Jones was appointed governor of the city, and held this position until the time of his death at Dungannon in 1649. Cromwell, when referring to his death, soon after its occurrence, says:—"The noble lieutenant-general, whose finger, to our knowledge, never ached in these expeditions, fell sick, upon a cold taken in our late wet march, and ill-accommodation, and went to Dungannon, where, struggling

Proofs.

"That ye peace with his grace ye Lord Lt. (notwithstanding ye marquesses endeavors to obstruct it) being concluded in January, 1648, ye said marquess could not be drawne to submitt to ye same, but that in May, 1649, he stood in opposicõn thereunto, as may appear by ye testimony hereafter following, vizt upon complainte on behalfe of ye said marquesse of Antrim, and his graces references thereupon; It is certified by ye trustees appointed as conservators of ye peace, whereof ye said marquesses owne brother, Alexander M'Donnell, was one, as followeth, vizt.:—'1 May, 1649. May it please yor Excellency, when ye petitioner shall give testimony of his submission to ye peace, and obedience to his Maties government, and that he subscribes this, or that any other peticõn of its kinde be exhibited by him, that then, and not before, we holde fitt ye within complainte, or any other he shall offer, be taken into consideracõn, all which we humbly submitt to yor Lordships further judgment, signed Alexander M'Donnell, Nicholas Plunkett, Richard Everard, Tirlogh O'Neile, Jeffry Browne, Gerrard Ffennell,' which evidence of ye said marquesses owne brother plainly evinces his guilt and aversion to ye said peace, and as in May, 1649, It appears he had not submitted, so he constantly continued his violent opposicõn thereunto, and in conjunction with Owen Roe O'Neiles and his confederate opposers of ye same peace. (215)

Which certificate is entred in ye booke of Discriminations, at Dublin.

Sir Thomas Stanley, Capt. Packenham, Dan. M'Kay, and others, yet liveing.

"That when Owen Roe O'Neile dyed, it might have been expected ye said marquesse would then have returned to his obedience, but instead thereof he laboured all he might to have been elected genll of ye Ulster forces, with designe of upholding ye fewd continued in ye nation against ye submitters to his Maties soveraignty, but ye titular Bishopp of Clogher then growne conformable to his Maties government, and resolved to act by his authority and commission, being chosen genll, the said marquesse in a high discontent fynding his aymes cleerly frustrated, (216) and that his power declined of influencing the said army longer to persist in their Rebellious courses, which had a long time rendered all attempts for his Maties service against ye usurpers

some four or five days with a fever, he died, having run his course with so much honour, courage, and fidelity, as his actions better speak than any pen. What England lost hereby is above me to speak." On the occasion of Antrim passing from Wexford and joining Jones in Dublin, he was sent forward by the latter under a safe escort to the North, where he was chosen general-in-chief of Ulster, Owen Roe O'Neill being appointed to command under him. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 190; Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii., p. 43.

(215) *Same peace.*—The news of the farcical peace of 1648 had not time to reach London before the regicides had done their work. The execution of the king was one bloody result of Ormonde's surrender in 1647, and his futile peace of the following year had only the effect of aggravating the miseries of the Irish nation by encouraging in it a hostile attitude towards Cromwell, when all its powers of resistance had been frittered away or destroyed by Ormonde. He thought it was necessary, however, to have commissioners of trust appointed under this treaty, among whom was Alexander Macdonnell, the brother of the marquis, who sided with the Ormondeist party in the confederacy, and who signed the certificate above quoted as a document to be acted upon in reference to any Roman catholic who ventured to complain against certain terms of the peace. Owen Roe O'Neill also resisted the terms of the peace, and refused to take back under his command the three regiments commanded respectively by lord Iveagh, sir Felim O'Neill, and Alex. Macdonnell, all of which regiments had deserted him to join the Ormondeist party in the confederacy. Owen Roe. died soon afterwards; the nuncio had been re-called; and Antrim, like all others, had to do the best he could under the new order of things introduced by the Cromwellians.

(216) *Frustrated.*—See Antrim's account of this matter at p. 299, *supra*.

Proofs. fruitless, resolved to compleat all ye other acts of disobedience with ye grand crime of spurneing at, and wholly rejecting his Maties government, and joineing with ye late usurped powers, with whom he had long kept correspondence, which accordingly he putt in execucõn, by fforthwith closeing with ye Regicide Ireton, useing his utmost endeavours to serve and assist that party against his Maties government. (217)

Ld. archbp. of Dublin, Sir. T. Stanley, Capt. Packing ham, and others, yett liveing.

"That soon after his said agreement with Ireton, the said marquess of Antrim in person joined with ye said Ireton in besieging his Maties strong castle of Catherlogh, (218) garrisoned by part of his Maties forces, under ye comand of his Grace, and continued there with ye said Ireton at ye siedge, which castle and garrison after long and stout resistance was at last overpowered and forced to be surrendered, as also ye said marquisse was with ye said Ireton, and by his direction at severall other places, acting with his utmost power against his Maties government for many months before his grace ye Lord Lt. was ye second time constrained to leave ye Kingdom. (219)

Ld. baron Coloony, now liveing, who deposed ye same in open court.

"That in ye yeare 1650, Ireton having designed to send forces into Scotland to obstruct yor Maties service there, the said marquesse of Antrim was of counsell therein, (220) and undertooke and contracted with ye said Ireton for providinge boates to transport ye said Ireton's forces into ye highlands to carry on that designe against yor Matie, and in order therto went into ye North, where at ye siege of Charlemont, he declared to Sr. Charles Coote, late Earl of Mountrath, that he was imployed by ye said Ireton to that end, which had accordingly been effected, but that Ireton's sudden death prevented ye same, all which doth clearly evince malice to be ingrafted in ye said marquisse, and as yor Petrs humbly conceive cannot butt be interpreted acts of disloyalty and disservice. But, as a remarkable and uncontroulable further instance of ye said marquesses unjustifiable acts of malice and disservice towards yor Matys Royall father, yor Maty, and ye crown of England, ye said Adventurers humbly offer ye great and infallible testimony of your Matys Lieutenant, the Lord Duke of Ormonde, your Maties chiefe ministers of State and Privy Councell of Ireland, who have certified to your Maty by their letter of ye 31st July, 1663, among other things, that in 1648, when things were in a way and tendency towards sending ten thousand men to his Maties assistance, the Marquesse of Antrim declared openly in ye confederate generall assembly that not a man should go out of the province of Ulster; whence it was enacted that such as at any time adhered to ye Nuntio's or Clergy party, or papall power, in opposition to ye

(217) *Government.*—See pp. 277—279, *supra.* If thus acting was a crime on the part of Antrim, how much greater criminals were those who had fought on the side of the Commonwealth from the commencement of the struggle?

(218) *Catherlogh.*—Cathair-Logh, 'the fortress in the Lough,' now corruptly called Carlow.

(219) *Ye Kingdom.*—By thus assisting to expel Ormonde, Antrim hoped that events might march more rapidly for the restoration of the royal cause. See his closing petition to Charles II., pp. 322—324, *supra.*

(220) *Counsel therein.*—Antrim's policy was the same in Scotland as in Ireland. Just as he had determined here to drive out Ormonde and his party as less tolerable than the Cromwellians, so, in Scotland, he cordially assisted the latter to extinguish the covenanting faction, as having been, in his opinion, the ruin of that country. Had the covenanters not been thoroughly defeated at Dunbar, Antrim would have probably raised the Highland clans once more to assist in dispersing them, with the object, no doubt, of rescuing the young king from their hands.

Proofs.

king's authority should not be restored as innocent papists, and this being ye marquises case, how farr it may be fit for your Matie in ye greatest humility y^e said Lord Lt. and Councell mencõn it [to direct contrary to ye said act of Parliament that ye commissioners upon your Maties letters should proceed to find him innocent, they humbly submitt to your great wisdome.] (218)

Examinacon of Lord Bishopp of Meath.

"That ye said marquesse, for further ingratiating himselfe with ye Regicide Ireton, and ye then powers, officiously, most maliciously, and disloyally did labour as much as in him lay to asperse and defame his late Matie, by first makeing a long relation, and then comitting it to writeing and subscribing ye same with his owne hand, of certaine powers he pretended to drawe from his late Matie for raiseing men privately before ye rebellion in Ireland upon a design which he charges himself withal to have intended to have acted by surprising his Maties castle of Dublin. That ye parliament of Ireland then sitting should declare for the king against ye parliament of England, and that the whole kingdom of Ireland should be raised for ye king's service. That his Maties Lords Justices of Ireland should be secured if they would not joine in ye worke, as also all others who would or might oppose them, which he charged himself to have imparted to ye Lords of ye Pale, and many Ulster Rebells, as ye ground plott of ye late horrid Rebellion immediately after by them barbarously putt in execucõn, so farr as it pleased God to permitt them. (219)

Examinacons of Bp. of Corke, Earl of Orrery, Coll. Owens, and Valentine Savage.

1st and 2nd Examinacon of Marquess of Antrim, wherein he denies all he gave under his hand to ye Regicide Ireton, of all which ye Petitioners have coppies.

"But although it be admitted that the said marquis doth truly excuse himselfe of that designe of surprising ye castle of Dublin, yett cannot it enter into ye heart of any loyall subject to give ye least creditt to ye said marquesses fals accusacõn and charge against his late Matie authorizing him thereunto, ye Parliament of England not being then in opposition to his Matie, and ye kingdome of Ireland in a peaceable condicõn. (220)

(218) *Great wisdome.*—This was considered a strong point against Antrim, which the adventurers did not fail to press with all their might.

(219) *Permitt them.*—See Antrim's plain, unvarnished statement, Appendix XIV. This statement, although given to bishop Jones, then scout-master-general, and John Reynolds, commissary-general, was intended for Ireton and the authorities of the commonwealth. In this statement, Antrim said nothing in the least derogatory to the memory of Charles I. He denied nothing that he had said in reference to the king, but he repudiated the false interpretations put upon his words by these adventurers. If these petitioners "had coppies," as they assert, of any damnatory documents, then was the time to produce them.

(220) *Peaceable condicion.*—These adventurers had certainly forgotten themselves when they penned the above sentence. The parliament had already executed Strafford, and the English *inviters* were even then wildly imploring the Scotch covenanters to invade England. As for Ireland, it was just then in an absolute ferment occasioned by the misconduct, or rather crime, of the lords-justices, Parsons and Borlase, in disobeying the king's command to introduce bills for the purpose of securing the estates of the natives, and confirming other 'graces' which had been promised to them by the king, and for which the unhappy Irish had already dearly paid in hard cash. We find that the king, in answer to a declaration at this time from the English commons, expressed himself on this point to the effect that "if he had been obeyed in the Irish affairs, before he went to Scotland, there had been no Irish rebellion; or after it had begun, it would have been in a few months suppressed, if his directions had been observed; for if the king had been permitted to perform his engagements to the Irish agents, and had disposed of the discontented army beyond sea, there is nothing more clear than that there could have been no rebellion in Ireland, because they had wanted both pretence and means to have made one." (See *Reliquæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, p. 273; Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 147.) The facts here mentioned by the king had no doubt considerable influence in bringing on and embittering the struggle; but the leading causes of that fatal outbreak were, as already stated, the deep injustice of the hunt after *defective titles*, and the terror on the part of the Roman catholics of a conspiracy against their religion and their lives.

Proofs.

"Which plainly demonstrates the said Marquesses designe therein was, most maliciously, to render his late Matie odious, and to advance himselfe into ye favour of the Regicide Ireton, and the late usurpers, who, he knew were gladd of all occasions, and used all opportunities they could gaine of blemishing his late majesty with favouring ye rebellion of Ireland, which from time to time they laboured to brand his Matie with, and wherewith ye said Marquesse, in ye said relation, for ye better colouring and crediting his designe, joins his grace ye Lord Duke of Ormond in ye said accusation, who, by great providence, is preserved this day alive to answer as well for himselfe, (221) whether ye said marquesses charge given under his hand to Ireton be true or noe, as also for vindicating his late sacred Matie from that foul aspersion cast on his memory, by the said marquesse of Antrim, in ye said Information, signed by him and given into Ireton as aforesaid.

Archibald Stewart, Danl. M'Naughton, Sir James Cuffe, Sir Thomas Stanly, and severall others.

"That ye said Marquesse in recompence of his intelligence with ye usurpers, his rejection of his Maties government, his opposition to ye said peaces, his said defameing of his late Maty, and other his assistances and good affection to ye late usurpers, had stipends and sallaries granted him from time to time, and a thousand pounds at one gratuity charged upon ye tenants of his owne estate, (222) as also a considerable estate in Conaght, settled upon his lady in favour to ye said Marquesse, to prevent subjecting ye said estate to payment of his debts (223) (which, with a plentifull ancient estate of his Ladies of above sixteen hundred pounds per. ann., makeing altogether a considerable revenue), were all enjoyed by ye said Marquess under ye late powers, which showed ye untruth of that suggestion in his peticõn that he was deprived of his whole estate by ye usurpers, and lived in great misery until ye time of your Maties happy restoracõn. (224)

"The premisses considered, your Petrs humbly hope that ye facts before-mentioned wilfully and maliciously committed by ye said marquesse from ye beginning to ye end of ye Rebellion haveing produced sad consequences, and been apparently destructive to his late Maty, your Maties interest, and ye crowne of England, cannot be interpretted

(221) *For himself.*—This, however, is what Ormonde never did. He did not, because he could not, deny Antrim's statements as given to Jones and Reynolds, See Appendix XIV.

(222) *Owne estate.*—See p. 278, *supra*.

(223) *Payment of his debts.*—Antrim had made ample arrangement for the payment of his debts, and the arrangement above referred to must have been made for some other purpose than the one here specified by the petitioners. Those transplanted from the counties of Down and Antrim to Connaught had three baronies in the county of Mayo assigned to them—namely, Carra, Clanmorris, and Kilmaine. The estate of the marchioness of Antrim in Connaught was situate in one of these three baronies, but where we have not discovered. Those who had estates in Connaught were bound to surrender them if restored to their own original estates in other parts of Ireland. As the marquis and marchioness of Antrim were ultimately restored, their Connaught lands became disposable by the crown, and Francis lord Athenry, on the 21st of October, 1663, memorialised the king to have the grant of a custodiam of these lands to enable him to prosecute his restitution to his ancient estate.—Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, p. 86.

(224) *Happy restorācon.*—Antrim appears to have had some small portion of his estate, probably concealed lands, but even this was snatched from him by a discoverer named Kinge (see p. 286 *supra*), and he was thus left without a foot of his vast property. All the means he had under the commonwealth was a pension of £800; after the restoration, all that he actually enjoyed is mentioned at pp. 322, 323, *supra*, in his petition to the king.

to consist with any trust ye said marquesse can pretend to have received from his late Matie, or with ye duty of an honest, well-meaning, though weake servant, but that rather his owning such trust and acting diametrically opposite thereunto, aggravates his crimes in ye highest measure, and renders him guilty of most unjustifiable acts of malice and disservice to your Maties Royall father, your Maty, and ye crowne of England, which emboldens your petitioners humbly to beseech your most Excellent Matie that they may be preserved in their estates against ye unjust Decree made by four of ye commissioners for ye said Marquesses innocency, (225) and that ye clause for new tryal of ye said Marquess, formerly ordered by your Matie on solemne hearing in full councell to be inserted in ye bill under your Maties Royall considerãcon, may be continued in ye said bill, upon which your Petrs rely, humbly submitting ye same to your royal wisdome and judgment."(226) *Transcripts of State Papers, Liber F*, pp. 151—165. Proofs.

The thunder of the foregoing indictment, though so loud and long, does not appear to have produced any impression on the king and his council more favourable to the cause of the petitioners. The belief had become general that, notwithstanding their vehement outcry, these adventurers and military debenture-holders had been already amply recompensed from the estate—the one class for their original loan to the government, and the other for their arrears of pay. But in addition, they were to be reprized, or put into possession of lands in some other locality of equal value with those they were soon doomed to surrender. They clung to the hope, however, that as nearly all the forfeited lands of Ireland were already appropriated, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for the government to find the means of reprizing them, and that, therefore, they might thus be permitted to hold on at least for a time. Hence in their later petitions, they dwelt eloquently on this difficulty of reprises, and yet on the absolute necessity of reprises being found before they could be asked to move. Antrim did not see the matter exactly in this light, and he lost no time in supplying the king and council in England with his views on this rather difficult point. Indeed, he pointed out clearly enough, that their opposition here, even if successful, could be of little benefit to themselves or disadvantage to him. A rough copy of his statement has been fortunately preserved among the papers at Glenarm castle, in his own hand-writing, and is here for the first time printed :—

"*Reasons why his Lordship shold not be kept out of the possession of his Estate uppon accompt of reprisalls.*

"1st. That the said Marquess is provided for by the Act of Settlement, p. 117, whereby he is made restorable notwithstanding his complyance with the Irish partie. (227)

(225) *Innocency.*—See the Decree in Appendix XI.

(226) *Judgment.*—The petitioners were doomed to disappointment in this particular, the king and council being determined to have the matter settled by some more certain method than another trial of innocency. The following passage from an order in council provided for the omission of the clause which the adventurers were so anxious to retain :—"And it is further ordered, that the clause in the Bill of Settlement under consideration whereby the said Marquess is to come to a new tryall touchinge his innocencie be struck out."—From *Transcripts of State Papers, Liber E*, p. 213, Record Tower, Dublin Castle.

(227) *Irish partie.*—The clause of the act provides for the case of persons generally who were supposed to have had dealings with the Irish party for the same object as induced Antrim's compliance—the interests of the royal cause.

"2nd. That the Barrony of Carie is by a spetiall provision in the said act, p. 93, secured to his Lordship's creditors, (228) whereby a greate part of the said 100 officers and soldiers, who had their lotts there, are to be dispossessed before any reprisalls set out to them. (229)

"3rd. The Barrony of Dunluce (exceptinge the Long Liberties in the countie of Londonderry) being disposed of to the said adventurers on the dubling Ordinances (230) are capable of reprisalls for a moytie onely, as appeareth p. 80. Besides that Alderman Andrews, (231) one of the king's murtherers, whose lott in the Barony, amounting to about 11,000 acres, is given by his Highness the Duke of York to the said Marquess, so theare remaines but a small proportion of the said Barrony incumbered with reprisalls; And it is that if the said adventurers and soldiers be called to an account for what benefit they made for the time past of the one moytie of the said land not allowed them by the said act, that they have received treble their adventures and debenture moneys. (232) Wherefore, they ought not to expect reprisalls, and the rather that they and the soldiers have received yearly, since the year 1655, more rent than their originall adventures and debentures amounted unto as shall be proved. (233)

"4th. That the Barronies of Glenarme and Kilconway, with the Long Liberties of Coulraine aforesaid, are possessed by Major Smyth and other officers and soldiers, (234) who, for the most part will be found persons averse to his Maties restorãcon, and not capable of reprisalls, as is directed page 413 of the said act. (235)

(228) *Lordship's creditors.*—See *Irish Statutes*, vol. ii., p. 319. In pursuance of this clause in the act of settlement a grant was made and inrolled in 1667, in the names of sir Martin Noell, knight, George Blake, and John Robinson, Esqrs., of London, who were the trustees of the creditors at the above date. The barony of Carey contained 25,786a. 2r. 8p., of which 20,809a. or. 8p. were profitable, 2,860 acres unprofitable, and 48a. 1r. glebe lands. For names of the lands in detail, see *Fifteenth Report on Public Records of Ireland*, p. 116. For the terms of the original ninety-nine years' lease of Carey in 1637, see *note* to Decree of Innocence in Appendix XI.

(229) *Set out to them.*—It was provided by the act of settlement that the just claims of creditors were to be secured against delays that might arise from the difficulty of finding reprisals.

(230) *Dubling Ordinances.*—See p. 289, *supra.*

(231) *Andrews.*—This Thomas Andrews was a London alderman, and had signed the warrant for the execution of Charles I. He ranks, therefore, as one of the regicides, or, as Antrim expresses it, "one of the king's murtherers." His adventures were £675, for the support of the land forces, and £500 for the sea service. He was a principal manager for the adventurers, and member of a committee appointed to settle the numerous disputes among the new settlers about the division of the lands. Sir John Clotworthy and many others of that class were also members of this committee. (See Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 239, 240.) Andrews died before the Restoration, and, being a regicide, his lands, like those of other regicides, were given to the duke of York, afterwards James II. (See 14 and 15 Car. II., chap. 2, section 188.) When Antrim obtained his Decree of Innocence in 1663, the duke surrendered to him these eleven thousand acres which the latter had held only one year, or from the passing of the act of settlement in 1662. He did not attempt to resist the decree of innocence in Antrim's favour as the adventurers did, but he (the duke) no doubt insisted on a reprise somewhere else, as he invariably did in other cases. Andrews had also lands in the county of Limerick, as appears from "An Abstract of Regicides, Names and the Number of Acres of their Lands within the severall Counties of Ireland claimed by Robert Gorges in behalf of his Royall Highness." The following is a statement in this *Abstract*:—"Thomas Andrews, by Stephen Estwick, his assigne, subscribes and pays 750 and doubles it, and by the coppie of the 5 seals, land was to have been sett out in Limbricke to the number of 3,000 acres, the Commissioners allow only 1,500 acres, being the principle money, because it fell deficient, or that his Royall Highness' Agents as yet could not find the very land sett out, it being promiscuous with others, but inasmuch as the money was subscribed and paid in the county sufficient of forfett lands his Royall Highness ought to be reprised." *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, by Russell and Prendergast, pp. 170, 173.

(232) *Debenture moneys.*—See also the petition of Antrim's creditors in England, at p. 324, *supra.* This appropriation of land to which the adventurers had no title was a clear gain over and above the rents of the lands given to them by lot.

(233) *Shall be proved.*—This was easily shown. The whole sums of adventures and debentures put together amounted only to £7,000 on the estate. In lieu of this the soldiers and adventurers had possession of nearly the whole estate for ten years, or from 1655, which would certainly afford them very exorbitant profits on their outlay.

(234) *And soldiers.*—See p. 283, *supra.*

(235) *The said Act.*—The act of settlement excluded

"5th. That the Countess Dowager of Antrim hath already of the said Marquess his estate, her joynture, (236) which amounts to about £1,500 per ann., whereby severall of the said officers, soldiers, and adventurers, have of a considerable part of their said lotts.

"6th. That the said Marquess his whole estate is charged with £400 yearly, by deeds made before the warres to Mr. Daniel O'Neill, (237) as also the Lady Sarah, (238) his Lordship's sister, hath £300 more yearly, issuing out of the said estate, by the like deeds. Besides the old Earl of Antrim's debts for payment whereof the said Marquess his estate is lyable by the deed of Settlement made to him by the said Earl his father, for, as the soldiers or adventurers whoe wolde expect but little comforte thereby, considering the said general incumbrances and other deductions that will be legally made out; For as uppon the whole matter, the Barony of Carie, the moytie of Dunluce on the dubling ordinances, Alderman Andrews his 11,000 acres, the said Dowager of Antrim's joynture, the £400 a year due to Mr. Daniel O'Neill and the Lady Sarah, and the debts to be satisfied by virtue of the feoffment of the lotts of such persons as will be found to have noe right of reprisalls—all which particulars being sumed upp, the remainder of the said estate will not extend to 20,000 acres, towards the reprising whereof the Lady Marquioness hath, by virtue of the 6th qualification, (239) from the usurpers 8888 acres of lands in Connaght, (240) and Alexander, the Marquess his brother, 3,500, which will goe neere to reprize any reprisable persons, who possess any part of the said estate, the rules of reprisalls being observed; the serious consideration of all which

from its benefits "such person or persons as have, or shall by any overt act proveably done by him or them, subsequent to our Restauration, endeavour the disturbance of the public peace, or have manifested any aversion to our restauration or government, it being but very reasonable that the abusers of so much mercy held forth by us should not be partakers thereof." The great majority of Cromwell's officers were politically opposed to the return to a monarchy, and among them the officers located on the Antrim estates, but they had become wearied of active warfare, and were anxious to enjoy the blessings of peace.

(236) *Her joynture.*—For a list of the jointure lands of the dowager countess, see Decree of Innocence in Appendix XI.

(237) *Daniel O'Neill.*—See pp. 267, 297, *supra.* "On the Restoration a post-office was established to be under the direction of a post-master; and with power to appoint post-houses in such parts of the country as were unprovided, both in the post and by roads. In 1663, they were farmed to Daniel O'Neill, Esq., for £21,500." This gentleman was nephew to Owen Roe O'Neill, and one of Ormonde's most confidential friends. Rinuccini styles him Daniel O'Neill, *a heretic.* He was a protestant by profession. See Meehan's *Earls*, second edition, p. 508.

(238) *Lady Sarah.*—See a notice of this lady's marriages at p. 248, *supra.*

(239) *6th Qualification.*—The ordinance of parliament for the settling of Ireland in 1652 took for granted that "the entire nation was guilty of rebellion, and classed the inhabitants under eight qualifications of guilt. By the first six, death or confiscation of lands and banishment were declared against all the chief nobility (some of them Protestants, as the Earl of Ormonde, Bishop Bramhall, and others), and all the gentlemen of Ireland who had held commissions of Colonels, or any higher rank in the army raised by Ormonde as the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1649 and 1650, against Cromwell and the Parliament. Swordsmen under that rank fell under the 7th qualification, and forfeited two-thirds. Noblemen and gentlemen, being Catholics, who had borne no part in the war, but remained quietly at home, fell under the 8th qualification, and as not having manifested a constant good affection to the Parliament by outward demonstrations of affection, forfeited one-third. But all these were to transplant and receive their portions in Connaught. Those only escaped confiscation of estate and transplantation who had manifested a constant good affection to the Parliament of England." *Report on the Carte Manuscripts* by Russell and Prendergast, p. 145.

(240) *In Connaght.*—See pp. 280, 288, *supra.* According to the sixth qualification, the grants in Connaught were supposed to bear a certain proportion to the lands of which the victims had been deprived. The marchioness being a protestant, and not having taken any active part in the war against Cromwell, was not required to transplant, but this Connaught estate granted to her bore only but a small proportion to the extent of her own at Edenduff-carrick. Others fared much worse, however. Father Walsh, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of these transplanted gentlemen, asserts, that he "knew some of those who had not ten pounds lands per annum assigned them in Connaught, whose proper estates at home, in their own countries, whence they had been removed, were worth a thousand a year. Others were transplanted that got nothing at all." See Walsh's *Reply to a Person of Quality*, pp. 147, 148.

particulars will easily answere any objection made against his Lordship's restaurãcon. And that the same is not soe considerable to him, nor soe prejuditial to others as the possessors thereof doe endeavour to represent."

In the mean time, the act of explanation was being slowly prepared, requiring as it did so much deliberation; and the king, guided of course by his council, cancelled the decree of innocence pronounced in favour of Antrim by the court of claims, and provided for his immediate and complete relief in the new act. In this way the danger of infringing the act of settlement, and thus introducing an inconvenient precedent was avoided, and the faithful services of Antrim to the king's deceased father and himself were duly acknowledged. The following is the order on Antrim's petition, acknowledging his occasional mismanagement and throwing himself on the king's sense of justice:—

"Whereas a Petition hath been preferred by the Marquess of Antrim unto his Matie, which was read at the Board, and contains a naked discovery of his own voluntary confession of the truth of his actions in the late warrs of Ireland; And which vindicates and entirely clears his late sacred Matie, King Charles the first, of ever blessed memory, from many calumnies and false aspersions by the malice of men of scandalous and disaffected principles, cast upon his clear honour and Reputãcon. For perpetuating and recording whereof to after ages, in justice to the memory of so gracious and pious a prince, It is this day ordered (his Matie present in Councell) That the said Peticon be carefully entered in the Register Book of the Councell *in haec verba, &c.*

"And it is further ordered that the clause in the Bill of Settlement under considerãcon, whereby the said Marquess is to come to a new tryall touching his innocencie be struck out, and that Mr. Soll. Generall doe draw up and insert another Clause in lieu of it to vacate the said Marquess of Antrim's Decree for his innocence." (241)

In connexion with this proceeding, the following mandate was sent from the king to Ormonde, who must have felt very ruefully on the whole affair:—"Our will and pleasure is that you Insert a Clause in the Bill of Explanation lately transmitted from our Kingdome of Irelande, whereby our Trusty and Well-beloved Cosen, Randall Marquess of Antrim, may be Declared to be an Innocent Papist, and as an Innocent Papist, bee restored unto all Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments whatsoever whereof he, or any interest for him were lawfullie seized or possessed upon the Three and Twentieth Day of October, 1641, or at anie time since, without anie previous reprisalls, notwithstanding the late act of Settlement passed in that Kingdome, Saveinge nevertheless to all Creditors of the said Marquess of Antrim such right and Interest as they have either in law or equity by virtue of the said act of Settlement or otherwise; And Saveinge to all interests, all such right and title as they have to the Provisoe other than such rights and titles as they claim by or under the said act of Settlement." (242)

Not one, but several clauses required to be inserted in the Act of Explanation, stating the grounds on which Antrim was finally restored, providing for the several interests concerned, and making such arrangements as, generally at least, had the effect of preventing riots or disturbance,

(241) *Innocence.*—Extracted from *Transcripts of State Papers, Liber E*, p. 212.
(242) A copy of the above warrant for Antrim's restoration is preserved among the papers at Glenarm.

when the one party retired from the lands, and the restored marquis resumed possession of the property from which he had been so long excluded. No, clause, indeed, in this act was more urgently required than the one whose special object was the prevention of riot, for when the commissioners in the court of claims gave decrees of innocence, it was found that they had not the power to have their own decrees executed, so that the question of title had to be decided pretty often by skirmishes among the parties specially concerned. The marquis of Antrim had obtained his decree of innocence, and consequently for restoration to his estate, in the month of August 1663, and was formally put into possession by the high sheriff of the county; but the adventurers and disbanded soldiers took advantage of the unsettled state of the law, and refused to give up peaceable possession. Among the papers preserved in Glenarm Castle are several, referring to disputes and serious indications of riot arising from this source. Of the more influential and troublesome of Antrim's opponents were Dr. Ralph Kinge, Peter Beaghan, and Tristram Beresford. These disputes spread themselves pretty generally over the baronies of Carey, Kilconway, and Dunluce, and continued until the act of Explanation put an end to them in 1665. The clauses in this act, having special reference to the case of the Antrim and Edenduff-carrick Estates are numbered clxxii—clxxx. inclusive. (See vol. iii. of the *Irish Statutes*, pp. 102—106). For the troubles arising generally throughout the country from the unsettled state of the law in reference to the several interests at that deplorable crisis, see the *Life of Clarendon*, vol ii. p. 329.

Under the acts of Settlement and Explanation the marquis was restored to the possession of the following lands :—

	Acres	r.	p.
In the barony of Dunluce	49,174	3	37
The Long Liberties of Coleraine	4,124	2	2
Barony of Kilconway	29,489	3	7
Held from the bishop in fee-farm, Kilconway	1,760	2	23
In the barony of Glenarm	1,402	3	18
Purchased in 1637 from Protestants in Toome	1,133	1	37

Diverse lands were excepted out of the barony of Dunluce, which were held in fee-farm from the marquis; diverse lands were also excepted from the same cause out of the barony of Kilconway, together with all glebes, advowsons, impropriations and appropriate tithes. This grant is dated the 20th of July, and Inrolled the 26th of July, 1666. See *Fifteenth Report of Commissioners of Public Records*, p. 49

The disputes and riotings above referred to occurred previously to Antrim's restoration, and were only to be expected, seeing that the decree of the court of claims in his favour had not been permitted to take effect. But he was destined to have a great triumph at last; and when we consider that his bitter and persistent enemies had been such men as Strafford, Ormonde, Clarendon, and Anglesey, not to speak of several northern magnates, it must be admitted that Antrim's final victory was the more complete. The three first opposed and hated him, simply as a rival who could thwart them in various ways, and did not fail, when he thought the public service required it, to

expose their frequently crooked or futile policy. Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey, was a crafty and morose bigot, who hated Antrim, more because he was a catholic than for any other reason. His hatred was more plausibly and insidiously exhibited than that of the others; but he hated Ormonde even more than Antrim, (218) and probably this circumstance kept Anglesey quiescent during Antrim's last struggles with Ormonde and the council in Dublin. Antrim's motives and character have since been misrepresented by the historical writers of each party in turn, some adopting Carte's ideas, and others those of Baxter and Calamy. Carte's account of Antrim is particularly objectionable, being penned not so much from a regard to truth, as the desire to preserve the reputation of his hero, Ormonde, free from stain. He dips his pen in gall when writing of Antrim's restoration, and endeavours to blacken not only the latter, but all who had any sympathy for him, or made any efforts to assist him. Carte pretends not to understand why the queen was Antrim's friend,—as if a queen could not be grateful for devotedness to her cause, or as if Henrietta Maria should have forgotten how frequently she and her ill-fated husband had employed Antrim at the risk of his life to sustain their interests in Ireland!

The marquis and marchioness must have felt that to be a happy day, when, all their enemies discomfitted, from Ormonde down to the crew of Cromwellian soldiers compelled to move off, they enjoyed once more actual and peaceable possession. They had experienced so many perils and trials during the preceding twenty-four years, that they appear afterwards to have clung to their own hearths, without seeking any further public notice or distinction during the remainder of their lives. Very little, indeed almost nothing, is known of their quiet and comparatively obscure, but certainly much happier, existence as country gentry. The marquis was a lover of field sports,

(243) *More than Antrim.*—About the time above referred to, Anglesey and Ormonde had become violently opposed. In a manuscript narrative of events then passing, there is the following interesting account of the feud between these selfish and clever schemers :—"My Lord of Ormond and Anglesey had always been of different partys; Anglesey had in King Charles the first's time adherd to the Parliament; he was the first of the commissioners who received the sword and city of Dublin from my Lord of Ormond (1647) when the King was a prisoner, and was a violent man in the house of Commons against the royal family. However, being with many others instrumental in the King's Restoration, he was made an Earl, and had considerable clauses in the Act of Settlement in his favour; upon the executing of these my Lord Ormond and he had some clashing, each driving his own interest or that of his friends, and it was impossible but in some cases they would interfere. At that time he (Anglesey) was Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, an employment that was then worth 5 or £6000 a year, and his approaching so near a competition with the Duke made it harder for them to keep friends, there being little real friendship at Court betwixt such as are equal. This employment he resigned to Sir George Carteret, and lived privately in England, but the King, being pressed by the factions, and charged with introducing popery, and arbitrary power, made him Privy Seal, as a man that had always been in opposition to both, and yet one, he thought, would comply very far for his interest, and who might be useful to him in the house of Peers, being very knowing in records and precedents of *Parliament*, of a good tongue, and one who had an excellent faculty in writing. Some time after, indiscreetly in the heat of the plot my Lord Castlehaven took occasion to write and print an account of the War of Ireland in which he had been concerned, justifying the Irish in many respects. The Privy Seal, glad of an occasion to make his court to the Parliament, who began to strike at him, took upon him to answer this, and in confuting his book did (out of his way) bring a cruell charge against my Lord of Ormond of his evill conduct and neglect of the Protestant interest at that time. . . . All this concurred to Anglesey's ruin, for besides the strength of his enemys and his having no friends, y^e^ court wanted his privy seal for Lord Halifax, who had done it such service, so that when my Lord of Ormond put in a petition to the King in Council (in which saying nothing of himself he charged him with having reflected on the memory of King Charles 1st in his pamphlet to Castlehaven), and that a day was appointed for him to answer, he seeing that the matter was set against him, and struggling would doe him no good, did not appear, pretending to be sick, but sent a letter complaining of his hard treatment, in which he said that a dagger struck to his old loyal heart could not grieve him so as to have such a charge heard against him. This wrought no compassion, his seals were sent for and given as was before resolved." Second *Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 213.

and spent much time, as traditionally reported, among his hawks and hounds. He had also great ideas on the subjects of planting, building, and improvements generally; but, unfortunately, his debts prevented him from doing much in these respects. In September, 1666, he was honoured with a commission of the peace for the county of Antrim—a trust rarely enjoyed at that period by Roman catholics. The marquis appears to have been alway anxious that the payment of his debts should be amply and securely provided for. When making his will, on the 18th of February, 1681, in addition to the former arrangements for this purpose, he settled the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the baronies of Carey and Kilconway, and the Long Liberties of Coleraine, on the hon. Thomas Nugent, of Pallace, in the county of Galway, Thomas Sherredon, of the city of Dublin, Esq., and Samuel Welbey, of Carrickfergus, gentleman. This settlement, for a term of thirty-one years, was in trust. Sherredon and Welbey declined to act, and Nugent managed to execute this difficult trust for several years, but his remoteness from the estates required that he should provide a substitute. Accordingly, on the 4th July, 1694, it was ordered by the high court of chancery in Ireland, with consent of Alexander third earl of Antrim, and the creditors, that the hon. Thomas Nugent should transfer the trust reposed in him to John O'Neill, Esq., of Edenduff-carrick, and Hugh M'Collum, Esq., of Dunluce. This order was carried out, the Decree being indented on the 29th of the November following, before sir John Topham, one of the masters in chancery.

Time and desertion, assisted by Peter Beagham (see p. 343, *supra*), had rendered the grand old mansion of Dunluce comparatively useless as a family residence; and, among other rural occupations, the marquis superintended the erection of a modest but comfortable building not far from the castle, known as Ballymagarry house. We have a glimpse of him here through an interesting letter of Oliver Plunket, catholic archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland. Writing on the 23rd of February, 1671, he says:—"The visitation of the Hebrides yet remains, but if the Sacred Congregation does not write a letter to the Marquis of Antrim, we shall be able to effect nothing. This nobleman has great influence in these islands, but he is in every respect not unlike Mgr. Albrici, good and prudent, but slow and scrupulous in everything. I remember that Mgr. Albrici could not find in all Italy a servant to suit him; the Florentine was too talky; the Milanese was giddy; the Romagnese was stupid; the Neapolitan was quick with the fingers; the Roman was too sad. And so it is very difficult to find people to suit the Marquis of Antrim. I proposed to him no fewer than twenty priests, but he had something to say against every one of them; and in regard to Ronan Magin—a man truly suited for the task,—he remarked that he seemed too hasty, and presumptuous, and proud. The chief cause of the delay, however, is the treaty of union between Scotland and England, as I mentioned in a former letter. The Marquis sent three priests to these islands to administer the Sacraments of Pennance and the eucharist during Lent: after Easter they returned, and they would not consent to remain in them for the whole year, as they have good parishes in the county Antrim. Moreover, they are very old, and but ill suited to the labour of these islands. A courteous letter to this nobleman, commending his piety and zeal for the spiritual benefit of these souls, and commemorating also the piety of his ancestors, will be very efficacious in promoting this matter. I was with him for three days at his

house in Dunluce; it is a noble building, the palace is perched on a high rock, which is lashed on every side by the sea; it is only twelve miles distant from the largest of the Hebrides. Mgr., this letter is necessary, as the Marquis is the only Catholic nobleman who can assist me in this mission, and without his aid I shall have to run many risks." See Moran's *Life of Archbishop Plunket*, pp. 204, 205.

The good archbishop, who so soon afterwards suffered martyrdom, does not altogether approve of Antrim's bearing towards priests; but he is constrained to admit, that even in matters of the class to which he refers, although "too slow and scrupulous" for clerical purposes, yet in the main he was practically "good and prudent." The truth is, that whilst the marquis was a sincere catholic, he was not a high-handed one. He fought publicly and unshrinkingly for the religious rights and privileges of his catholic countrymen, but, personally, he never seems to have venerated the priests very highly; and they, in turn, were not slow in giving expression to their insinuations and suspicions as to his motives when occasion offered. Plunket speaks of his house in Dunluce—Ballymagarry—as 'a noble building,' and also of 'the palace,' meaning the castle, as 'lashed on every side by the sea.' It is now surrounded on three sides by the sea, the waters having entirely, and we should suppose for a longer period than two centuries, retired from the southern side of the rock on which the castle stood. Ballymagarry was used generally as a summer residence, whilst Edenduffcarrick, or Shanescastle, was found a more suitable abode in winter. The marquis died at Ballymagarry in the beginning of February, 168⅔, and his remains lay in state there until the 14th of March, when he was buried in great state in the family vault at Bunnamairge. The leaden coffin in which his remains were enclosed is long since stripped of its oaken covering, and bears three inscriptions, in three languages,—Irish, English, and Latin. The Irish inscription has been translated by the late Dr. Eugene O'Curry, thus:—

"Great the loss the death of O'Colla, (236)
To Conn's half and the Northern side; (237)
This is the last affliction, after all, on them,
Since the day that Randall was put in the grave."

Under the Irish inscription is the following:—

"THE MOST HONBLE RANDALE LORD MARQUESS OF ANTRIM,
BORNE THE 9TH DAY OF JUNE, IN THE YEARE OF 1610,
DIED YE 3RD DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1682."

After this comes a Latin eulogy, referring more particularly to the public career of the deceased:—

(236) *O'Colla.*—Or descendant of Colla, surnamed *Uais* (see p. 1, *supra*).

(237) *Northern side.*—There is allusion here to the division made of Ireland in the second century, between Conn of the Hundred Battles and Uagaine Mor. The latter is more generally known by his sobriquet of *Mogha Nuadhat*, or "Slave of Nuadha." The dividing lines between these two powerful monarchs was a chain of low gravel hills extending from Dublin to Clarinbridge, near Galway. The northern division was known as *Leath-Chuinn* or "Conn's Half," and the southern division as *Leath-Mogha* or "Mogha's Half." This was said to be the sixth time Ireland had been divided, and this division only continued for fifteen years. See the

"Invictus patriæ Caroli Randelle Deique,
Hoc plumbo (238) resides aureus ipse pugit;
Cujus in adversa Bellorum sorte rebelles,
Flectere vel furiæ non potuere fidem."

Of this the following translation appeared in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i., p. 322 :—

"Randalle, invincible for country, Charles, and God,
Thyself a golden warrior, thou residest within the lead;
Whose fidelity in the adverse fortunes of war,
Neither rebels nor gibbets could bend."

The marchioness of Antrim survived her husband thirteen years. There is an absurd story told by Carte in his *Memoranda taken in Exile*, to the effect that after the death of the marquis she re-married with a Mr. Blundell of Lancashire. His statement is as follows :—

"Feb. 28, 1724. Richard Butler of Mountgarret, son to the viscount, told me that the Dutchess (239) after the marquis of Antrim's death, married his (Butler's) wife's grandfather, Mr. Blondell of Lancashire, by which means all the papers of the marquis came into his hands, and he has them at his house of Mountgarret; being obliged a few years ago to look them over to justify title to some fee-farm or Quit-Rents that are claimed under the marquis's title, and by descent from the Dutchess."

This story is inconsistent with what is known of the marchioness during her widowdood, and especially with the provisions of her will. She died at Edenduffcarrick, on the 27th of April, 1695, and was buried in the church of St. Nicholas, Carrickfergus. All her brothers and sisters had been buried in the old churchyard of Skerry, near Slemish, county of Antrim, but her father and mother were interred in Carrickfergus, and Rose requested, it is said, to be laid beside her grandfather, sir Francis Stafford. This request on her part is recorded by M'Skimin, his authority being "Tradition of Old Inhabitants." It is strange that she was not buried beside the husband to whom she had been so devoted in life; and we are rather suspicious that religious bigotry dictated this arrangement. Rose had been educated a protestant, and her protestant connexions being zealous in their generation, very probably decreed that she should not be lost in the old popish cemetery of Bunnamairge. So, Randal the magnificent was destined to sleep alone, as his father and grandfather had done before him, their ladies, also, being buried far apart from them,—Mary O'Neill, Sorley's wife, in Armagh, and Alice O'Neill, wife of Randal, in her native Tyrone. On Rose O'Neill's leaden coffin, however, are quartered the arms of Macdonnell with those of her family, and the chancel of the

Battle of Magh Leana, translated and edited by O'Curry, pp. 3, 71, 77; *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, pp. xlix., 393.

(238) *Hoc Plumbo.*—The shrivelled leaden coffin enclosing the remains of the "great marquis," lies in a distant corner from the entrance of the family vault at Bunnamairge. About the year 1793, a maniac used often to pass the night in this vault, which was then unprotected from intrusion even by the security of a lock on the frail door. The maniac, when smoking, laid a live coal on the lid, which quickly perforated the thin metal, leaving a little circular hole near the lower end of the coffin.

(239) *The Dutchess.*—Carte had not known that the duchess of Buckingham, Antrim's first wife, died in 1649, so that he, or rather Butler, must have confounded her with his second lady, the marchioness. For the above extract from the *Carte Papers* the writer is indebted to the kindness of John P. Prendergast, Esq., author of *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.*

church of St. Nicholas once exhibited a grand escutcheon adorned with their respective armorial bearings; but, unfortunately, the roof of this building gave way during a stormy day in the month of January, 1754, and these proud mementos were suddenly reduced to dust. The following modest inscription on her coffin simply tells the names of her husband and father, with the date of her death and the number of her years :—

"THE MOST HONOURABLE LADY
MARCHIONESS OF ANTRIM RELICT OF THE
MOST HONOURABLE RANDAL M'
DONNELL MARQUIS AND EARL OF ANT-
RIM VISCOUNT DUNLUCE AND SOLE
DAUGHTER AND HEIR OF SIR HENRY O'
NEILL OF EDENDUFFCARRICK IN THE
COUNTY OF ANTRIM, WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE AT EDENDUFFCARRICK AFORESAID
ON THE 27TH DAY OF APRIL ANNO
DOMINI 1695, IN THE 64TH YEAR OF HER AGE." (240)

On the 17th January, 1690, the marchioness had "executed a settlement, and made a will, entailing the estates, (241) in a certain way, about which there exists some curious information which was current at the time among the different branches of the family dwelling at the Feevagh, the Largey, Bockna, Clonkeen, Neillsbrook, and Ballybollan. Her uncle, Arthur O'Neill, who was second brother of her father, and had married Grace O'Hara, daughter of Cahill O'Hara, was then (1690) dead, but he had left sons, Colonel Cormack O'Neill, who never married and Captain John O'Neill, who died in 1687, at London, leaving three sons; first Henry O'Neill, who was drowned in Dublin Bay, in 1696, on his coming over from London to oppose the claims of his uncle, Colonel Cormack O'Neill to the estates; second, Ensign Arthur O'Neill, who was killed, or as it is told 'torn to pieces,' in the streets of Mechlin, in Flanders, by the enraged populace, for throwing a glass of wine out of the open window of his hotel, at the Host then passing in procession; and third, Colonel Charles O'Neill, who married lady Mary Paulet, daughter of the Duke of Bolton. He, Charles, entered on possession of the O'Neill estates in the year 1707, and continued therein until the 21st of May, 1716, when he died without issue, and was interred in St. James's, London. The issue of Sir Henry O'Neill, and of Arthur O'Neill, his brother, was thus extinct; and Shane *Frankagh*, or French John O'Neill, son of Bryan, and grandson of Felim Duff O'Neill, the third brother of Sir Henry, and related to Rose, marchioness of Antrim, by the half-blood, obtained possession of the Estates. His wife's name was Charity Dixon, the daughter of an

(240) *Her age.*—See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, 3rd edition, p. 141. Rose O'Neill was "sole heir," but not "sole daughter" of sir Henry O'Neill, as stated in this inscription. (See p. 289, *supra.*) The funeral sermon on the marchioness was preached in the church of St. Nicholas, Carrickfergus, on the 5th of July, 1695, by Henry Leslie, archdeacon of Down.

(241) *The estates.*—The Shane's castle property consists of five distinct portions viz. the Munterevedy estate, numbering 64 townlands; the Feevagh estate, 37 townlands; the Largy estate, 21 townlands; the Braid estate, 33 townlands; and the Ballynagarvey estate, 7 townlands.

alderman of Drogheda. He resided in early life with his father in the Largey, and afterwards went to Paris, where he resided many years, from whence the appellation *French John.* After his return from France which occurred in the life-time of the marchioness of Antrim, and of Colonel Cormack O'Neill, he resided at Dunmore (afterwards occupied by the family of Dickey),which now forms a portion of Shane's Castle park, and is situated on the west of river Main-water, and north-west of Randalstown." See *Papers* of the late Charles H. O'Neill, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, published in the *Belfast Daily Mercury.*

Among the papers preserved at Glenarm Castle, is the rough draft of a letter from this Shane Frankagh, or French John O'Neill, to a distinguished kinsman abroad. This letter contains many interesting particulars of French John's family and connexions, and as it has never been printed, it is here given *in extenso*:—

"My Lord,—It was with the greatest satisfaction I recd the letter your lordship was pleased to favour me with from Douay, and doe heartily congratulate with you the great good fortune God has been pleased to bless you with in those high stations you enjoy, and the marke of distinction his Imperiall Majesty had placed upon you, beyond any of our name that I have heard of out of our owne country. (241)

"I am very proud of the Relation I have to your Lordship, which I should never have knowne if our cousin Toole had not discovered it to me, for which I shall always acknowledge myself indebted to him.

"I am very sorry God hath not hitherto been pleased to give you children, but it should not discourage your Lordship, for severalls to my knowledge have been married twice as long and yet have had a numerous issue, which, I hope, God will in his owne due time, bless you with.

"Since your Lordship desires me to send you an account of my children, I blesse God I have 3 sons and 6 daughters; (242) my oldest son hath foolishly lost himself by marrying a poor gentle-

(242) *Our owne country.*—We have not been able to identify this distinguished member of the O'Neill family among the many who reaped military glory on continental battle-fields. "Of the O'Neills," says Dr. O'Donovan, "there have been general officers in Spain from the century subsequent to the fall of their princes or chieftains of Tyrone, to the great war against Napoleon. Of those officers it is only necessary to mention Major-General Owen Roe O'Neill, the brave defender of Arras, and conqueror of Benburb, and his nephew, Major-General Hugh Duff O'Neill, the stout opponent of the Cromwellians at Clonmel and Limerick. One of the name was enrolled among the Spanish nobility, in 1679, by the title of 'Marqués de la Granga;' which title in that branch of the race has subsisted to our time; and its representative visited Ireland some years ago. In France, up to the rank of Chef-de-Brigade, and including Chevaliers of St. Louis and the Legion of Honour, O'Neills were to be seen in Garde-du-Corps, &c." *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated and edited by Dr. O'Donovan, introduction, p. 35.

(243) *Daughters.*—French John's three sons were Henry, Charles, and Clotworthy, and his six daughters were named respectively Cathrine, Mary, Rachel, Ellinor, Rose, and Anne. Henry O'Neill, his eldest son, who died in 1721, displeased him by marrying Miss Bickerstaff, an estimable lady—but portionless, and therefore not acceptable to her father-in-law. His second son, Charles O'Neill, inherited the Shane's castle estates, and represented the family borough of Randalstown in the Irish house of commons for more than forty years. He was first returned for it in the year 1727, in the room of his maternal uncle, Robert Dixon, Esq., son of sir Richard Dixon, of Colverstone, in the county of Kildare (who had been an alderman in Drogheda), and he continued to represent it without interruption until his death, which occurred in 1769. Clotworthy O'Neill, French John's youngest son, was colleague of his brother Charles in the representation of Randalstown, from 1746 until 1749. He died unmarried. He was high-sheriff for the county of Antrim in 1735, and in 1746 he raised and equipped at his own expense, and took the command at Ballymena, of a company of 50 volunteers, unmarried men, all six feet high and upwards, natives of the county, and reputed to be the strongest men in Ulster. French John O'Neill had many well-known contemporaries. In

woman of noe fortune; (243) my second son is at the greatest schoole in England; and my third son is at schoole in the county of Kildare, who I hope will make a goode schollar. (244) Two of my daughters are, and have been for severall years, at my Lord Massereen's, within two miles of me, where they are used as his owne sisters by my very good Lady, my Lord's mother. (245) Another of them was severall years with the Duke of Bolton's daughter that was married to the late Mr. O'Neill, (246) but she comes home in spring, that lady being married to a 2nd husband; but the others,—home the Lady will not let them; and I have three daughters at home. My two eldest daughters are married agreeablie, (247) but goode men and great sumes of money are wanting in this poore countrie, especiallie amongst us old natives, and our pride will not suffer us to match with mean familys, though very rich. If your Lordship had not commanded me, I would not have troubled you with this account of my children.

"As to our Coat of Arms, the true coat of the O'Neills is only the Red Hand and a Salmon in water; the Lyons were put into the body of the Coat by the great Daniel O'Neill, (as we called him, who was Bed-Chamber man to King Charles the first and King Charles the second) because

a manuscript, compiled from scattered papers, in 1736, he has recorded the deaths of several of these. The following abstract from this document appeared in one of Charles O'Neill's letters in the *Belfast Daily Mercury*:—"Randall MacDonnell, Earl and Marquis of Antrim; Sir Neale O'Neill of Killelagh, who died in 1690, of wounds received at the Boyne; 'Alexander MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim, who died 1699, near London; Major Charles Stuart of Ballintoy, his 'old comrade,' who died in London, 1710; Captain Edmond Stafford, his 'kind dear friend,' who died in 1713 at Portglenone; Clotworthy Skeffington, Viscount Massereene, who died 1714; Captain William Shaw, his 'old comrade,' who died at Bush in 1719; Randall MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim (son of Earl Alexander), who died in Dublin, 1721; Joshua Dawson, Esq., his 'kind dear friend,' who died at Castledawson, 1724; Colonel Clotworthy Upton, his 'good friend,' who died at Castle Upton, 1725; Mr. James M'Cullough, his 'old friend,' who died at Grange, 1725; Henry M'Cullough, Esq., his 'old school-fellow and friend,' who died 1720, and was interred in old Drummaul church; Charles Campbell, Esq., his 'very good friend,' who died at Grange, 1725; William Connolly, Esq., his 'special good friend,' who died at Dublin, 1729, and was interred at Celbridge; Rachel Hungerford, Countess-dowager of Massereene, who died in Antrim Castle, 1731, by which he and his 'family lost one of the best of friends;' Brigadier Richard O'Kane, his 'kind friend,' who died in 1736, in the Island of Minorca, of which 'he was chief governor for the King of England;' (See Appendix XX.) Major Con Magennis, his 'double cousin-german,' who died in Broughshane, 1714, and was buried in the church of Skerry." French John himself died at Shane's castle, in April, 1739. His will, which he made in 1637, contains directions about where and how he was to be buried. He wished to sleep his long sleep near his wife's grave, in the vault that he had made for himself and family adjoining the castle—'no cloth, clasps, or hinges, to be put on his coffin, which should be coloured only *with lampblack.*" See Charles H. O'Neill's *Letters.*

(243) *Noe fortune.*—See preceding note. This son, whom Shane Frankagh disinherited, died before his father, leaving one daughter, Máry, who married the Rev. Arthur Chichester. Shane Frankagh's great-grandson, however, earl O'Neill, at the end of more than a century, restored this orphan, Mary O'Neill, to her rightful family position, in the person of her great-grandson, the present lord O'Neill, by devising to him all the estate.

(244) *Goode schollar.*—This was Clotworthy O'Neill. It is not probable that this gentleman became remarkable for his scholarship, as his father so much desired. Clotworthy and his unmarried sisters, Rachel, Ellinor, and Rose O'Neill, were left very little by their father, the old gentleman fearing to lower the family *prestige* by subdividing the property at all. After his death the second son, Charles, who had been duly constituted heir, was more liberal to his sisters, who resided in Dublin.

(245) *My Lord's mother.*—One of these daughters whom he congratulates himself on having got so respectably boarded in the neighbourhood, was Rachel, who had been named after the countess dowager Massereene.

(246) *Mr. O'Neill.*—See p. 61, *supra.* This gentleman married the lady Mary Paulet, who was much younger than himself, and described as "beautiful and high-spirited." He died in 1716, and his widow, two years afterwards, married the hon. Capel Moore, brother of lord Drogheda, carrying off with her the family jewels of the marchioness of Antrim, together with several family portraits and other paintings, for the recovery of which French John filed a bill in the court of Chancery against lady Mary and her second husband, claiming them as heir-looms, but he did not succeed in restoring them to Edenduffcarrick.

(247) *Agreablie.*—It would appear that of his six daughters three were married—Catherine, Mary, and Anne. Anne, the second daughter, married captain Sharman, of Ballyscullion, see p. 201, *supra*; Mary became the wife of Mr. Robert Burrows, but we cannot discover the name of Catherine's husband.

he could not give support to the Coat, not being a nobleman; he put the Lyons into the body of the Coat to support the Hand, which indeed made a new Coat and a new family; but the Earle of Tyrone and the late Lady Marchioness of Antrim gave onely the Hand and Salmon in the body of the Coat, and the Lyons were supporters to the Coat. And since your Lordship has got a title, pray take the Lyons out of the Coat, and put them outside to support the Armes—the three stars or mullets ought not to bee in the Armes at all.

"It is above 40 years since I left Ffrance, and for want of converse in the Ffrench tongue, I have so forgot it that I dare not venture to write it, therefore your Lordship will pardon my making use of the English, which I hope you have not forgot, though you left this country very young. Severalls are enquiring of me what branch of the ffamily of Tirone your Lordship is of; it would be a great pleasure to them, as well as to myself, if your Lordship would please to let me know it in answer to this; and what year you left Ireland, and how old then, and what your ffathers and Gd-fathers names, and where they lived. I hope your Lordship will pardon this curiosity, and believe me to be your Lordship's most," &c. (248)

(248) *Lordship's most, &c.*—As the above was evidently but a rough copy of the letter, it has neither date nor signature. "The late Dr. M'Donnell of Belfast told an anecdote that he had heard from the first viscount, which redounds to the credit of this personage. French John was a veritable and legitimate O'Neill, who found it necessary to push his way in the world. With this view he went to Flanders, and became engaged in the wool trade, at which he worked with his own hands. When by deaths and unexpected circumstances he was re-called to Ireland, he felt assured that his laudable efforts to gain an independence by trade would be used as a reproach, and he met this expected attack by suspending in his hall at Edenduffcarrick the identical wool-cards he had used, saying that he would be the first to mention his own trade. Those old wool-cards were not removed from their place till after his death." *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 164.

CHAPTER VII.

THE THIRD EARL OF ANTRIM AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

N the death of the marquis of Antrim, his younger brother, Alexander Macdonnell, succeeded as third earl. This nobleman, who was born in 1615, had exactly come of age at the date of his father's death in 1636. He spent the three following years abroad, visiting Italy, Germany, France, and other countries on the continent. He returned just as the great Irish war of 1641 was about to break forth. On his arrival at an English port, he went to visit the king, who then had his court at York, and soon afterwards Macdonnell came to this country, where he took his stand on the side of his own people, the Celts. In 1642, he was appointed by the council of confederated catholics to the command of an Irish regiment. During the next ten years of internecine struggle, he was always an advocate of pacific measures, and steadily resisted any policy tending to alienate Irishmen of different creeds from each other. He was opposed in some respects to the policy of his brother, the marquis of Antrim, and he, with his regiment, withdrew from Owen Roe O'Neill, when the latter formed a junction with the party of Rinuccini, the papal nuncio. The other colonels, who also then withdrew and submitted to Ormonde and his terms of peace, were lord Iveagh, sir Felim O'Neill, Turlough Oge O'Neill of the Fews, Miles O'Reilly, and Brian MacColla Macmahon. In 1651, this third earl, then colonel Alexander Macdonnell, served under Ever Macmahon, the soldier-bishop of Clogher (see p. 299, *supra*), and was taken prisoner by Theophilus Jones, at Tecroghan, where colonel Manus Roe O'Cahan was killed.

By his father's will, the third earl had received extensive lands in the barony of Glenarm (see p. 247, *supra*), which were forfeited on the commencement of the rebellion. He remained in command of his regiment until the confederate armies surrendered to Cromwell in 1652, and in the following year his lands were set out to adventurers and soldiers, he receiving 3,500 acres in Connaught. In 1656, he was in Dublin, where he penned the following brief epistle to his mother :—

"MADAME,—I hope all the business I have in this kingdom will be at an end in three or four days. Then I am resolved for England, to pursue the business of my estate, whereof your Ladyship shall have the earliest account. And because my time here will be but short, you would do well to persuade your cossen, Robert Stewart, to come hither about your joynture, (1) for 'tis better rely on

(1) *Your joynture.*—See p. 341, *supra*. The gentleman here mentioned was colonel Robert Stewart, third son of Andrew Stewart, last lord Ochiltree, and first viscount Castlestuart in Tyrone. Not long previously to the date of this letter, colonel Robert Stewart had married Catherine O'Neill, grand niece of Hugh earl of Tyrone, and consequently a cousin once removed to Alice, countess of Antrim. Soon after Stewart's marriage he received the following letter from the marquis of Antrim, written in the autumn of 1656:—

"DEARE COSSAN,—I am grieved to trouble you in ane businesse of myne before I could showe you some real demonstration of my affections; but I am pressed for a thing for which I would never call to you, could I be supplied elsewhere. This enclosed will tell you the request I have to make to you, which

him in that particular than any one else I know. I hope you will have justice done you. I have not moved anything in it as yet, only had a petition redye to present unto the council, which I was advysed not to deliver, thinking it might be better done another way than that intended. I shall be careful to follow your commands in all things, as your Ladyship's most obedient Son,

"ALEXANDER M'DONNELL.

"Dublin, March 6, 1656."

Of the countess of Antrim not much is known after her flight from Ballycastle, through terror of the Scots, in 1641. Monro and Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, had no scruples—indeed were only too happy—in seizing her jointure-house, and appropriating, either to themselves, or to the use of the Scottish Estates, the rent of her jointure-lands. By their rapacity, the countess was reduced to great difficulties, her sons being also at the same time deprived of all their means. The fact of her destitution after 1641, is made known to us in a somewhat curious, but very significant manner. The following passage has been recently found in a manuscript account of his own life, left by the celebrated physician, Dr. Thomas Arthur:—"1643. Dame Ellis Ny Neyl, countess dowager of Antrim, by reason of the warrs, was reduced to extremitie, and driven to pawne her 2 rings, a cross, and a jewell of gould inlayed with rubies and dyamonds, to John Barnevill, for £20 sterling, with a bill of sale past of them, unless shee had redeemed the same by the 20th of September, 1643, which not being able to doe of her owne moneyes, was driven to mortgadge the premises to Thomas Roch Fitz Pyers of Birr, merchant, for the said sume of £20, which shee delyvered to the said Barnevill in redemption of the said jewells, and promised him, the said Roch £20 10s 0d for lending her the said £20, from the 2nd of August to Michaelmas ending 1643. And the said Countess being at Lymrick, the 9th of September, 1643, desired mee to pay the said Thomas Roch, the said sume of £21, and to keepe her said jewells in my owne custodie untill shee were able to pay mee, to prevent future consumption and inconveniences which may ensue unto the said ladye through the accruing interest sought by the said Roch. I, to pleasure the said countess, payed the said Roch the £20 aforesaid, and kept the said jewells salfe for the said ladye, demaundinge noe interest of moneys of her. 30th Aprilis, 1649, by vertue of the said ladye dowager, her letter, dated at Grangebegg, 29th Martii, 1649, I delyvered the said jewells to Sr. Connor O'Cullenane, (2) a Franciscan fryer, from whome I receaved twentie pounds and five shillings sterling, and who upon his othe, promised to see me payed 15s more by May day then next ensuing, instead of the 3

I hope you will not denie, in regard it may prove an advantage to me. I must in an extraordinarie way beg the favour from you to change your greate dogge with me for another, whom I assure you, will be more serviceable to you than your owne; and you will have the advantage more by it, that I shall attribute to you to be the means to contribute to my good fortunes, which may be purchased by my presenting this dogge. If you refuse me this request I shall despaire of others to supplie me, but my confidence is so great in your goodness, that I have a in your kindness to obtain my desire; and if you please to grant it, I beg you to send yours by an express, and I shall returne myne back to you with most infinite acknowledgment, from your affectionate cossan,

"ANTRIM.

"You may yourself perceave the haste that is to be used in this present. I hope you will not deny Rose (his wife) though you should deny me." This Irish dog, for the possession of which Antrim thus expresses himself so urgently, was destined no doubt to pave his way to the good graces of some powerful Cromwellian. Irish dogs and hawks were made to do duty in this fashion very frequently. No man knew better than sir Arthur Chichester to whom to make such presents among his great patrons in England. For his achievements in this line, see Russell's and Prendergast's *Calendar*, 1st series, pp. 212, 243, 251, 346, 362, 496.

(2) *Sr. Connor O'Cullenane.*—The title Sir, when used before the name of an ecclesiastic, only signified *dominus*. There were several friars of this surname throughout the

picatouns which were counterfaiet, and that I would not then receave for my Payment. John Arthure Fitzrobert, James Ryce Fitz-John, Nich. Wale, and Thomas Power Fitz-James, were present." (3) In 1661, the year after the Restoration, the countess addressed the following letter to colonel Robert Stewart, ancestor to the earls of Castlestuart, abovenamed :—

"DEARE COUSIN,—This day I have received yours, wherein you have desired me to send you my original Deed by your man, Phelimy M'Greer. I now wish heartily that you had gotten it at first rather than to have you so much troubled for the want of it. Deare Cousin, this day, I have sent you the Original Deed, of which I pray you to be careful, (4) as also, to lose no time in prosecuting my business; for under God, I trust my business wholly to yourself, and none else. I pray you let me hear from you by the next post of your receipt of the Deed, and what news of my children; (5) As also let me hear constantly from you what is done concerning my particular. I hope you will strive to get my old dwelling, Ballycastle, to me again. I fear if Mr. Stewart leave

counties of Derry and Tyrone, during the seventeenth century.

(3) *Were present.* See p. 246, *supra.* This good physician was evidently a man of business, and his career proves that he had been eminently successful in the accumulation of fees. These "fees were of sufficient magnitude to enable him to realise a large fortune, to purchase broad acres, and to lend considerable sums of money to noblemen and gentlemen, particularly to the Thomond family, and to some of the then old Irish gentry, who appear to have stood in need of his advances." (See *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. v., new series, pp. 20, 22.) Dr. Arthur always wrote *Fitzwilliam* after his name, to distinguish himself, no doubt, from kinsmen of the same Christian name. Among his numerous patients were several of the northern nobility and gentry. When the first earl of Mountalexander was dying, captain Hugh Montgomery had got Dr. Arthur as far as Dundalk on his way to visit him, but they there heard that the earl had died, and the doctor "returned when he thought fitt." (See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, pp. 241, 242), This physician kept a very neatly written *fee book*, the contents of which have been printed in the volume of the Kilkenny journal above quoted, and are read with interest in every province of Ireland. Under the year 1620, we meet the following entries :—"I then went to the lady of Arthure Chichester, the quæstor or treasurer of this kingdom, then living at Carrickfergus in Ulster, whom, when labouring under dropsy, and forewarning her of her death within a few days after my prognosis, I attended upon; he gave me on the 25th of May, £5 0s 0d." "Being sent for on the third day of May, I went to Margaret Walsh, the daughter of Cormack O'Hara, who was pregnant, and became convalescent, without injury to herself or her child, £1 0s 0d. Sir Randal M'Saurley, then Viscount of Dunluce, sent for me to Dunluce, and gave me £1 0s 0d."

(4) *Be careful.*—This document of which the countess was naturally so careful was the deed of her jointure lands, which had been conveyed by the first earl, her husband, to certain trustees, for her ladyship's use and maintenance. The terms of this deed are recited in the *Decree of Innocence* issued afterwards by the court of claims on behalf of her eldest son, the marquis of Antrim. (See Appendix XI.) The Cromwellians were eager to get hold of all lands, even jointure-lands, belonging to Roman catholics; and they were generally able to get up charges from their books of "discrimination" (see p. 330, *supra*) against the owners of such property, as pretexts for the legalised robbery of even widows and children. The countess of Antrim had a narrow escape from their clutches in 1652, her ladyship being charged in one of Cromwell's courts at Coleraine with connivance in a massacre alleged to have been committed by an Irish party at her own gates in Ballycastle. Her ladyship was subjected to a very severe cross-examination, and was asked to interpret certain hearsay stories, her enemies hoping in this way to draw her into some admission of complicity with other parties. Any such admission, however inadvertently made, would have been fatal, if not to her life, at least to her continued possession of her jointure-lands. A party of the Irish, after the battle of the Laney, went to Ballycastle and took possession of her house; but as they did not turn her out, and as they prevented some protestants from taking shelter therein, it was supposed that she had connived with the Irish. This charge was not sustained by any witnesses, and it was rebutted by her own statement and by the sworn depositions of Henry O'Hagan, Esq., a gentleman who was present in the castle at the time. Any suspicions of connivance on her part vanish when we come to know the *motives* which actuated her enemies. Without a knowledge of the times, however, one might be led to judge harshly of the countess, as we once did, giving expression to our suspicions in a tract entitled *The Stewarts of Ballintoy*, but which expression we now freely retract.

(5) *My children.*—For an account of her family see pp. 247—250, *supra.* Her "children" at this crisis were (all at least who then survived) involved more or less in the grievous sufferings of the times, being Roman catholics, and in such socially prominent rank as to have attracted the spoilers to their gates.

the barony, I should hardly get it with good will. I pray God bless you, and prosper you, which is the only desire of your affectionate Cousin till death,

"7th May, 1661." "ALICE ANTRIM.

"For my deare Cousin, Lt. Colonel Robert Stewart, now in Dublin."

This, with the foregoing letters written by her sons, are preserved in the Castlestuart charter-chest, and have been printed by the Hon. and Rev. Andrew Godfrey Stuart, in his *Historical and Genealogical Account* of the family. The urgency with which the countess addressed her friend was natural enough, when we think of the circumstances in which she was then placed. The Restoration, to which all royalists looked forward with so much hope, had come, but did not bring the blessings they had led themselves to expect. The countess was alive in 1663, being then eighty years of age, but whether she survived until the estate was restored, in 1665, we have not been able to ascertain. (6)

From the year 1656 until his restoration to his estate in 1665, the third earl appears to have resided in England, where he had numerous and influential friends. In the English parliament assembled immediately after the king's Restoration, he sat as member for Wigan, in Lancashire, a trust which he continued at intervals to hold until the year 1685. (7) He obtained a grant under the Act of Explanation (which restored his brother, the marquis), of all the lands in the barony of Glenarm bequeathed to him by his father, the first earl. These lands comprised 35,345 statute acres, and included the towns of Larne, Glenarm, Waterfoot, Cushindall, and Cushindun. In this grant was reserved to his brother Randal, marquis of Antrim, the chiefry of £2 and the rent of £50, towards the discharge of the rent reserved to the crown, by a deed of settlement made by the marquis's father, and also his right to hold a court of record every three weeks within the said barony. There was also reserved to the bishop such right to any of the premises as his predecessor was possessed of, on 23rd October, 1641. The date of this grant from the crown was January 21, 20th year of Car. II. Inrolled 1st February, 1668. (8) As already stated, he had received a grant of lands in Connaught, (see p. 341, *supra.*) under the 6th Qualification of Cromwell's act for the 'settling of Ireland.' Persons receiving such grants were bound by law to surrender their Connaught lands, on being restored to their own patrimonial estates, and the properties in Connaught were then disposable by the crown, and were either given back to their original owners, or appropriated as reprisals, or given tempo-

(6) *To ascertain.*—From this reference of the countess to her former residence at Ballycastle, it is evident that she had never been an occupant of it after her hasty departure from it in 1641. From that date it was held for several years by a Scottish garrison, which in its turn gave way to the Cromwellians. The probability is that in 1665, when the Antrim estates were restored, the house in Ballycastle had become dilapidated; it appears never to have been subsequently repaired. (See p. 250, *supra.*) The countess was 78 years of age in 1661. From her anxiety to get back her old residence at Ballycastle, her ladyship probably wished to live the remaining days of her life there, and to rest at last beside her lord in the family vault at Bunnamairge. The Mr. Stewart to whom she refers as likely to "leave the barony" was no doubt Archibald Stewart, the well-known agent of the Antrim estates. Dr. Ralph Kinge, the discoverer (see p. 286 *supra*) had possession of Ballycastle House and most of the lands adjoining in 1661, the date of the above letter. Archibald Stewart had made an unsuccessful attempt to remove him in 1663, and Kinge was probably able to hold on until 1665, the date of Antrim's restoration to his estates.

(7) *Year* 1685.—See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 212. It is here stated that the precise years during which he served in the English parliament were 1660, 1661, 1678, 1681, and 1685. As he succeeded to the earldom in 1682 he did not, of course, serve in the English House of Commons subsequently.

(8) 1668.—See *Fifteenth Report of Commissioners of Public Records*, pp. 169, 170, 305. This report contains a list of all the lands specified in the grant, with the number of acres in each parcel.

rarily to meet difficult cases until other arrangements could be made. Thus, the marchioness of Antrim being restored to Edenduffcarrick, the estate of 8888 acres she held in Connaught became disposable, and on the 21st October, 1663, Francis lord Athenry petitioned for a custodiam thereof, to enable him to prosecute his restitution to his ancient property. (9) It so happened that Alexander Macdonnell's Connaught possessions had belonged to a gentleman named Donough Daly, Esq., who had been forfeited in 1641, and restored, as an Innocent papist, by the court of claims. But it did not follow that he could get back all at once into his lands, for Alexander Macdonnell had disposed of them to a gentleman named Carew Dillon, who, of course, did not wish to move, supposing, no doubt, that he had got settled in a new home for life. The following petition from Daly, the original owner, illustrates very many similar cases, and, therefore, it is here submitted :—

"To the King's most Excellent Matie

"The humble Petition of Donough Daly, Esq.

"Humbly Sheweth—That yor Petr was by the late Court of Claymes in Ireland adjudged and declared Innocent and restored onely to the part of his Estate which he did not clayme att Athlone in ye usurpers time, That the said comissioners have Postpond his Restitucõn to ye rest of his estate until ye Innocents who had noe lands in ye transplantacõn Accompt were first heard and restored, That Coll: Carew Dillon possesseth his antient House and five hundred acres of his Estate aboute it, by vertue of a purchase from Coll: Alexandr M'Donnell, whoe had noe former estate of his owne but obteyned the same from ye usurper for part of his Brothers, ye Marquesse of Antrims Estate, who is restored to his whole Interrest.

"Soe its, may it please your Matie, that ye said Carewes Bargin with ye said Coll: Alexander is to restore him to his money upon eviction of ye said Landes, which your Petr conceives to be done by ye said decree of ye Petrs Innocency, yett he will hinder ye Petr from enjoying his estate, if your Matie will not interpose your mercy and justice.

"The premisses considered, your Petr humbly implores your Maties Reference to ye Earle of Anglesey, and your Maties Attorney Genll, and to call ye said Coll: Dillon before them, and make a report to your Matie how ye case stands, and your Matie may be further satisfied with ye Petrs just demands. And your Petr will ever pray" &c. Extracted from *Transcripts of State Papers, Liber* C, p. 166, Record Tower, Dublin castle.

The king referred the petition of Daly to the duke of Ormonde and the council in Ireland, and Alexander Macdonnell and Carew Dillon were, no doubt, eventually removed by the act of explanation. In December, 1680, Macdonnell was appointed *Custos Rotulorum* for the county of Antrim; and in 1685, having three years previously succeeded as third earl of Antrim, he was

(9) *Ancient property.*—Custodiams were occasionally very convenient arrangements both for the granter and grantee. "Chief among these were applications concerning lands, arising out of the execution of the Act of Settlement. For though it was competent only to the commissioners of the court of claims to remove any adventurer or soldier from his possession, yet whenever any land became temporarily vacant, any one seeking to possess it until such time as the commissioners should make a decree, was bound to apply to Ormonde as lord lieutenant, representing the king (in whom all the forfeitures were vested by the Acts of Settlement as a trustee), for an order to the court of exchequer to grant the applicant a *custodiam*, or tenancy at will, under the crown, at a moderate rent, till further order."—Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte MSS.* p. 86.

admitted as a member of the privy council of James II. The new king appointed him, in the same year, lord lieutenant of his native county of Antrim, and gave him the command, as colonel, of an infantry regiment. The following is a correct list of the officers' names :—

"*Lord Antrim's Infantry*—1689.

"*Colonel.*—Alexander MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim.

"*Lieutenant-Colonel.*—Mark Talbot.

"*Major.*—James Wogan.

"*Captains.*—Lord Inniskillen, Daniel M'Donnell, Hugh O'Neill, Charles M'Donnell, Terence O'Neill, Ulick Bourke, Henry Vaughan, Arthur Magill, Edmond O'Reilly, Bryan M'Guinness.

"*Lieutenants.*—Archibald M'Donnell, Randal M'Donnell, John O'Neill, John M'Donnell, George Moore, Manus M'Manus, Bryan O'Neill, Denis O'Callaghan, Eneas M'Donnell, Randolph Sexton, John O'Neill, Bryan O'Neill, Francis Moore, Terence M'Sweeny, Bryan Magrath.

"*Ensigns.*—Randal M'Donnell, Eneas M'Donnell, Turlogh O'Neill, Augustin M'Donnell, Hugh Makay, ——— M'Donnell, ——— Vaughan, Francis O'Reilly, John O'Cahan, Francis O'Neill, Constantine O'Rorke, †George Sexton, John M'Manus, ——— M'Mahon.

"*Adjutant.*—†Alexander M'Donnell. (10)

"*Chaplain.*—†Hubert Dolphin. (11)

"*Officer a la Suite.*—Captain Alexander M'Donnell. 634 men."

Lord Antrim was not much known either as a politician or a soldier. Perhaps one of the chief distinctions of his life arose from the fact that the gates of Derry were shut in his face by the Apprentice Boys of that city, in 1689. A letter had been addressed to the earl of Mountalexander, warning him of a massacre which was to be commenced in Ireland, by the Irish, on the 9th of December, 1688. (12) This letter, although generally believed among well informed people to have been written by a protestant, naturally produced the greatest excitement throughout the country. Just whilst the commotion thus called forth was at its height in Derry, the earl of Antrim's regiment, ordered thither from Coleraine, was seen approaching, followed by a wild looking rabble, which the general agitation had induced to follow their soldier-friends on their march. The frightened multitudes that had taken refuge in Derry from various surrounding districts at once concluded that the approaching party under lord Antrim was about to initiate the massacre; and, as the only ready means of protection, they, headed by some apprentices in the place, rushed to the gates, and shut

(10) *M'Donnell.*—Those marked thus † are not in Dalton's *King James's Irish Army List*, vol. ii., p. 160, which is also wanting in some of the christian names. See Blake-Forster's *Irish Chieftains*, p. 632.

(11) *Hubert Dolphin.*—Hubert Dolphin, was evidently of the Dolphin's of Turoe, county Galway, of English descent, and in which *Hubert* was the prevailing christian name. See Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

(12) *December*, 1688. The following is a copy of this letter, which caused so much excitement at the period referred to :—

"December 3d, 1688.

"GOOD MY LORD,—I have written to let you know that all our Irishmen throughout Ireland are sworn that on the 9th day of this month, being Sunday next, they are to fall on to kill and murder man, wife, and child, and to spare none; and I desire your lordship to take care of yourself and all others that are adjudged by our men to be heads; for whoever of them can kill any of you is to have a captain's place. So my desire to your honnour is to look to yourself, and to give other noblemen warning, and go not out night or day, without a good guard with you; and let no Irishman come near you, whatever he be. This is all from him who is your friend and father's friend, and will be, though I dare not be known as yet, for fear of my life. Direct this with care and Haste to my Lord Montgomery" See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, 271—276.

out not only the Irish rabble, but also the earl and his regiment. The now celebrated act of shutting the gates was thus done entirely on the *spur of the moment*, by a crowd of humble and otherwise insignificant individuals; but although an unpremeditated act, it was followed by very marked results. The following truthful account of this affair was written by a protestant of the time :—"But that which happened of greatest consequence upon this discovery was the extraordinary accident that attended the account of it in Londonderry; where it had no sooner arrived (the account of the contents of the letter abovementioned), but it seemed to be confirmed past a doubt, by the advance of a considerable part of the earl of Antrim's regiment, consisting of five new raised companies, which, together with the rabble that followed, made up, at least, a thousand men, designed for a garrison to that town. The inhabitants, seeing such a number, and concluding them to have been the instruments designed for the execution of the pretended massacre, immediately shut up their gates, and, discharging some great guns upon the near approach of the Irish, obliged them to retreat in great disorder; and the townsmen, keeping their gates shut, issued out a declaration showing the reason for what they had done, which they wholly imputed to the apprehension of a Popish massacre." (13)

Lord Antrim, who was thus in some sort distinguished by being shut out, suffered forfeiture as an adherent of James II. He had now become old, and was comparatively unable to wrestle with the difficulties of his position, but he persevered in his efforts to regain the family estates, and was eventually fortunate in getting his case included in the articles of Limerick. (14) His outlawry in England, however, was not reversed by the operation of these articles, and on this point the aged earl appears to have been particularly sensitive. Indeed, the closing year of his life was employed in efforts to have this outlawry in England reversed, which was at length accomplished, but not before death had removed him from this scene, which to him had been one of almost unceasing

(13) *Popish massacre.*—See *Faithfull History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland, from the late King James Accession to the Crown to the Siege of Londonderry*, 4*to*, 1690, p. 8.

(14) *Articles of Limerick.*—Of these violated Articles the most important was the *first*. It was as follows :—"The Roman Catholics of the kingdom shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and all the privileges granted by the laws of Ireland, such as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as affairs will permit, shall convene the parliament of that kingdom, when they shall endeavour to procure for the Roman Catholics the greatest security for and in the exercise of their religion." The protestants kept the word of promise to their catholic countrymen's ear, but broke it to their hope. "The conditions they (the Irish) had by that surrender obtained, though agreed upon and signed by both parties, in the most solemn manner, and afterwards ratified and approved by both their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, under the great seal of England, were soon after basely infringed contrary to the law of nature, the law of nations, and the public faith." The infringements were, it is true, comparatively slight and gentle at first, but introduced promptly, and with an evident determination on the part of the government to proceed in the same unrighteous and dastardly course. By the first military article "it was agreed that all persons, of what quality soever, that were willing to leave the kingdom, should have free liberty to go into the country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) with their families," but the lord-justices, backed up by Ginckle, took care to render this poor and miserable boon as bitter to the Irish as possible, and, indeed, in many instances to prevent it altogether. Great numbers of the Irish officers and soldiers had made up their minds to exile themselves at once, and take service in the armies of France, carrying their families with them as a matter of course. But Ginckle and his associates did not relish such wholesale emigration, and therefore found means to prohibit the wives and children being shipped away—by this stratagem preventing the husbands from taking their departure also. In 1695, lord Capel, being then deputy, summoned the first Irish Parliament that sat after the surrender of Limerick. If, indeed, any of the Irish by that time had continued to hope for the performance of their articles, and of the solemn promises they had received to enjoy security from Parliament in the exercise of their religion—they were soon miserably undeceived. It very quickly and distinctly appeared that the Parliament had determined to fling the articles virtually to the winds, and to enter upon the passing of that series of acts "against the growth of popery" which has rendered their legislation infamous to future generations.

turmoil. His many petitions to king William in reference to this business are founded on a paper entitled—*Thesis of the Earle of Antrim's Case, October*, 1696. It is as follows:—

"The Earle of Antrim, in May, 1695, Preferrd his Petition to his Matie in Councill, setting forth that he was comprehended within the Articles of Limerick, had been so adjudged by the Lords Justices and Councill of Ireland, and thereupon admitted to reverse all utlawries of Treason against him in that kingdom; had a Writ of Restitution, and was accordingly put into possession of his Estate, all of which did appeare by ye originall adjudicãcon under the hands of the said Lords Justices, the coppies of the orders of Council, and ye record of the Court of King's Bench, attested by ye proper officers and annexed to the said Petition.

"The said Earle did further set forth in that Petition that he did still remaine utlawd on an Indictment in England for the same Treasons for which he is comprehended within the aforesaid Articles by which all utlawries in England as in Ireland are to be reversed, as by the said articles may appear, and did therefore humbly pray to be admitted to reverse the said utlawrie which remained in force against him in England.

"Upon the reading of the said Petition and Papers thereunto annexed, the same was referred to Mr. Attorney generall, now Lord Chief Barron Ward, (15) who made his report, speciall setting forth the effect and substance of the record of the utlawrie against the Earle in England, by which it did appear that it was for the same Treason for which the said Earl was comprehended within the aforesaid Articles of Limerick.

"On reading of the said report in Councill, it was thought reasonable that the utlawrie of ye said Earle should be reversed; but it was then moved as an objection against the doing of it, that there were severall other persons in ye same jurisdiction with the said Earle, and utlawed in the same record, who were Intitalled to ye Benefit of no articles, and that, therefore, if the said Earle were admitted to reverse the said utlawrie, the Record appearing to be erroneous, would be void not only to him but to all the rest, which was not designed; and upon this it was moved, that the most proper method to extend the favour no further than to the said Earle, was to have his attainder taken of by a particular Act of Parliament. This was the last, or last Councill day but one, before his Maties going into Flanders, and nothing further was done until his returne.

"About the end of November, 1695, being some time after his Maties returne, the said Earle preferred another petition reciteing the substance of his former, and notice of the objections against granting the prayer thereof, and in answer thereto remarks, that the said Earle's Reversal of his utlawrie could give noe Benefit to the others who were in the same Indictment, for that it appears upon the Record for what error the Reversal is, for all that is entered there is these words, *Reversatur quo, ad such a one,*—soe that the Record remains in full force against all the rest, for there may be an error only in misnaming, and the record in all things else right, soe that it may be erroneous as to one, and good as to others. But erroneous soever an utlawrie may be, noe benefit

(15) *Barron Ward.*—Early in the seventeenth century, there was a large and influential connexion of this surname in the county of Down, the heads of several families being grandsons of a sir Robert Ward, who had been appointed surveyor-general of Ireland in 1570. The second of these grandsons, also named Robert, was the eminent lawyer referred to above. He married a daughter of John Echlin of Ardquin in the Ards, and possessed extensive landed property at Killough in the same district. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 308.

can be taken thereof, by any person without the King's spetiall leave and permission; that the truth of this was apparent from the constant practice of the Court of King's Bench, and that in particular one Mr. Fagan who was utlawed in the same Indictment with the said Earle, had been admitted, and had already reversed his utlawrie, and that this was noe reversal to the rest, for then the said Earle needed not to desire a Reversall as to his particular; and to this Petition the said Earle did annex the certificate of Sir Samuel Astry, Clerke of the Crowne, as to the said Fagan's reversing of his utlawrie, that the same did not affect the Records as to ye rest, and that the practice of the Court of King's Bench was as before set forth.

"Some time after the reading of this petition and certificate, it was referred to Mr. Attorney Generall Trevor (16) to examine what error the petitioner would insist on to reverse his utlawrie, and to report his opinion thereon. Upon which the said Attorney-Generall made his report that the error the petitioner would assign was, that he was differently named in the Indictment and Exigent, vizt., Mack Daniell in the one and Mack Donnell (17) in the other, and that this error would not affect the record as to any other of the persons who were utlawed therein.

"On the reading of this report in Councill, the Lord Keeper and Lord Chief Justice Holt were present, and as the said Earle hath bin informed, there was some arguing as to the matter of law on his case, but that in the conclusion there did not seem to remain any objection against granting the prayer of his petition, and that his Matie did not appeare averse thereto; but, however, did not give any order therein.

"Soon after this, the discovery of the assassination was made, upon which his Matie and Councill's whole time being taken up with matters of great importance, the said Earle was advised that it was improper to importune his Matie any further at that time, and soe no further application was made before his Maties departure for Flanders." (18)

The earle had gone to England again in 1696, to have this matter finally arranged, and he never returned. He died at Thistleworth, near London, and was interred at Holywell in Wales. This third earl of Antrim was twice married, his first wife being the lady Elizabeth Annesley, daughter of Arthur earl of Anglesey. She died childless in 1669. It would appear that, as husband and wife, they had not been happy, owing to the fierce antipathies on religious subjects which then embittered all the relations of life. In a manuscript *Account of the War and Rebellion in Ireland since* 1641, supposed to have been written by Nicholas Plunkett, there is the following curious reference to the earl's married life:—"Anglesey is bitter, even to the greatest degree of bad language, against the Irish and Catholics in general, yet could he for his advantage marry one daughter to Alexander MacDonnell afterwards Earl of Antrim, an Irish papist, and another to the Ld. Power, an Irishman, but his

(16) *Trevor.*—This was sir John Trevor of Brinkinalt, in the county of Denbigh, knight, master of the rolls in England, speaker of the house of commons, and first lord commissioner of the great seal. In the years 1690, this this great lawyer's daughter, Anne, became the wife of Michael Hill, Esq., of Hillsborough, a member of the Irish privy council, a member of parliament for Saltash in Cornwall, and *Custos Rotulorum* for the county of Down. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 329, 330.

(17) *Mack Daniell and Mack Donnell.*—Mack Daniell was a form of the surname of Macdonnell, which prevailed in some districts of Ireland; several of the MacDaniells were forfeited in 1690.

(18) *Flanders.*—For a copy of the above petition, the author is indebted to the kindness of the late Charles Kirkpatrick, Esq., Whitehall, Ballycastle.

religion I know not. MacDonnell's wife, I have been credibly told, was most arrogantly rude with her husband, and he, of a pleasant humour, would onely and usually return in his Irish language, *how can it be otherwise with a man that has maryed the daughter of the devil.* Thus all men that will make a true use of their eyes and eares must see that these people only make use of religion as a stalking hors, and had the Alcoran been more for their temporal advantage than the Bible, the Bible shoulde be layd aside to give place with the other, and what Ben Johnson spoke in drolery, conform, perform, reform, and any form, was the truth of the same peoples tenets and practices in those dayes." (15)

The earl's second wife was Helena, daughter of sir John Bourke of Derrymaclachtney, in the county of Galway. By this lady he left a son, Randal, who succeeded him ; and a daughter, married to Henry Wells, Esq., of Bambridge, in the county of Southampton.

The third earl also left an illegitimate son, named Daniel Macdonnell, for whom he provided liberally by a grant of the following lands in the barony of Glenarm, for a period, it was alleged, of 500 years, at the rent of £5 per annum :—

Places.	Acres.
Glendun,	613
Mountain,	5085
Agolagh,	34
Mountain,	37
Ramaigh,	36
Mountain,	20
Dromore,	48
Mountain common to Dromore, Dromunasmeare, and Glencorp,	185
Gortacreggan,	48
⅔ Glencorp,	172
Mountain common to Glencorp, Gortacreggan, Dunurgan, Calisnagh, Unshnagh, and Cloghagh,	272
Taunaghdressagh,	25
Taughnaconny,	27
Noon a Mountain being common to other lands,	836

Places.	Acres.
Dunurgan,	46
Strade,	34
Mountain,	16
Collinsagh,	70
Unshinagh,	47
Cloghagh,	50
Moneyvert,	51
Cloghglass,	17
Carnananee,	18
Ballynatogher,	81
Gortaclee,	26
Ballynehavill,	33
Ballyfadd,	46
Clousendall,	88
Glasmullin, half quarter,	50
Mountain,	47
More Mountain,	353
Tully,	57 (16)

These lands, which were forfeited after 1688 (their owner having joined James II.), are described in the 'Book of Postings' as situated "in the parish of Lead, distant from Ballymena 13 miles, and from Ballymoney 15 miles (both market towns), from Belfast 28 miles, from Glenarm

(15) *Those days.*—See the Royal Commissioners' *Second Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 229.

(16) The above list was copied from the 'Book of Postings' in the Brittish Museum, by the late Wm. Pinkerton, Esq., F.S.A., for Geo. Benn, Esq. See also the *Fifteenth Report* of the commissioners of Public Records, p. 376.

8 miles (both sea-ports), and from the church at Clossendall (Cushindall) half a mile." It is further stated on the same authority, that there were then (1701) "a good corn-mill, four farm-houses, and nine cabins at Cushindall. On the whole estate, there were one stone house, 27 farm houses, some few of which had a barn and stable, and 66 cabins. Daniel M'Donnell's lease for 500 years commenced at May, 1687. The estate produced in 1702 a yearly rent of £126 6s 6d, but its real yearly value was estimated at £200. It was set up at £2595 13s 3d, and sold 'on the cant,' June 3, 1703, to the Hollow Sword Blade Company, for £2,596. The money was paid in debentures. The Rent and Reversion were secured to Randal M'Donnell, son of the earl Alexander, by whom the grant was made. The tenant under Daniel M'Donnell at the time of forfeiture was Alexander M'Cay. Daniel M'Donnell was a captain in the earl of Antrim's regiment, and it is an evidence of the poverty to which the once respectable families of the Antrim officers were reduced, that although more than a hundred were forfeited in this county, only six or seven of them were sold out, and only one, Sir Neal O'Neill, had fee-simple property. Kean O'Hara had been a leaseholder for 99 years, in the Barony of Antrim; Robert Cusack held a lease for 41 years; James M'Donnell a leaseholder in Dunluce barony; Sir James M'Donnell in the barony of Carey; and Peter Dobbin also a leaseholder. These, with Daniel M'Donnell, were all the forfeited estates sold in the county of Antrim after the Revolution. Or, at least, the above were the only persons out of the many forfeited, who had estates to sell." (17)

Randal, the fourth earl, was born in the year 1680, and died at the comparatively early age of forty-one. His life, however, although short, was not free from trouble. In the year 1715, his sympathy with the cause of the Scottish insurrection involved him in serious difficulties for a time. He did not commit any overt act that could be called treasonable, but his sentiments were pretty freely expressed, and several persons who lived on his estate, and who, perhaps, had hopes of being able to appropriate his lands in the event of his forfeiture, came forward with accusations against him to the government. A family manuscript, preserved among the papers of a gentleman named Macdonnell, who resided in the Glens of Antrim, gives us the following curious, but in some respects exaggerated account of this affair:—"There were forty-eight of his chief freeholders, who formed a false accusation against his life and estate; and his own Agent, Alexander Donaldson, (18) at the

(17) *To sell.*—Letter of the late William Pinkerton, Esq., F.S.A., to Geo. Benn, Esq., December 7, 1866. Daniel M'Donnell's forfeiture was the subject of an Inquisition held at Carrickfergus on the 8th of August, in the tenth year of the reign of William III., before Robert Saunders, Robert Doyne, John Lyndon, Christopher Carleton, and Arthur Upton. The following is a list of the jurors on that occasion:—Edward Harrison, Esq., Clotworthy Upton, Esq., George Butlle, Esq., William Shaw, Esq., John Campbell, Gent., Godfrey Walker, Esq., Patrick Agnew, Esq., John Calwell, Gent., James Stannus, Gent., Marmaduke Dobbs, Gent., Matthew Lockhart, Gent., William Shaw, Gent., John Croming, Gent., John Allen, Gent., Hugh Eccles, Gent.

(18) *Donaldson.*—Several gentlemen of this surname resided in the barony of Glenarm, early in the 18th century. The Donnelsons were kinsmen of the Macdonnells, and had been liberally treated by the owners of the Antrim estates from time to time. Some time subsequently to 1715, Sandie Donillson, probably the Alex. Donnelson abovenamed, is reported as holding lands worth £100 per ann., Madame Donillson as holding lands worth £100 per ann., and John Donillson as worth £250 per ann. (See Hill's *Stewarts of Ballintoy*, p. 52.) The first of this family who appears to have held lands in the neighbourhood referred to, was John Donnellson of Glenarme, to whom the first earl of Antrim gave a lease, dated October 31, 1626, of the lands of Oynaloghaigh, containing 40 acres, Ballytobber, 40 acres, one tenement in Larne, and one tenement in Glenarm. This grantee died October 31, 1634, and was succeeded by his son, also named John, twenty years old at the time of his father's death. *Ulster Inquisition, Antrim.*

head of it, viz. That he had gone over to the Chevalier with all his clan and interest, and sent a special messenger with it to London, to the King, George II. Before it was sent away, it by some means came to the knowledge of Aeneas Macdonnell of Legg, (19) who laid all before his Lord and friend, and advised him to post off to London, and be there before the Bill would arrive. They both went, and they were only two days at the duke of Grafton's residence when the black Bill of conspiracy and the messenger arrived at St. James's, and was presented to his Majesty. The King, knowing that Antrim and Grafton were great friends, he calls Grafton, (20) 'See here, what your friend Antrim has done!' On Grafton reading it, he replied, 'My Liege, its as false as hell, for Antrim and his friend are at my residence these four days, so that he never contemplated going against your Majesty, with either himself or his interest, to the Chevalier.' The King replied, 'Send for him,' which Grafton immediately did. And when the King saw him, he said he was better pleased to see him, and to know that the accusation was false, than five hundred thousand pounds, for he had such a liking to him. But he was a Catholick Lord; they (his accusers) were of the other sort, that wished to deprive all Catholicks of their lands and properties; but whilst that imperial estate was by its own blood, during the fall and rise of Kings it stood like a majestic tower, and did not cease in an acre of its property; but when transferred to strangers, it soon became only the name to the proprietors. But the property went over to strangers, and has only left the shadow to the present proprietors. Then, when his freeholders were worsted in that deep-laid plot to have his life and property, they there again, in the year '45, formed a counterfeit lease from the said Lord, to a natural son of his, Daniel—that did really go to the Pretender and never returned—of all the lands that were in the hands of his relatives and name; and got a John Groma M'Cay to swear to it; and by that means robbed both the relatives and the estate of that vast property called Hollow Blade Lands." (21) See *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xxxi. p. 221.

(19) *Of Legg.*—More correctly *Lag*, or 'Hollow,' in the vicinity of Cushindall.

(20) *Grafton.*—This was the 2nd duke, Charles Fitzroy, the second illegitimate son of Charles II., by Barbara Villiers, dutchess of Cleveland. His elder brother had been created duke of Cleveland, and his younger brother duke of Northumberland, both of which titles became extinct in this connexion. This duke of Grafton was sent as lord lieutenant to Ireland in 1715, as being ferociously anti-catholic in his political sentiments, and as being therefore supposed by George I. to suit the peculiar complexion of the times. The earl of Antrim had been so misrepresented by some of his northern neighbours, and even tenants, that he was seized and imprisoned in Dublin; as, however, he was personally acquainted with Grafton, and as his keeper was, fortunately, an officer named Stewart, of the Ballintoy family, the earl was permitted to go to the lord lieutenant who was soon persuaded to order his release. It was believed that lord Antrim intended to raise a force which was either to be sent to the Pretender in Scotland, or to be held in readiness to join him, should he determine to land anywhere on the northern coasts. On the 30th of January, the lords-justices addressed a letter to Edward Clements, Esq., the high sheriff of the county of Antrim, informing him that they had received a communication from one of the secretaries of State, who stated that there was reason to believe that Ireland would be suddenly invaded. The sheriff was urgently required to get the militia into proper fighting condition—no easy task—and to attack any hostile parties that might land, or at least prevent ill-disposed persons in the district from joining them. Among other things immediately set about by the high-sheriff was the searching of lord Antrim's castle at Glenarm for arms and suspected persons, and for this purpose he sent the sub-sheriff, Mr. Samuel Guest, and a militia officer named Boyd. These officials were accompanied by about thirty of the militia, and they intended, whilst in the neighbourhood of Glenarm, to seize two organisers of the incipient force for the chevalier—to wit, Francis Bourk and lieutenant Stewart. Bourk escaped, but Stewart was caught. On searching Glenarm castle, nothing could be found but a very scanty supply of fowling-pieces, which captain Boyd and Mr. Guest did not venture to remove. See the *Report of the Judges of Assize for the North-East Circuit of Ulster*, 1716, pp. 30, 31.

(21) *Hollow Blade Lands.*—The writer of the above extract has fallen into errors both as to persons and dates, when referring to the litigation with the Hollow Blade Company. That litigation commenced in 1715, not in 1745, as above stated, and Daniel Macdonnell was a son

The dispute with the Hollow Sword-Blade company, already referred to at pp. 117, 363, *supra*, was the cause of a rather tedious and expensive litigation between that company and lord Antrim, the latter maintaining that the lease alleged to have been given by the third earl to his illegitimate son, Daniel M'Donnell, was a counterfeit or forged document. This Daniel M'Donnell was a captain in the third earl's regiment (see p. 357, *supra*), and on the defeat and expulsion of James II., M'Donnell accompanied the fugitive king to the continent, and never returned. His lands were confiscated and sold, being purchased by the Hollow Sword-Blade company, on what was supposed to be a genuine deed from the third earl. (22)

Among the family papers at Glenarm castle are the following, having reference to this subject :—

"*Neale M'Kay's knowledge of ye Hollow Blaid Lands.*

"The Statte of a Case concerning the Lands, commonly called the hollow blaids land in the Earle of Antrim's estate, and the Tryall thereupon held.

"Imprimis that the right Honble Alexr. the Earle of Antrim, gave a deed of the said Lands to his naturall son, Danial M'Donnall, for the payment of a certain sum of money, due to the said Earle's mother, and made over by her to the said Daniall ; the Tearm of years in the said Deed is but twelve years, which Deed is now in being, ready to be produced if needful.

"Yet, notwithstanding, the Hollow Blaids claiming, held the said Lands from the year 1689 untill the year 1700. The Right Honbl Randle the Earle of Antrim, moving in the said affair, and the Tennants to him, the said Earle, did atturn over the said Lands, which he held untill the year 1719, when the same was recovered from the said Earle by a Tryall att law, &c. And from the beginning of the law suite untill the Tryall came on, Neall Makay, now of Broughshane, county of Antrim, saw and heard severall foull, clandestant meanes used by bribs and otherwise to carry on the said Tryall.

"Imprimis, that Samuel Duffield of Antrim, gott a considerable sum of money for makeing an affidavid in Dublin, agste the said Earle of Antrim, in order to have a pick jury out of Sir Herculles Langfourd's estate, and by the said jury, the cause was tryed.

"That Long John Makay, and Daniall Makay, were, by Captain William Dobbin, importuned to joyne him in carrying on the said cause, were highly bribed after a foull and unfair manner, and when they were subpened to appeare and give evidence at the Tryall, the day before the Tryall came, they were brought to the house of one Mr. Sholdham, the solliciter-generall, who was concerned againt my Lord Antrim, and were examined. Such evidence as they could give did intirely for my Lord Antrim and quite against the hollow blaids. Finding the truth of their evidence,

of the *third* earl, not of the *fourth* earl as the writer supposed.

(22) *Third earl.*—The following are the "Names of the Lands in Hollowblades Bill" :—Glendum—613 acres profitable land; mountain, 5085 acres. Agolagn—34a. or. 24p, profitable ; mountain, 37 acres. Rannagh, als. Muneragh, 36 acres, profitable ; mountain, 20a. 2r. 16p. Dromore—48a. 3r. 16p. ; Dromnasmere, 26a. 2r. 26p. ; mountain, 80a. 5r. 0p.; Glencar als. Glencorp, 172a., Gortacregan, 48a. 3r.; mountain, 16 acres. Donergan, Killisuagh, Unshenagh, and Cloghale, 272 acres. Tawnadressagh, 24 acres, Tannagh Conny, 27a. or. 32p; Noonamountain, 836 acres. Dunargan, 46a. 2r. 0p.; Straide, 24 acres, mountain, 16a. 2r. 24p. Callisnagh, 70a.; Rushwagh, 47a.; Cloghagh, 50 acres ; Monyvert, 51a. 1r. 0p. Cloughglass, 17a. 2r. 24p.; Carnenan, 18a. 1r. 24p.; Ballynatogher, 81a. 2r. 18p Gortaclee, 26a. 3r. 8p.; Ballynehavill, 38a. 2r. 8p.; Ballyfad, 46a. 3r. 16p.; Closendall, 88a. 3r. 34p.; Glassmullin, halfe quarter, 58a. 3r. 0p.; mountaine, 47a. 3r. 32p., More Mountaine, 553a. 8r. 0p., and Tully 57a. 1r. 27p. *Paper in Glenarm.*

the party was mighty discuraged, and Mr. Sholdham told them plainly if these men were examined upon the Tryall, the cause was lost.

"Then, Mr. Edwards, the plaintiff, Mr. Sholdham, and Captain William Dobbin, advising upon the matter, did contrive a project, and the same was, that the said John Makay, and Daniall Makay, should immediately goe before some master in Chancery, or person to take affidavids of that kind, and make oath that they should not joyne my Lord Antrim upon the Tryall, nor during their lives afterwards; then, and in such case, they were offered Two hundered guineas in hand, and each of them a Farm in the said Lands when recovered. They both refused to swear, were paid travelling charges, and were discharged.

"The whole Contents of the Tryall and the persons sworn to the cause.

"James Dobbin was the first that was produced upon the Table before the Barons, and he swore as he was an atturney then at law, sometime before the year '88, that Daniall M'Donnell did request of one Mr. Barthollemy M'Naghtin, the loane of some money, and that he should give him a Mortgage on the Mill and quarter land of Coshandall, and showed Mr. M'Naghtin a deed of the lands above-mentioned; and that said Mr. M'Naghtin sent him the said Dobbin, with the Deed to a lawyer to take advice, because it was a Blank Deed, and that the Council was of opinion, if the Deed was reall, it was good, notwithstanding it was a blank Deed; he swore noe more. Captain William Dobbin then was sworn, and what he swore was, that in the year '89, he was personally present at Belfaste, when there was an Inquiry held about the said lands, and that there were four of my Lord Antrim's tennents at the Court of Inquiry, to witt, Mr. Hugh M'Collum, Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. Neall buy M'Neall, and Mr. Alexr. Makay; and that at that time Daniall M'Donnall was found to be leased of said lands, and that the Company of hollow swordsmen took possession of said lands as forfeited, and that he himself (Dobbin) received the issues and profitts of said lands for their use, from that time untill the year 1700; that the tennents betrayed the possession, and atturned to my Lord Antrim. And there was noe more evidence given, nor was deed nor writting produced.

"Alexr. Aiton then was sworn in my Lord's behalfe; he misbehaved, and was confused by the Barrons; though his evidence was very materiall, he was commanded off the table, and the Barrons would not suffer any more to be produced in my Lord Antrim's behalfe, or defence of the cause, but imediately gave the jury their charge, and would not let them leave the jury box, but find for the hollow blaids.

"It was told my Lord Antrim now of late, that longe John Makay swore at the tryall all against my Lord Antrim, a deed of 99 years to be perfected to Daniell M'Donnell by his father. That is false and imposing upon the present Earle, in favour of the persons now possessing the said lands, for John Makay never swore a word against my Lord in publique or privet, as may appear by affidavits sworn in favour of the late Lord Antrim, eighteen years agoe, by John Daniell, and Neall Makay, before the Reverend Doctor Stewert of Bellintoy, which affidavits lies there still to prove the same."

"*John Mackays knowledge of ye Hollowblade Lands, March ye 10th, 1735.*

"My Ld.—I thought I could not be accountable to myselfe if I had omitted acquainting your Lordship of what occurred to my knowledge of ye Hallowblade affair, whereby your father (his late Lordship of Honrd memory) lost an Estate, as I believe unjustly, to Ffrancis Edwards, in the year 1720. As I had the fortune to be born in the country, and sins to be a man bred to bussiness, I had early opportunitys of knowing the most materiall affairs transacted in the country; and my fathers intending me for a scholar gave me some capacity to apprehend ym, I became sooner knowing in those concearns wherein my fathers fortune and service of his relations consisted.

"In the year 1715, I had notice there was a tryall to be at barr for ye Estate the 28th of Aprile. I immediately took horse and went to acquaint Mr. John Donaldson of it, who would scarce give creditt to it, until in five days he had a letter from James Horan relating to ye same. I was then sent for, and Mr. Donaldson esteeming (by what Papers I showed him, and the account I him) my goeing to Dublin would be of service, I went oft next morning. The tryall went on, and by brybery (as can be proved) my Lord was cast, but a writt of being lodged and bill of exceptions taken stayed execution, which put every man concerned upon examining all ye Papers they could think of that in any way might have reference to the affair. Upon perusing my fathers Papers I found severall leases of some parcells of those lands bearing date 1676, 1677, and '78, with a book of Discharges from the severall receavers under Collonell Alexr M'Donnell, afterwards Earle of Antrime, and downwards untill 1719, at which time my father renewed his Lease for his sons. I likewise found a letter from Charles Stewart of Ballintoy intimating that he had an order from the Earle of Antrim to Daniell M'Donnell for some lands during pleasure, which order I have seen with a reserved rent of Twenty Pounds per ann. I have likewise seen a letter, 1688, acknowledging that as the only title by which Daniel M'Donnell held those lands, and the persone is now alive who carryd ye said letter, and after read it in 1720, there was an advertized privat tryall by which my Lord lost those lands. My Lord ejected the tennents upon the strengthe of his apparent Right, and by advice of his Lawyers, viz., Sr Richard , Sr Theobald Butler, and Mr. Ffrench. Att the time of serving the ejectments, I advised Mr. Donaldson not serve any of the tenants upon severall parcells of land possessed by the sheriff, they being my Lords undoubted right, and that at the hazard of my life I would possess of them, which I did, and they still continue soe, particularly the tenement of Agolagh, which I then freed; and being threatened by Captn Boyd and Mr. Dunlop, I acquainted Mr. Charles Campbell of what I now relate to your Lordship. He ordered Mr. Donaldson to get replevins if I was distrained, and that he thought it a very good handle to recover the suit by, and although I was distrained I had new replevin, but was obliged to defend myself without submitting. There are a great many other particulars in the hands of Mr. Stewart and Mr. James Horan too tedious for your Lordship's present attention.

"The first money raised off those lands was by military order from the Duc of Wirtemberg, commander of Danish forces in '89, which order writt in Ffrench I gave my late Lord. The lands were sett to Mr. David Buttle untill the year '94, the Lor. Courcy Ireland came to the North and sett them for three yeares. After which time Mr. Nicholas and Capt. William Dobbin, sett them for one year to my ffather, which printed lease I likewise gave to my Lord. My ffather advising his

Lordship to gett an atturnment from the tennents, which he obtained, and had continued possession until the year 1720.

"I went off in company with Captn Arch. M'Donnell, the two Colls, Mr. John Stewart, and Mr. O'Hagan, in order to prove the buying of evidence, but wee were not examined, and the bribing the jury can be proved by Neil Makay and Pat. Calderwood, and also by an examination of Daniel Makay, tooke by Mr. Horan his clark in Ballintoy."

The fourth earl married Rachael Skeffington, third daughter of Clotworthy, second viscount Massereene of the second creation, by his wife Rachael, daughter of sir Edward Hungerford, of Farley-Hungerford castle, in the county of Somerset. (23) By her he left one son, Alexander, who succeeded him, and one daughter, the lady Helena M'Donnell, who died unmarried, in June, 1783, at the age of 78. The fourth earl died in 1721, and was buried beside his mother in Christ

(23) *Somerset.*—The will of the latter is a curious production, as illustrative of the minuteness of arrangement with which such documents were drawn up by those who had much to bequeath and many to remember. After directing that she may be decently interred in the church of Antrim, beside her deceased lord, she proceeds:—"I give to my son Clotworthy, Lord Massereene, his father's picture, my father's and his grandfather's, Sir Edward Hungerford's picture, set in gold, my great uncle, Sir Edward Hungerford's picture, set round with pearl, the back and cover Heliotropian stone, and my grandfather, Sir John Lacy's picture, and my uncle Roger's picture, enamelled, both set in gold. To my daughter-in-law, Catherine, Lady Massereene, a large sapphire stone set round with little diamonds, and a large transparent diamond drop hanging to it, and my pearl necklace, and my silver tea-table, together with £50 to new make it; to my grandson, Clotworthy, £1000 to be put out at interest, or upon the purchase of lands, or otherwise to be improved for 10 years, with all the profits thereof, and a purse of gold, several pieces whereof are foreign coins and medals, with a gold seal in the said purse, the party colours of which gold is wrought with my own hand, in the said purse, and his name wrote in a paper with my own hand, affixed to the said purse; as also my large enamelled seal set with diamonds, and another seal set with rubies and diamonds, a large agate with Cleopatra's head cut in it, set in a collet of gold; and another agate set in gold, cut in the form of half a man and half a fish; also my ring with a large emerald, and a pair of bracelets, containing twenty-three agates cut in several fishes set in collets of gold, also my large bible in two volumes with cuts; and my cousin Hay's picture in a shaggrin case; and likewise, my gold box; to my grandson Arthur £50, and my sapphire ring; to my grandson John £50; to my grand-daughter Catherine, 6 dozen of half guinea pieces, being £11 8s sterling, with six pieces of old gold, all in a purse wherein they now are, and wherein my said grand-daughter's name is wrote with my own hand, in a paper affixed to the said purse, and my filigrain book, my cup of an ostrich's egg, with a ring with her two eldest brothers' hair; to my granddaughter, Rachael, 30 broad jacobus pieces of gold, and a five guinea piece, also my filigrain case, with the knife, fork, and spoon therein, and a ring with a ruby stone set with diamonds round the hoop thereof; to my grandson Hungerford, £50, 10 jacobus pieces, and a five guinea piece. To my grandson Hugh, £50; to my dear son John, £200, and my diamond buckle, and 13 pieces of gold in a purse, a particular of which pieces are in a note wrote with my own hand in the said purse, as also his brother, Lord Massereene's picture set in gold; to my dear daughter, the Countess of Antrim, a large mochus stone with several small ones of the same kind round it in collets of gold, as also my mother's picture reset in gold; to my grandson Alexander, Earl of Antrim, one five guinea piece, and 10 jacobus pieces as a small token to remember me by; to my granddaughter, the lady Helena Massereene, my filigrain trunk, one five guinea piece, and ten jacobus pieces, as a small token to remember me by; to my daughter Smith, £100, and my lady Northampton's picture set in gold, the back of the picture being a Lapis Lazuli, and a ring with my late sister-in-law, the lady St. George's hair set with diamonds, together with the little ring (for which I have a great value), given me by my aunt, Mrs. Montagu; to my grandson Skeffington Randal Smith, £50, and a ring with Randal, late Earl of Antrim's hair set with diamonds; to my granddaughter, Rachael Smith, six dozen of half guinea pieces, and six pieces of old gold, with a purse of my own work, a parcel of Lapis Lazuli set in gold, and a large topaz set in a collet of gold, with an emerald drop hanging to it, and my largest turquois stone ring, with three diamonds on each side of the said stone, as also two little pictures of my grandson and daughter, Sir Hans Hamilton and his lady set in gold; to my grandson James Smith, £50; to my dear daughter, Frances Diana Skeffington, £100, with the picture of my aunt Whitepoole set in gold, the back thereof enamelled with blue, with a coronet and cypher thereon, with a ring of Lady Lexington's hair, the hair and hoop thereof set round with diamonds, my uncle Lacy's picture with a shaggrin back, hooped with gold, together with two bracelets, two lockets clasped with turquois stones, and twelve pieces of gold in a purse, a particular account of which pieces is in a note wrote with my own hand in the purse; to my aunt, Mrs. Montague, the heliotropian seal I commonly use, as a token of the love and honour I have for her; to my niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Bleak, a cornelian seal, which I desire her to accept of, and keep for my sake; to my niece, Mrs. Diana Bleak, my silver box with a cut agate in the lid thereof, which I desire she will accept of from me; to my niece, Mrs. Lutwyche, as a token of my love, two filigrain

Church, Dublin. His widow remarried in 1728, with Robert Hawkins Magill, Esq., of Gill-hall, in the county of Down, and died in 1739. (24) This earl is represented by the Rev. Dr. Sheridan of Dublin, as being "illiterate." Sheridan had engaged to assist Carte in collecting family manuscripts throughout Ireland when the latter was employed in writing the *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, and he appears to have spoken slightingly of such noblemen, at least in the north of Ireland, as did not supply him pretty liberally with papers of the description his friend Carte required. Of the third lord Massereene, Sheridan reported that, although the representative of sir John Clotworthy, he had no papers of any consequence but his *rent-roll;* he assures Carte that, if Antrim had ever any such materials left by his ancestors, they must have met the doom of waste paper in such keeping. (25) Sheridan could hardly have taken the trouble to ask these materials respectfully, else he would have doubtless succeeded better. Although the Antrim family papers had been much scattered, there still remained such a collection at Glenarm castle as would have been useful in assisting Carte to more truthful conclusions respecting the marquis of Antrim's motives and character. Even to the present time, as these pages amply testify, many valuable manuscript materials have been carefully preserved. And had the fourth earl been the sort of personage Sheridan flippantly and offensively represents, it is not likely that O'Flaherty, the celebrated author of the *Ogygia*, and the *Ogygia Vindicated*, would have dedicated the latter of these admirable books to his lordship.

Alexander, the fifth earl of Antrim, was only eight years of age at the time of his father's death in 1721. By his father's will, he was placed under the guardianship of his grandmother, Rachael Hungerford, the lady dowager Massereene, and his uncle, the third viscount Massereene. His guardians, especially, the old lady, took care to train the youthful earl in the doctrines of protestantism, but whether, or how far, or in what fashion, this training influenced his after life, we are unable to determine. He grew up, however, a good-natured honourable man, unsuspicious of others, but rather prone to the indulgence of extravagant habits. His mother's connexions were anxious that he should early take that high position before the country to which, they believed, his zealous protestantism, combined with his extensive property so fully entitled him. Accordingly, in 1733, when the earl was only twenty years of age, he took his seat in the house of lords, (26) and was soon afterwards admitted a member of the privy council, and appointed governor of his native county. But he seems to have cared for none of these public distinctions, greatly preferring to enjoy life on the Antrim coast, with its freedom, simplicity, and, we may add in reference to that generation—its riot. His mother's second marriage withdrew her care from him much more than was desirable for the welfare of her only son. He became

boxes, the lids and bottoms mother of pearl; to the Rev. John Campbell, my amethyst ring; to my god-daughter, Mrs. Rachael O'Neale, £40, which I desire she will lay out in some lasting token to remember me, as also a ring of Queen Mary's hair, set with rubies and diamonds, and a topaz stone set in a locket with a cypher cut in the stone, and a small silver perfuming pot. To my brother Hungerford, to my sister-in-law Haughton, to my sister Bleak, to my brother-in-law, the Lord St. George, to my son-in-law, Robert H. Magill, to my cousin, James Hayes, and to my niece, Mrs. Usher, each a ring of my hair set with diamonds, of the value of five guineas each." Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., pp. 384, 385, *note.*

(24) *Died in* 1739—See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. ii., p. 380.

(25) *Such keeping.*—See Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Manuscripts*, p. 12.

(26) *House of lords*—See *Lords' Journals*, vol iii. p. 231.

recklessly generous to his boon-companions, so that he had afterwards bitter cause to regret the folly which induced him to alienate, without remuneration, several fragments of his estate.

This earl was thrice married, and his three countesses are said to have been beautiful and highly accomplished women. The first was Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew Pennefather, muster-master general, and comptroller and accountant general of Ireland. The second was Anne, daughter and heir of Charles Patrick Plunket of Dillonstown, in the county of Louth, member of parliament during many years for the town of Bannagher. The third lady was Catherine, daughter of Thomas Meredyth of Newtown, in the county of Meath. By his first countess, who died in 1736, aged 25 years, he had one daughter, an infant, who preceded her mother to the grave. By his second, he had a son, Randal William, who succeeded him, and two daughters, the ladies Rachael and Elizabeth-Helena, who married respectively Joseph Sandford, Esq., of the county of Somerset, and lieut. colonel James Callender. By his third countess, who survived him, he left no family. His second wife, Anne Plunket, is the only one of the three who was interred in the family burying-ground of Bunnamairge. Her coffin still remains in good preservation. The earl died in October, 1775, and his death was much regretted by his neighbours and tenantry. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 213.

His son, Randal William, the sixth earl, resided very generally in Dublin. In 1774, he married Letitia Trevor, widow of the Hon Arthur Trevor, and daughter of Henry Morres, first viscount Mountmorres, and by her (who died in 1801) had a family of three daughters, named respectively Anne Catherine, Letitia Mary, and Charlotte. In 1780, lord Antrim was invested with the order of the Bath, and in 1785, was re-created viscount Dunluce and earl of Antrim, with limitations, in failure of issue male, to his daughters. This favour was granted in reply to the following memorial addressed to Charles duke of Rutland, then lord lieutenant of Ireland :—

"That your Memorialist is one of the eldest Peers in the Kingdom of Ireland, and within very few of the Head of the Irish Nobility. (27) That your memorialist's ancestors and himself have ever distinguished themselves in the most critical times, by their unshaken loyalty and persevering attention to the interests of the Crown of Great Britain. That no period of time has ever occurred when exertions of the subject could possibly serve in the smallest instance his Majestie's interest, or that of his Royal Predecessors, in which the Representatives of the Antrim family were not foremost in offering their lives and fortunes in the service, and solicitous to be called on.

"That it hath not pleased Almighty God to bless your memorialist with male issue, and your memorialist being desirous that so ancient a Title may not be extinct but lineally continued,

"Your memorialist, therefore, prays that your Excellency may recommend him in such a manner to his Majestie's favour, that he will be most graciously pleased to continue his Titles in the Female line, in failure of issue male, that is, to Lady Anne Catherine M'Donnell, your memorialist's eldest daughter, and her issue male and female; failing them, to lady Letitia Mary M'Donnell, your memorialist's second daughter, and her issue male and female; and failing them, to lady Charlotte M'Donnell, your memorialist's third daughter, and her issue male and female."

(27) *Irish Nobility.*—The earl Randal William M'Donnell was only preceded by three of the Irish nobility, viz., William Robert Fitzgerald duke of Leinster, Henry de Burgh earl of Clanrickard, and Edmund Boyle earl of Cork and Orrery. See Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 199.

In 1789, he was created a marquis, for which dignity he had petitioned as follows:—

"To Geo. Earl Temple, Lord Lieut. of Ireland.

"The Memorial of Randal-William Earl of Antrim—

"Representeth,—That his Majesty King James the First, by Letters Patent, dated 25th June, 1618, in consideration of most signal services performed by Sir Randal M'Donnell, Knight, your Memorialist's ancestor, and particularly for his materially contributing to the settlement of a general Peace in this Kingdom, and entirely civilizing the people in the Northern parts where he resided, and keeping them in their Allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, did create him Viscount Dunluce, and in the year 1620, advanced him to the dignity of Earl of Antrim.

"That the said Randal dying in the year 1636 was succeeded by his son Randal, who, in the year 1643 (1644), was created Marquis of Antrim by his Majesty King Charles the First, as a reward for a series of important services in support of the rights of the Crown, at a period when the most violent attacks were made on the Prerogative of it.

"That said Randal, marquis of Antrim, dying in the year 1673 (1682), without Issue, the title of marquis became extinct, and the Earldom of Antrim descended to his brother Alexander. That in the year 1680 (1699) Alexander was succeeded by his son Randal, who died in 1721, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, your Memorialist's father, who, having died in the year 1775, your Memorialist became Earl of Antrim.

"That your Memorialist and his ancestors, sensible of the Blessings derived to this country from the Accession of his Majesty's Royal Family to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland, and most warmly and zealously attached to their Royal persons and government, have never failed, in any one instance, to promote, to the utmost of their power, their Majesty's service in this Kingdom.

"That the title of Marquis, conferred upon your Memorialist's predecessor, became extinct merely from failure of male Issue of the first created Marquis, and not from any forfeiture or misconduct of any of your Memorialist's ancestors.

"Your Memorialist therefore prays that your Excellency will recommend him in such a manner to his Majesty's Favour, as that his Majesty will be most graciously pleased to revive the said Title of Marquiss of Antrim to your Memorialist and his heirs. And as in duty bound," &c.

In his grant of the marquisate there was no reversionary clause, and this dignity consequently died with himself, but might be easily revived.

At the death of this second marquis in 1791, his eldest daughter, Anne Katherine, succeeded as viscountess Dunluce and countess of Antrim in her own right. In 1799, her ladyship married sir Henry Vane Tempest, who died in 1813, leaving one daughter, Charlotte, who became marchioness of Londonderry. The countess remarried with Edmund Phelps, Esq., who assumed the name of Macdonnell. This gentleman survived the countess several years, and had the credit of improving tastefully and substantially the family residence at Glenarm. The castle, as already stated, is charmingly situated, but previously to Mr. M'Donnell's time, its exterior had been disfigured by certain alterations, neither judiciously made, nor in good taste. He, however, had some portions altered and others rebuilt, until the whole structure has re-assumed the character and appearance of a baronial castle of the fifteenth century. The approach is now made from the village through a lofty barbacan, which stands proudly and attractively on the opposite extremity of the

bridge. On the northern side of this noble archway commences an avenue of ancient and beautiful lime-trees, leading to the principal front of the castle, the appearance of which from this approach is very fine. Lofty towers, terminating in cupolas and gilded vanes, occupy the angles of the building. The parapets are surmounted by gables decorated with carved pinnacles, and exhibiting various heraldic ornaments. The interior of the castle corresponds in every respect with its attractive and beautiful appearance outside. From the windows of the several spacious apartments on the principal floor, the views north and south are exceedingly fine. Northward, the bay and its grand promontories right and left are distinctly seen, owing to the improved elevation of the castle; whilst southward, the eye delights to trace the outlines of the beautiful wooded glen winding up to terminate in the great Deer Park. The following modest inscription appears over the arch, on the northern front of the barbacan:—

"THIS GATEWAY
WAS BUILT AND THE CASTLE RESTORED
BY EDMUND M'DONNELL, ESQUIRE,
AND HIS WIFE ANNE KATHERINE,
IN HER OWN RIGHT
COUNTESS OF ANTRIM AND VISCOUNTESS DUNLUCE.
A.D. 1825."

In 1848, the daughter of the countess, the late marchioness of Londonderry, built a beautiful marine residence on her own part of the estate, at a promontory known as Garron Point. The natural grandeur of this position could not probably be surpassed in any land, and the noble house erected here is certainly not unworthy its surroundings, at least so far as human hands, guided by human ingenuity and taste, could work in attempting such a result. Lady Londonderry had the following inscription placed on a brass-plate, at the left side of the principal entrance to her castle or "Tower":—

"THIS TOWER
ON GARRON POINT
IS FOUNDED
BY
FRANCES ANNE VANE, MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY,
SOLE DAUGHTER AND HEIRESS
OF
SIR HENRY VANE TEMPEST, BART., OF DURHAM,
AND ANNE CATHERINE
COUNTESS OF ANTRIM IN HER OWN RIGHT.
AND
IN RAISING THESE WALLS, THE GRAND DAUGHTER
OF
THE LAST MARQUIS OF ANTRIM
HOPES, WITH THE PERMISSION OF PROVIDENCE,
TO ESTABLISH A RESIDENCE
ON HER PORTION OF THE ANCESTRAL DOMAIN,
AND TO LIVE IN THE AFFECTIONS
OF A DEVOTED AND LOYAL TENANTRY.
1848."

The spirited and amiable lady who built, and occasionally occupied this mansion, gathered into it many rare and attractive articles of furniture, including a fine collection of family and other

portraits. There is one magnificent picture by Rembrandt said to be worth £10,000. There is also a full-sized painting of Catherine Manners, dutchess of Buckingham. She is represented sitting, and surrounded by her three children.

But the windows of Garron Tower are specially attractive, as from them can be distinctly seen the entire sweep of the coast from Larne on the south, to the cliffs around Torr Point on the north. The structure of the coast is here also curiously distinct, the lofty chalk hills, capped with basalt, contrasting strangely at intervals with low crags of red sand-stone.

The lady Letitia Mary, second daughter of Randal-William second marquis, died young and unmarried, so that, on the death of the countess Anne Katherine in 1834, her youngest sister Charlotte succeeded, as countess of Antrim in her own right. In 1799, this lady had married rear-admiral lord Mark Robert Kerr, third son of the fifth marquis of Lothian, and by him had a numerous family. Her eldest son, William, died in 1819, when seventeen years of age. Her second and third sons, Mark and Schomberg, died when children, in 1805 and 1811. Her fourth son, Charles Fortescue, viscount Dunluce, who was born in 1810, died unmarried in 1834. Their mother, the countess Charlotte, died in 1835, and was succeeded by Hugh Seymour, her fifth son, as seventh earl of Antrim, although the ninth in succession to the earldom, his aunt and mother being countesses in their own right. He married the lady Laura Cecilia Parker, daughter of Thomas earl of Macclesfield, and by her had one daughter, Helen Laura, who married sir Malcolm Mac Gregor.

Earl Hugh died, deeply regretted, in 1855. He was succeeded by his brother, lord Mark Kerr, who married Jane, daughter of major M'Cann of Castlewellan, by whom he has left a numerous and interesting family of sons and daughters. On his death, at the comparatively early age of 55 years, he was succeeded by his eldest son, William-Randal, who, although so young, is already very favourably known, and of whom it is confidently predicted that he will wisely and worthily sustain the honours of his great ancestral name. Through his father's line, he is a representative of that Irish prince, Colla Uais, whose name is so distinctly and inseparably associated with the history of ancient Ulster. And, curiously enough, through his mother's line, the earl of Antrim also represents Colla, surnamed *da-Chrioch*, (see p. 1, *supra*) whose descendants were the well-known and once powerful Clann-Breasil. In the sixteenth century, the lord of Clanbrazill was that noble and much beloved Donnell MacAna, whom even Ængus O'Daly (employed by English officials to satirise Irish chieftains) did not venture to assail. On the contrary, O'Daly expressed the popular sentiment towards this chieftain, when, instead of satirising, he sent him his blessing as he passed his residence on the opposite bank of the river:—

> " Bear my blessing across the Bann,
> Where dwells MacCann, head of the hosts."

The late major MacCann of Castlewellan represented a leading branch of the Clann-Breasail, afterwards the MacAna, whose territory now forms the modern barony of O'Neilland East, in the county of Armagh. See O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, p. 63; see also *Irish Topographical Poems*, translated and edited by O'Donovan, p. xxiii., 144.

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APPENDIX.

I.

Extract from MacFirbis's Pedigree of the Macdonnells.

(See p. 23, *supra*.)

The Clan Donnell of Alba still.

EOIN, son of Aengus Og (the same of whom I have spoken in the preceding page); his mother was Aine, daughter of Cumhaighe O'Cathain. He had three sons, viz., Domhnall from Ilay, Eoin, and Alaster—three whose mother was Margaret, daughter of Robert, first king of Alba of the Stuarts, son of king Robert Bruce's daughter.

DOMHNALL, son of Domhnall, moreover was the senior of the sons of Eoin. His wife was Mary Leslie, daughter of the Earl of Ross. It was with her the Earldom of Ross came to the Clann-Domhnaill in Alba.

EOIN, also (whom other books call Eoin of Ilay, and Eoin Mor) the second son of Eoin, son of Aengus Og. His wife was Mary Bisset, daughter of MacEoin Bisset—*i.e.*, Greek blood, that came in with the invasion of William the Conqueror; and it was with this woman the seven *tuatha* (territories) of the Glyns (which are called Dalriada) came to the Clann-Domhnaill. Of these seven *tuatha* is the island, the name of which is Rachlainn in Ireland.

DOMHNALL from Ilay, however, son of Domhnall aforesaid, and Eoin (John), his brother, died in one year—*i.e.*, 227 years before the present year (1649). The Glyns are in the posssession of the Clann Domhnaill during 337 years up to this age of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1649.

JOHN (Eoin) aforesaid, moreover, son of Eoin, son of Aengus Og, had a son by Mary Bisset—*i.e.*, Domhnall Ballach, heir of the Glynns, with his share of Alba and of Insi-Gall.

DOMHNALL BALLACH had also a son (by Johanna, daughter of O'Donnell)—*i.e.*, Eoin (John), father of Eoin Cathanach, whose mother was Sabia, daughter of Felim, son of O'Neill.

ALASDAR, son of Eoin Cathanach, i.e., MacDomhnaill, lord of Insi-Gall, and of much more of the great land of Alba. His mother was Julia, daughter of MacIntosh.

SORLEY (son of that Alasdar), lord of the Route and the Glyns, and of other territories in Alba. His mother was Catherine, daughter of the lord of Ard-na-Murchon. He had four sons—viz., Sir James and Sir Raghnall (who was called Viscount Dunluce and Earl of Antrim in presence of the sixth King James, King of Great Britain and Ireland.) Domhnall and Aengus were the two youngest sons of these. Mary, daughter of Conn O'Neill (who was called O'Neill in Ireland and Earl of Tyrone in London, before King Henry the 8th, King of the Saxons), was the mother of Sorley's children; and the daughter of the Earl of Kildare was the mother of that Conn.

RAGHNALL aforesaid, Earl of Antrim, had two illustrious sons by Alice (daughter of Aedh O'Neill, who was called Earl of Tyrone before Elizabeth, queen of the Saxons, daughter of King IIenry, and who was called O'Neill in Ireland)—*i.e.*, Raghnall Og, Earl of Antrim, and Alexander (Alastar), sons of Raghnall, Earl of Antrim,

son of Somairle,
" Alexander,
" Eoin Cathanach,
" Eoin (John),
" Domhnall Ballagh,
" Eoin More,
" Eoin of Ilay,
" Aengus Og,
" Aengus Mor,
" Domhnall, from whom are the Clan-Domhnaill.

The CLANN-DOMHNAILL STILL, from the "Dumb-Book" of James MacFirbisigh.

The SONS of ALASDAR, son of John Chathanach (i.e., MacDomhnaill), viz., Gilla-Espuig Daoinech,
Domhnall Ballagh (*i.e.* the blind man,
James,
Aengus the Proud,
Alasdar Og,
Colla,
Somhairle Buidhe, and
Domhnall Gorm.

SOMHAIRLE BUIDE had children—viz.:—
Domhnall,
Alasdran,
James,
Raghnall of Aran,
Aengus of Ulster, and
Ludar (sic).

DOMHNALL, son of Somhairle, had two sons—viz.:—
Colla and
Euston (*Visdiun*, Justin?)

JAMES, son of Somhairle, had six sons—viz.:—
Gilla-espuig,
Aengus.
Raghnall,
Colla,
Domhnall Gorm, and
Alasdar Carragh.

Genealogy of MacDomhnaill of Ulster:
Colla,
son of Rury,
" Colla,
" Turlough,
" Gilla-Espuig.
" John Mael,
" Alexander,
" Domhnall,
" Raghnall,
" Somhairle,
" Gilla-Brighde

II.

Description of the county of Antrim, by Richard Dobbs, Esq.

(See p. 23, *supra.*)

["About the year 1678, one Moses Pitt, a bookseller and publisher in London, resolved to publish an English Atlas. Four volumes were published, with the assistance of learned and competent persons, descriptive of various countries of Europe; and in 1683, Pitt came to Ireland for the purpose of making up a fifth volume of his Atlas, in which this island was to be included as one of the subjects. The well known William Molyneux, a conspicuous man in Dublin for science and learning, undertook to write a description of Ireland for the Atlas. With this view, clergymen and other persons of education and intelligence throughout the country were applied to for accounts of their several counties, towns, or parishes; to answer numerous queries submitted to them; and to send the results of their labours to Molyneux. This was the origin of the very interesting account of 'The County of Antrim,' by Richard Dobbs, now submitted to the reader, and Mr. Dobbs in a letter to William Molyneux, dated Carrickfergus, 6th April, 1683, thus expresses himself with respect to it:—'Having seen a paper relating to a design of Mr. Moses Pitt of London, desiring that an answer of several queries therein contained, might be sent to you by such as were willing,' &c., and thereupon Mr. Dobbs takes up the subject apparently with great zeal and carefulness. The replies which were sent in were, however, not used; as, soon after, Pitt fell into difficulties, and this portion of his Atlas was never published. The papers were then, or perhaps but a part of them, transcribed into two books, and mixed up with other documents relating to a Philosophical Society founded at Dublin, by William Molyneux in 1683. They are in the library of Trinity College Dublin, and from thence this copy of what was furnished by Mr. Dobbs to the projectors of the Atlas in 1683, has been obtained. It may be mentioned that there are five volumes of this magnificent work, in folio, in the British Museum; four are complete, but the fifth consists only of unpublished scraps that were in hand when the undertaking fell to the ground."—*Letter from Geo. Benn, Esq.*]

CASTLE DOBS, *the 14th of May*, 1683.

You seem so well satisfied with the imperfect draught I gave you of Carrickfergus, that as you desired me, I have adventured at part of the County of Antrim, which I send you here enclosed, I am very sensible there are divers persons in this country better able to give you satisfaction in this kind than myself, and more methodically, but seeing I have voluntarily committed my little boat where others would not venture their ships, I hope you will not let her perish upon your coasts, and rather excuse her weakness than condemn her of rashness; if the Commodity she brings be either too much for the market or not vendible, take no more than is fit to go off, leave the rest in pledge for the Duty, and I pray you excuse me if I seem ignorant and unskillful, this being only my second venture in this kind; I assure you (though I have retired to be at more quiet), I have had scarce time to review what I have written, and had not the least help from any other person hitherto, which you may easily guess by the many defects you will meet withal; however, where you find failures be pleased freely to let me know, and what I cannot do I will endeavour to be informed, and (since my hand is in) give you all the satisfaction I possibly can, especially in our towns, villages, situations, Rivers, Bridges, Loughs, Churches, Soil, or whatever else you shall desire from me that is in my power,—and wish those that are more able were as willing to bring materials to your great work as,—Sir, your humble Servt.,

R. DOBBS.

I hear you have received an account from Mr. Parmvell, of the town of Antrim, &c.

If I can be further serviceable to you, let me have a line by the bearer, my servant; his not going sooner was the occasion this stayed.—June 11th, 1683.

A Briefe Description of the County of Antrim, begun the 3rd of May, 1683.

To the Sea Coasts, &c.

The County of Antrim in the North of Ireland (if not the most northernly), is divided into eight Baronies (in England as I take it called hundreds), viz. The Barony of Belfast, the Barony of Massareen, the Barony of Antrim, the Barony of Toome; these are called four Upper Baronies, I suppose because next the metropolitan Dublin; the other four called the Lower Baronies, are the Barony of Glenarme, the Barony of Kilconway, the Barony of Dunluce, and the Barony of Carye. These four Lower Baronies did entirely belong unto Sir Randal M'Donnell, afterwards Earl of Antrim, Father unto Randal, late lord marquess, deceased in February last, the 3rd day, and so left to him; but now much altered, impaired, mangled, and engaged in debts, mortgages, grants, and otherwise; and so fallen by the Act of Settlement to Alexander M'Donnell, younger Brother to the said marquess, now Earl, a worthy, noble man and Loyal Subject.

The Lord Marquess of Antrim has told me that he wore neither hat, cap, shoe, nor stocking till 7 or 8 years old, being bread the highland way; he is a proper clean lymmed man; first maryed to ye duchess of Buckingham, and after to Rose, daughter of Sr. Henry O'Neile of Shanes Castle, now liveing.

These eight Baronies are divided into several parishes, and the Parishes into Towns, Townlands, half and quarter Townlands, and in some places the Parishes are divided by Irish acres, or some part of a parish; which shall be spoken of in the proper parish.

The County of Antrim is bounded with the County of Down, from Belfast (so called from the Irish word Bealafast, the mouth of the Ford, being built upon a Ford which at low water they ride over to the County of Down), to Lisburn, formerly called Lisnegarvey, from an old Fort, where now Major Stroud's house stands; which I have seen by the Irish called Lysnecarvagh, *i.e.*, the Gamester's Fort, for there they used to meet, and play the Clothes off their backs at five Cards, as I have received it from old people 30 years since; the River which runs from Lisburn down to Belfast (as I take it), and so up till it looses the name near Cann-Brazil (which divides Down and Armagh Counties), is called the Laggan water (query the bounds from hence to Portmore), this Laggan water bounds the County of Antrim South and South-West; towards the West the County of Down runs in with a small point and meets with the County of Armagh, towards the head of Loughneagh, which Lough bounds the County of Antrim, to the West from to the Toombe, where it receives again the name of Band (enjoyed before and lost at its entrance into the Lough near part of Down), and holding this name about a mile where the County of Londonderry comes in, it is lost again for a while in a Lough called Lough Begg, *i.e.*, the Little Lough, which might be called a big one, if it were anywhere else, for I take it to be two miles long and a mile at least over; within it is an Isle, and in the Isle a Church called wherein several of the Irish bury their friends, both from the County of Antrim and Londonderry, especially Derry. There, may be had Store of Moss that grows on dead men's skulls, useful in stanching of blood, and said to be a great ingredient in making Sympathetic powder; so soon as this Lough comes to empty itself the Band revives and goes (westward of this county dividing it and the County of Londonderry) through Portglenoine and Town, formerly was a Ferry till this Bridge was built, when Povey was Lord Chief-Justice of Ireland, who gave a stop to the same upon some private Interest then best known to himself. However, it was erected, and is one of the best (yet not the Best Timber Bridge) in the three kingdoms; there are seats upon it to rest and view the Pleasures of the Band water, and a draw-bridge taken up, or that may be taken up by four or six men every night, to keep night walkers from passing or repassing, and likewise a very strong double gate; this is the door from and to the County of Derry, to and from Antrim, and the Argument agt. the building was that Torys would pass and repass that way, the Torys of Derry having committed three or four several Roberies in the County of Antrim,—never passed that way, but came over at a private Ferry, 2 or 3 miles above, or by making up of Cotts some miles below the Bridge; but I am too long from the Band water, which (Leaving this Bridge), except in some places where it is very swift, till it falls into the sea at Colerayne where is likewise a Timber Bridge over it of Arches and broad, able to vie with Port Glenoyne Bridge, more for advantage of the Town of Colerayne, new Built on both sides and the great height of it,—than any advantage it hath in Timber, workmanship, or beauty; And here I'le take leave of the admirable Band water till I come to speak of the Towns, houses, Lands, inhabitants about it, and the Rivers that fall into it; and Loughneagh with the several fishings of Salmons and Eels, and the several kind of fish that are in it (the Bann), and Loughneagh; but lest I should afterwards forget it by weakness of memory, or being diverted with other business, I beg pardon here to look back to Lough Begg; towards the upper end of which there falls into (it) a River out of the County of Londonderry, which is extremely bigg, furious, and rapid, after great and sudden Rains. The River is called Myola or Myola-water; and when the water comes after a flood, swelling out of Loughneagh into the Band and meets with Myola, both falling or forcing themselves into Lough Begg, and finding the passage out too narrow to receive both

The Laggan water riseth in ye County of Down; one part of the head comes through Dromore, and another river falls in betweea Hillsborough and Lisburn.

Qu: the Arches Length and breadh.

Myola.

pressing together, stop in the career and looking out for a way out (the Lough not knowing how to dispose of its burthen, after having overflowed all its Banks endeavours to return its load back into Lough Neagh), and so the Band seems to run backwards by the Toomb into Lough Neagh, yet afterwards by little and little getting vent at the lower end of Lough Begg, it keeps the usual course to Colerain ; I have been the more particular in this (tho' short of what a better pen might do) to suppress a superstitious opinion in the countries ; observing this course in the water the year before the last rebellion of Ireland, they still conceive it must presage some extraordinary matter, or change in Government or otherwise, tho' it has happened here in my memory without any such event, and perhaps happens oftener than it is taken notice of.

Having from Belfast to Colerain with my countrymen (for I was born in the County of Down) played at five cards going with the sun, I resolve a while with the Spaniard to play at Umbra, and go northward about from Cowpland water (which I think in my late account of Carrickfergus, I told you divided that County from the County of Antrim) along the Sea Coast to Colerain, the most part whereof I have seen both by land and sea.

If I be not mistaken (for I have not my last notes about me) I gave some account of Killroot house, belonging to the Bishop of Down and Conr., but in the Diocese of Conr., which land and my own runs about a mile on the northeast of Cowpland water till it falls into the sea at Killroot mill, about half a mile from Carrickfergus ; this parish of Killroot (as most places where the church has Land) is very good ground, some clay, some mixt—yields good wheat, barley, beans, peas, and oats. My house, which is a plantation and improvement of my own time, (tho' descended from my great Grandfather), is opposite, northward, within half a mile of the Bishop's house, and has a view of the whole Bay and Lough of Carrickfergus, and in a few years may be remarkable for the orchards and gardening about it. Is called Castle-Dobs from a small castle here, built by my Grandfather (absit vanitas), for I insert this only as a part of my method in making the coast clear. Here are some signes of Coal, as Limestone, Freestone black, till another more inviting and tempting, notices to search for them ; but having both bored and sunk, and spent, £40 or £50, I left off, tho' much tempted to proceed.

In one pit I found at eight or ten yards, stones in the shape, form, and bigness of sea muscles, some single, some five or six in a knot, purplish blue without, but perfect stone like fine freestone within, and so like muscles that any man would take them to be such ; I gave several of them to the old Earl of Donnegal, and several persons had other things like cockles and scollops of the like substance with me, and were still disposed of as people desired them in curiosity of art ; some may be had still, except the muscles, which were so deep here. Likewise were stones glistening like fire-stone, got in the sinking down—but enough, I think, of this, perhaps too much.

The parish of Killroot is but small, the whole tithes not worth forty pounds, and the great tithes belong to the Earl of Donnegal, the small tithes to the Prebendary, one Milne, a Scotchman ; the inhabitants (except my family and some half a dozen that live under me,) all presbiterians and Scotch, not one natural Irish in the Parish, nor papist, and may afford 100 men. Next adjoining to this Parish, adjacent to the sea, is Broad Island, known by the name of the Parish of Templecorran ; the small tithes belong to the Prebendary aforesaid, the great to the Bishops, and may be worth fifty pounds per ann. The south end of this Parish makes part of Carrickfergus Bay, called the White Head, whereof I have spoken in the account of Carrickfergus, only there I omitted to tell you, there is here some quantities of Alabaster in several places near the sea. Here is likewise some show of Coal, but no trial made that I hear of, the greatest appearance being within full sea-mark and low ; high hills above this parish to the east and north-east, divided by a ditch and Loughlarn, from Island Magee; is excellent ground for all sorts of grain, meadow, and pasture, being well furnished both with limestone and marble, the last never used, unless sometimes turned up with the plough; and the people so generally given to ploughing, that meadow is neither desired nor preserved, except what they cannot plough. There are two orchards yielding good fruit—I mean Apples and Pears, and belong to two of the name of Edmonston, the inhabitants all Scotch, not one Irishman nor papist, all Presbiterians except the parson and clark, who I think is his son ; the Church has a small town or village called Ballycarry, and a meeting house between the Church and the Town. This Parish hath 3 country mills in it—the old mill, new mill, and white-head mill : is supplied by water, for the most part by springs rising out of the ground, where once for all 'tis to be noted that no place that I ever did see in England, Scotland, or Ireland, is so replenished with springs and fresh water, as this County, especially after you pass Belfast and Antrim, more northward either by land or on the shores ; the very mountains (except those of Glenarm and Cary) affording spring water ; the white-head, whereof I spoke formerly, giving two or three springs to the sea out of the Limestone rocks.

The next Parish we come to is Island Magee, from the Magees that lived here in former times, and some continued here of that name to the beginning of the late Rebellion ; but then all the Irish here were murdered by the

Scottish inhabitants or such as came into it, and fled from the Irish in other places; or as some say by both, tho' the people were peaceable and quiet, without any design, as was generally believed then, of going into Rebellion. This Island once belonged to the E: :l of Essex, who was beheaded in the time of Queen Elizabeth : his patent was once in my hands, and after (by what means I know not) enjoyed by Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who set a Lease of it to Sir Moses Hill, and the inheritance is now in the same family, and the Lease in the Hills.

At the South-east end of this Island stands Castlechichester, built by Sr. Moses Hill, a square Pile, now without roof, and I find such a castle all Patentees were then obliged to build ; it stands within Carbine shot to the sea ; and now I am speaking of this castle it brings a story to my mind, which I think will hardly be put into your Atlas.

I live about midway between Carrickfergus and Castlechichester, and my grandfather lived here. When Sir Foulk Conway (from whom the Earl of Conway enjoys Killultagh) was then governor of Carrickfergus, and Sir Moses Hill lived at Chichester, who having invited the Governor to the country, ordered his butler the night before, that he should when they came to hard drinking have some bottles of water in readiness for him, and ply the Governor with wine ; the butler (being an Irish boy) instead of observing his master's commands, when the hard time came, gave his master wine, and the water to the Governor, so as Sir Moses could not rise out of his chair when the Governor took leave of him and thanked him for his meat, more than his drink, which put Sir Moses into a great passion, not apprehending then, how he had been served, but next morning examining his boy, he was sensible that he drank wine, and the Governor water ; and threatening to have the butler hanged, he received no other answer from the butler but an oath, and that he knew no reason why he that paid for the wine should drink water, and the Governor drink wine that paid nothing for it, which answer it seems served the boy's turn, for I myself have seen him, a little odd (but brisk) man, and lived eight or ten years after the breaking out of the Rebellion in '41.

This Island Magee is really a Peninsula, being encompassed by the sea and Loughlarn, which ebbs and flows within less than a mile round and where the sea comes *not*, is parted from Broad Island only by a ditch. It is about five miles long and the narrowest place about a mile, in some two. I have heard Colonel Hill of Hillsborough say "it contained near 5,500 acres," whereof 5000 I am sure is fit for fork and scythe, nor did I ever see better ground for so much together, whether for grain or cattle, much Limestone ground—the upper end clay, the middle mixt, the lower end next the north, sandy ; no Lough nor mill pond in it, (tho' two mills) but what is fed by springs. I have heard surveyors say, "they could never get their compass to answer their expectations here, and thought it was bewitched ;" but Major Carrol Bolton (who did survey it) told me he thought it proceeded from some hidden cause in the Island, either of Iron mine or Loadstone.

The yearly rent of this Island was once £1000 per ann., the Tithe now set at £110 per ann., and may contain 300 men.

To proceed—this castle Chichester appears directly to the opening of the Sound that divides the Cowpland Isles from the County of Down, if the vessels be northward bound or come from the south to Carrickfergus ; about half a mile northward the people draw up their fishing boats and many times boats of 16 or 18 tuns land here from Scotland, but there is no getting in but at full sea, and that dangerous enough for strangers, the shore being clad with tumbling great stones, some about the Port as big as a cottage. This Port is not above four hours' sail from Portpatrick in Scotland, and from the entrance into the Lough of Carrickfergus along the shore till you come within 6 miles of Colerain, some part or other of Scotland discovers itself in a fair day to such as look that way from Ireland ; a little beyond Port Davy stands a promontory called the Black-head, whereon stands a lighthouse, and under it from the sea there is a large cave, where I have been told by the Country, a piper went in, and was heard at a place two miles from thence under ground; he must have been very little, for I have run a fox into it with my dogs and killed him at the far end. This cave when the country was not so fully peopled, was taken up with multitudes of Pigeons, which now are banished, and in the top of it I observed little white pipes an inch or two inches long, which congeal by the constant dropping of water in those places. The rock is black and white; from hence to the Gabbon is all a hard shore without harbour or shelter for anything except small fishing boats, and those must have fair weather. The Gabbon is high rocks of gray stone, sixty fathom high ; here the best Falcon breeds that Ireland affords, which till last summer, has not bred 16 or 17 years. Hereabouts are several caves in the rocks, one that stolen horses have been kept in till they were transported to Scotland ; and here is a great brood of Cormorants, Sea Gulls, and several other sort of Fowl, and they are taken (so the hawks) by a man let down from the top, fastened by a boat rope, or some such thing, and a stick whereon he sits, the rope coming between his legs and so held with one hand ; he thrusts himself with his feet or other hand from one part of the rock to another where he sees the Fowl.

For my part I could never look down from the top to the bottom, without some horror, and yet I have been shown a boy of about 16, that would take the Leather of a horse, drying the Leather, stake it into the Ground, would for eggs, or a sea Gull go down so far as the leather reached.

About a mile south of the Gabbon (which I had forgot) is a cave called "Sir Moses Hill;" it looks into the sea, and some part of a lime and stone wall remains in the front of it (a pretty big hill above), which tradition says, was built by him when he fled from Allfrackney in Broad Island, being an officer there with Sir John Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus, when he was killed by the M'Donnells (as I take it this Earl of Antrim's father). Sir Moses, it seems, forcing through the enemy, or not being able to recover Carrickfergus, swam his horse over the Corran of Larn, and so made his retreat to this cave. My Grandmother's father being an ensign there was guided by his footman into a little cave in Broad Island, which to this day is called Dallway's Cave, not many more escaping of 400 horse and foot, that were with Sir John Chichester, as I have been told by old men; they were it seems upon a treaty, and surprised, for the M'Donnells had their men concealed in a place in the high way, leading through Broad Island to Larn, which is a round hole wide above and narrow towards the bottom, where two or three hundred men may conceal themselves without cumbering one another—undiscovered till you come just upon them.

These rocks be north north-east from the Corran of Larne, and the entrance of the Lough of Island Magee here opens directly to them, for I have been at the place within these five days.

About a mile northward of the Gabbon is Portmuck, a pretty good harbour for fishing boats and others of 16 or 20 Tun, when the wind blows north or north-west.

There is the remains of an old Irish castle upon the rock above it, in which a Sallyport yet appears next the sea, to the north-east and opposite to it a little island to be waded into at low water called Portmuck Isle, for here was formerly rabbitts. It is very high, bare, and steep rocks to the north-east, where many pigeons and other fowl breed, and very strong tides run by it.

North from this Isle of Portmuck, and about two leagues into the sea, several rocks appear (in the map as I remember they are called Chickens), but in this country called the Whullans or Wheelons, I suppose from the wheeling of the tides; here at full sea there appears only one great rock, sometimes two; at low water I suppose 20 or 30 several rocks, and having been there at low water my boat seemed to be encompassed with rocks.

Here is hard sheltering for any, the least boat, unless in very fair weather; on the great rock great store of fowl breed, as Gulls of several sorts and sizes, sea pys, sea parrots, directly so shaped, but Black and white with red bills, and other fowl like puffins but larger; here, likewise seals or sea calves, used very much, and about Michaelmas and Allsaints day, bring out their young among these rocks. The bigest rock seems to be a little Isle; but the stones so soddened or wedged together, you cannot (tho' you would think otherwise) get one loose to throw at a fowl. These lie north-east from the entrance into Lough Larn. North-west from these rocks runs a small ridge of rocks near three miles long; whereof only three or four appear at low water, and is two or three leagues from the Irish shore.

To the Corran of Larne this way be sea or the shore may be 11 or 12 miles; by land past Carrickfergus the nearest way not above six miles.

Now return we again to Portmuck, from whence to the Corran, which is the entrance into Loughlarn, is a very hard shore, except a little Bay called Brown's Bay, clear and sandy, open to the north-west winds, and has in it a little shelter for small boats; we are yet in Island Magee, which affords little or no spring; the poorer people burning (instead of turf or coal) much of their straw in winter time, yet one James Brown who lives at the Bay last mentioned, having a good farm here, has near his house excellent meadow, wherein of late years he has found very good turf, and under that moss clay appears again, which being removed he finds good turf again, and so as he tells me it may be further down.

Within these 3 or 4 years in Island Magee, and several other places near the sea coast, a sort of Poyson, I take it, called Darnell rises in the oats and other grain very offensive to the brain, and cannot be cleansed out of the corn; ye country people call it *Sturdy*, from the effects of making people light-headed.

The northend of this island is sandy, dry, and fit for rabbits; but the people here think that no profit can be made but by ploughing, in which the men spend their whole time, except the summer quarter in providing and bringing home fireing; and the women theirs, in spinning and making linen cloth, and some ordinary woollen for their family's use.

There is a handsome church much out of repair, but no churchmen.

A meeting house, all presbiters, all Scotch, not one Irish or English, except a custom house waiter. The Dean of Connr. is vicar.

The mouth of Lough Larn opens directly to the north, and the entrance is made by Island Magee on the south-east and the lands of Drummalis, and the Corran to the west north-west, and running up about half a mile and continuing about so broad, makes the harbour (called Olderfleet Haven, and one of the best, as I have heard seamen upon the place discourse it, in Ireland), for here is good anchorage, deep water; the ebb runs out so strong that a ship can hardly miss an opportunity of going out; and if a vessel should be forced in by an enemy or other

accident, she may run aground safe into the Lough, above which being free from Rocks, is either clear smooth sand at the bottom, or soft ows, or slitch ; from the upper end of this harbour the Lough spreads, one part flowing to the town of Larne, which is in the barony of Glenarm. And so taking a compass from Larne, has the Glenn, which are high hills and bottoms below, and Broad Island on one side, vizt., to the west, and Island Magee to the east, and runs up eastward about four miles till it comes to the ditch that divides Island Magee and Broad Island, and this makes Island Magee a peninsula (see p. 226, *supra*).

This Lough is from a little above the Corran where the Remainder of an old Castle Stands—shallow for the most part, not above 7 or 8 feet deep. This Lough in Summer time, affords good store of Mullets and some few Salmon, good plenty of plaice or flooks, but so crowded with crabbs that when the fishers lay line to catch, the crabbs devour the baits as soon as it comes to the ground.

There is a little green Isle called the Swan Isle in this Lough, about half a rood of ground where is great store of fowl, and so all over the Lough in Winter ; as Barnicle, wild Geese, Duck and Mallard, Wiggin, Tale, Plover grey and green, and Curlews ; and within musket shot of this Isle is another, which is overflowed at full sea, called the Seal Isle, where the seales or sea calves always rest themselves at low water, and sometimes are caught by nets—only the young ones.

The Corran of Larne is a point of land joining with the barony of Glenarme, and was once I conceive in the possession of the first Earl of Antrim, who lost it (being about 20 or 40 acres of ground), upon this occasion to the Chichesters, and now I think the Earl of Donnegall has it. It seems the Earl of Antrim's patent did run to have the lands from the Bandwater to the Corran of Larne,—mistaking the name of the Lough which is called Olderfleet or Loughlarne, and so lost the land of the Corran here and all the Band with the profits thereof, which at this day may be worth near £2,000, per ann. in the several fishings ; in the Corran of Larne the usual rent is two Dublin barrels of Barley, per ann., for each acre from the under Tenant (see p. 204, *supra*).

Larne anciently called Envar or Inver, is a market town—yet no market kept in it, only Two fairs yearly ; it is only one street of building—all thatched houses (and as it is generally where the Inhabitants are Scotch), but entertainment for strangers ; the people here feeding themselves with veal in veal time, of 2d and 3d the quarter; yet upon two or three days' notice, better provision may be had from Carrickfergus, and sometimes here is good wine. The Inhabitants (except 2 or 3 belonging to the Custom House, and one family of one Mr. M'Kay, who are of the Church of England) are all Scotch and Presbiterians ; the Dean of Connor is rector here ; the Church is in pretty good repair, and a meeting house not far from it ; observe likewise that the people have *Sermon* always on some week day, and 2 on Sundays at the meeting house, where the father always holds up the Child to be Christened, and if he has made bold with his Bride before hand, must do penance in the congregation before Baptism be administered ; and generally the people will not omit Christening with their own minister, supposing the Children to be Christened into the solemn league and Covenant. Perhaps I have been too long here, and could not well omit it, serving for all other places where the people are the same, I mean in this Country; another rule is observed by the Presbitery here, they will not (tho' upon the point of death) go to a private house to administer Baptism.

Shipping often stop in this harbour of Olderfleet or Lough Larne, when they are going from Derry and Colerain to the Southward, and so in their return; most of the Trade here is linen cloth, and the same coals from Scotland, and horses from hence to Scotland, only people (with all their goods upon their backs) Land here from Scotland ; take in Glenarm and Denoghedge in the County of Down and the Ports between, there are not so few of this sort as 1000 that land every Summer without returning.

But to proceed Northward—near the Entrance into this harbour are high Black Rocks being the face of the hill called the the Black Cane ; here is some Freestone, Limestone, and some grey coarse marble upon the shore; beyond this about a mile a small fresh River runs into the sea, and about a mile beyond that is Ballygelly hill which appears a good way to the sea. Under this hill is a small Building about 16 feet square upon a rock in the Sea, where one Agnew, an Irish Poet, dwelt in old Times (see p. 149, *supra*), and near half a mile further, hard upon the Shore, stands the house of Ballygelly, belonging to Captain Shaw. A strong house, yet robbed lately by the Torys of Londonderry ; here is little security for small fishing Boats ; scarce any other from Larn Harbour to Glenarm, being an iron shore, and open to all winds except the West, which sometimes comes down with great gusts from the Hills ; there is in the Parish of Carncastle a Church and Meeting-house, Lemuel Matthews (see *Montgomery MSS.*, new edition, p. 298, *note* 18), Prebendary of Carncastle, all Presbiterians.

All the ground from Larn to Glenarm between the Hills and Sea is generally a deep clay, very good ground,

but much worn out with ploughing for oats, and tho' good wheat ground, little sown but after Barley, and no ground fallowed in all this country except what is done by the Earl of Antrim, (I mean between Larne and Ballycastle by the sea-side); considering the great hills and mountains above, and the ground below from Ballygelly to Coshandun, it may be compared to an ordinary petty coat with a gold lace about the skirt; within half a mile Eastward of Glenarm is a Deer-Park belonging to the Earl of Antrim, to the south enclosed with a wall of Lime and stone, to the west with the natural Rocks (only a door to enter) and so the northwest except 5 or 6 perches with Post and Rail, and all the rest with the sea. Here is pretty coverts of Hasle and Ash; and great store of Limestone, admirable feeding for all sorts of cattle, but dangerous for horses by reason of the Rocks and other steep places. (See p. 226, *supra*) North-west of this Park is the Town of Glenarm and the Bay. The harbour is safe, made by a river running through the town, but coming over the Bar, being filled commonly with round stones shuffled to and fro, between the Sea and the River, which runs out very violently after great Rains.

Here lies Boats of 18 or 20 Tuns. All about this town the Rocks are white Limestone, whereof they build their houses; at the foot of the River is an old abbey. (See p. 145, *supra.*) Several good springs are about this town, especially Tobber Owen, which runs like a small Brook into the Big River near the Sea.

This Town is all thatched houses, except the Earl of Antrim's, The Church, and one more; over the river and between the town and the Earl's house, (the main house was burnt by the Irish in the Late Rebellion) is a handsome stone bridge of two or three arches erected last summer. Here is likewise a meeting-house at some distance from the town, the Inhabitants for the most part Scotch and Presbiterians; above in the Glenns, most Irish and papists; here are two fine fairs, and a market town, but no market kept, every one buying and selling as they find their opportunity.

This place affords small cattle, flax, Yarn, Beef, Tallow, Butter; ill Lodging and bad cooks for the most part; Salmon are caught here at the foot of the River, in May and June, and take this for a general rule; where the Scotch or Irish make the Market, no grain is brought to the Market—only oatmeal, except some little quantities at Belfast. This town is so encompassed with hills, except one way, which is from Bruaghshane, it does not appear till you may throw a bullet into it with a carbine, and so you may imagine the ways,—extraordinary for foot or horse; yet above the town in the Glen through which the river runs, and is clad with underwoods, is the pleasantest hunting for buck that ever I saw, for you may ride on either side, and have the dogs or Bucks, or both continually in view, and stand in a manner still in one place for two hours together. The sea here affords plenty of fish, but the people are in no way industrious to take them. The Mule of Kintire in Scotland appears to the foot of this town.

About a mile from Glenarm is a pretty Sandy Bay about half a mile long, and above a Glen (in the north of England Glens are called dales) called Glen Clew—I suppose from a sword in Irish, being broad towards (the hilt) the sea, and running up to the mountains with a sharp point—a river of the same name falling into the sea. Here stands a pretty slate house to the middle of the Bay, and another good thatched house at the north-west end, and beyond that under the mountain, another slate house built by the Earl of Antrim's Receiver, which may be seen near 20 miles at sea; here a cock Boat or small Fishing boat may come ashore: beyond this appears Red Bay; on one side the wall of a small Church called "Ard Clinis," near which a little Brook falling from the mountains, runs near a quarter of a mile under ground, and appears again falling into the sea. Opposite to the church to the north-west of the Bay, appears upon a hill above the sea the Castle of Redbay, which has been a handsome pile built of Red Freestone, whereof there is a good store here, and from which I suppose the Bay has its name. (See pp. 45, 188, *supra.*) This Bay is about a mile long and a fine small white sand, a very pleasant bottom (between mighty hills on both sides) lies open to it; at the foot and next the Bay a very rich Connywarren of the Earl of Antrim's; into the Bay falls a river, at the foot of it boats have small harbour; and hard by the Boats are three large caves in the Rocks of Freestone, open to the sea, wherein poor people commonly live, and one of them hath paid hearth money. This Bay yields great plenty of fish, as Salmon, Turbet, Plaice, Sole, Codd, Whiting, Mackerel, Ling, Hallybutt, a fish somewhat like a Turbet, and herrings; I have seen the people stand upon the shore, some wading a little way out, and draw in small nets upon the shore in a dark night, and the lookers on with small bags in their hands, some would throw sand in the faces and eyes of the Fishers, others with their bare feet or toes make holes in the nets for the herrings to slip out and so whip them into their Bags and away with them. The people here are mostly Irish, but now they are more civilized, by the present Earl's living at Glenarme, since the king's restoration.

The proper name of Antrim is Undrim—the Irish, *i.e., one-back*, there being a high ridge of Hills or Mountains lying about it, which lying to the north may be said to be upon the Back of it.

"Massereene," in Irish "Base o Reen"—some Irish king's daughter, or princess, being drowned in that River.

Remarkable Wells in the County of Antrim. 1683.

In the highway leading from the Town towards the strade going down the Hill, riseth a small spring out of a loose gravel rock, which has a scum upon it, it makes the gravel about it of an Iron colour.

In Ballynewre (which is a small estate belonging to myself, and held by the Crown since the time of Queen Elizabeth) is a well called Toberdony—*i.e.*, Sundays well, (within a quarter of a mile of the house lately built there by me) which in former times was very much frequented, for sickness and distempers by the Irish, and still is by some on May eve, Midsummer eve, and Xmas. It is a plentiful running spring, and commended by all persons for excellent water in which (it has been observed many years) is constantly a trout—not like the ordinary trouts in the country; sometimes it appears enclining to green, sometimes to black, has no spots, and in shape is very like a Tench; at this time there are two in it, one near a foot long, the other not above three inches; they never go out of the well unless accidentally, and return again tho' a river plentiful of trout be hard by. Some twelve years since, a young fellow caught and carried away one of these trouts, and died within two or three days after, so now it is looked upon as a "Noli me tangere" (Don't touch me).

At the White head, in the Parish of Broad Island, at the Temple-corran, there is a Spring well which runs very plentifully out of the Limestone Rocks unto the sea; not to be seen but at low water, much frequented by the neighbouring people on May eve, yearly.

In the West Suburbs of Belfast, in a back side, between the Mill and the Common pond, was a small weak spring which I have drank of, and was much frequented about 20 years since for the gravel—it looked like White Wine, and had *not* the taste of ordinary water.

Within 3 or 4 miles of Belfast, near the Highway leading from thence to Cumber or Newton (for I have not been there many years past), and commonly called Kirk Donnel Well, there rises a spring tasting strong of Brass or Copper—very unpleasant, has a thick scum, and gives the stones, gravel, and sand, where it runs a reddish Tincture; it was said first to be discovered by one Gregg, a Presbiterian minister (see *Montgomery MSS.*, new edition, pp. 238, 239, *notes* 75, 76) in a dream, being much afflicted with the gravel or stone; and for some years after it was frequented by multitudes of people some 40 or 50 miles off, and the water carried sometimes 10 or 15 miles to people who were not able to travel, for all sorts of distempers, and many people received ease and benefit by it—at least thought so; but now it is little used, either by reason it is common, or as some say, the mans ground where it is, being oppressed with the people and horses that in summer time lay there night and day, it is so enclosed as they have not freedom to come to it.

There was when I was a boy at Saul, within a mile of Down-Patrick, near the East End of the Abbey, a small Spring well, which I have seen, and the inhabitants told me it would run dry or vanish if foul hands or Linen were washed in it. In this Abbey Yard (I have seen, and perhaps is there yet) a little lodge built, walled, and roofed with Lime and stone fit to contain one person only, wherein tradition says, St. Patrick lodged, this being the first place he settled in when he first came to Ireland, and I have heard old people say they had seen a stone there (a hard pillow) wherein appeared a hollow, where the saint used to lay his head.

There is here a Castle, and another Castle, the Coile, within an English mile of it, and about midway a Lough near a mile about, and above this Lough a good height there is a stone with two round holes in it, of a fit bigness, where I have been told by old Irish people, that St. Patrick said his prayers when he first came to land in Ireland; it is not far from the water that flows by it from Strangford to Downpatrick which I have seen flow often into this lough. St. Patrick's well, by the Irish called Srooil, is a mile from Down-Patrick and about a mile from Saule, there is a little round place like an oven, that will hold half a dozen men, which is called the Mother of the well; when I saw it, little more than ancle deep; and from this, under ground, about 50 yards the spring runs through the wall of a little house now without a roof, where about 4 feet high it spouts out, and there people hold their heads and naked bodies under it, when they wash; it is extremely cold, and a flat broad stone whereon it perpetually falls is so slippery, that what with it, and the coldness of the water, people do often fall and hurt their naked bodies.

There have been many remarkable cures of blind and lame, &c., attributed to this well, which I leave to their observation that live near it.

The Irish use many ceremonies here, and there are seldom to this day, less than three or four hundred persons here upon Midsummer Eve, yearly to wash and drink, and say their Pater Nosters. Here is on the face of the Hill above it a Rock they call St. Patrick's Chair; to this chair I have seen people creep up on their bare knees from the well (the way worn bare, and slaty, sharp, stony ground) that they have been Bloody.

"St. Patrick, you know, he was St. Georges man,
From him he stole his horse and then away he ran,
For which Slavish act Slaves they still remain,
But St. George, O, St. George, the Dragon he hath slain."

And so I return to the County of Antrim.

Near one Mr. Patrick Agnews, in the Parish of Killuoughter, within a mile of the town of Larne, is a well called Tobber Moar, *i.e.*, the Great Well; this is raised with a breast of stones about 7 or 8 feet high, and is about 20 deep, and I judge about 30 yards in Compass; so very clear, as you ride above it, all the bottom exposes itself to your view, and rises out of Limestone. This well alone sufficeth a Corn Mill (that stands within less than a musket shot below it), both winter and summer without other help, and if I remember right, another Corn Mill stands below this mill and goes with the same water. Within a quarter of a mile rises another spring not much inferior to this.

On the South West of this house (which is built Castle ways with a Barn wall), about an English mile from it, near the highway leading from hence to Antrim, there appears among some small hasle shrubs a pretty brisk spring, much drank by the ordinary people hereabouts. I have been told that this well water will Bubble and make a little murmuring noise, if the party for whom it is brought will recover—otherwise it will be smooth and still.

There is at the West end of the town of Larn a small spring, often drank of for the Gravel and other distempers; it rises (but weakly) in several places, without any care taken of it,—being amongst Slovenly and Lazy people; it is in the high way, and has a scum over it before the sun rises, which has been found very helpful to sore eyes, and is a pale water like white wine, not fully settled; to me it tastes of Coppras, and if a little pains were taken with it, would appear better.

There is a well called Armory Well, not far from the high way that leads from Clogh to Bally Castle, much frequented by Scotch and Irish on Midsummer eve. The water flows out in such an abundance that till you come to the well, you would take it for an ordinary river.

But the Well that gives much occasion of discourse in this County is Cranfield Well, in the Parish of Cranfield, hard upon the edge of Lough Neagh, and on the North side of the Lough; the Irish in great numbers frequent it on May day. It is a weak spring, and as I take it, the ground belongs to the Bishop.

Out of this Well are got on May Day in the morning, small transparent stones with several squares, pointed sharp, if not broken in the getting, like amber but brittle, and will not suffer a file, nor other pollishing than what is natural, and appears artificially polished.

These stones, tradition delivers, to rise or spring up, and so to be found only on May Day in the morning, and so it is generally delivered, and believed by most of the Irish and many other people: the virtues of the stones (if the Irish speak true) are many; as, that a man shall not be drowned that has one of these about him; that a woman having this, shall have easy and safe labour in child-bearing, which many have approved either by experience or fancies, and imagination will work wonders; that a house in which one of these is, will not be subject to take fire by accident, nor to be by thieves—cum multis aliis; yet I have been an eye witness of these stones being got here in July, which was thus:—We employed an Irish Girl (for such live hereabouts) about 13 or 14 years of age, used to the trade. She first laved (with the help of a boy) the water out of the well with a dish at the entrance, and the whole being made pretty dry, she crept in, and went stooping out of our sight, where scraping with her hands, fingers, and nails, she raised some of the rotten rock or gravel in the bottom of the hole, which bringing out in the dish, or delivering to the Boy, who was behind her in the hole, he handed the dish out, and amongst the gravel we could find sometimes one, sometimes 2 or 3 of these stones, and sometimes none at all; upon which, considering from whence they might come, and observing well the place about, I found all to be a sort of dark grey rotten and mouldering rocky ground, and so into the Lough which beats near the well; and my opinion is that these stones may be got at any time in Summer, especially in dry weather, when the Lough rises not too high, or the well be not too over pressed with water from the Upper grounds; and that they are in the Rock, and rise as that is broken or raised; that if any would take the pains to sink into the Rock near the well and as low (which I suppose is little above 4 or 5 feet from the surface of the earth) the matter would be out of dispute. I have had stones sent me from a friend that was some time governor of the Isle of Byffin, much of the nature and shape of these stones, and of the very same substance but clear like Ice or Isingglass.

These I was told were broken or beaten out of rocks that lay in the sand at low water, when the tide was out.

Mr. John Osburn, who was concerned for the Marquis of Antrims Creditors, and lives in Dublin (if he remembers) can give you a relation of an odd experiment made by his wife (since dead).

I think it was upon occasion of a violent flux of Blood either upon herself or some neighbour, and the cure was done by putting a Cranfield stone into burnt Claret and so drank by the afflicted party. I know she had one of

I conclude this imperfect account of our Springs, tho' the best I can give, with a small spring in the barony of Kilconway; it is at the Clogh Mills and I did there say that I was the first that observed it some years since, tho' I must confess I do not remember it was so. This well is observed to encrease and decrease very remarkably in 24 hours, which is easily observed, for it is but a slender Spring, and overflows very little. I thought it might happen by a rising and falling of the large river that flows from the mountains and runs through this village, but it stands too high to have any commerce from the river. Michael M'Cormick, now subsheriff of this county, and lives at Clogh Mills, very near this well, can give the best account of its situation and quality.

these stones from me, especially desired by her when with child, being subject to hard labour in child bearing, and has told me she thought herself much better of them.

Highways in the County of the Town of Carrickfergus and the County of Antrim.

This Town has four gates belonging to it—the Key Gate, the Irish or West Gate, the North Gate, and the East or Scotch quarter Gate.

The Key Gate is so called because it opens to the Key or Pier, as they call it in Scotland, and the north of England; and so he that pleases when out of this gate, and not Spring tides, may take the same high ways as they that go out at the West Gate.

The West Gate opens into the Irish Quarter which is a suburb of the Town making two ordinary streets of thatched houses. The Right brings you to the high way that leads from this town to Strade, Ballyclare, Six mile water, Antrim, Connor, Ballymeanogh; that on the left hand directly along the west side of the Lough to Belfast, Lisburn, and to Dublin; at low water, the Strand may be rid to Belfast, tho,' for the most part there is no more of the Strand made use of than from Belfast to the White House, which is midway between Belfast and Carrickfergus.

The north Gate opens into a fair large high way, up hill northward above a mile appearing full to the harbour and when the Castle and this way are seen in a line, there is the best riding for large ships; this high way leads to Larn, Glenarm, and so to all the lower parts of the Country to the sea adjacent. The East Gate, or Scotch Quarter Gate, directs to the sea and not to be rid out at full sea, especially Spring Tides, and likewise to a small Suburb called the Scotch quarter. (See pp. 6, 198, *supra.*)

Here dwell the Fishers, and here lie all the fishing Boats belonging to the Town. This way we travel to Killroot, Broad Island, Island Magee. All these high ways are Cawsy for the most part by reason of the deep grounds.

County of Antrim high ways.

I begin at Lisburn and so confine myself as near as I can to this county only. From this town out of the west end (here Sr. Phelomy O'Neal first entered in the beginning of the Rebellion)—(See p. 67, *supra*) —there is a Long Suburb, (if I may so call it) and through it, on the right hand, there is a high way which leads towards the mountains by a Deer Park of the Earl of Conway's to Castle Robin (see p. 271, *supra*), and so to Glenavy and Antrim —but forward from the Town. The highway leads direct about half a mile, and then divides on the Right hand to Portmore, the left by the Maze, and so to Moyragh, Maghrelin, Lurgan, Portadown, and so to Ardmagh from the Bridge of Lisburn; one high way on the right leads to Hillsborough, Drummore, and so to Dublin; that which goes directly up hill from the Bridge leads to the sea coast of the County of Down by Castlereagh, Cumber, &c. But when you are about half a mile in this way, there is a way which turns to the Right hand and which leads by Lysnastrean (where a battle was fought between the late Earl of Montalexander, Sr. Geo. Mounroe, &c., for the king, and as I take it, Sr. Chas. Coot and Colonel Venables for the Parliament, where the most just cause fared worst (which I think was in 48 or 49)—(see *Montgomery MSS.*, new edition, pp. 191, 192), and so to Down Patrick; the ways—I speak from the Bridge—are in the County of Down.

Another highway leads out of the east end of Lisburn to Lambegg, within a mile where Sr. Geo. Rawden hath Iron works; and hard by on the other side of the River (a Bridge of Timber going over) the Earl of Conway (see *Montgomery MSS.*, pp. 246, 247) hath a horse course of two miles from Lambegg—the way leads direct to Belfast, which is all along for the most part furnished with houses, little orchards, and gardens; and on the right hand the Countess of Donegall hath a very fine Park well stored with venison, and in it a horse course of two miles, and may be called an English Road.

All the highways within 8 or 10 miles of Lisburn are very good—not only from the nature of the soil, which generally affords gravel and sand, but from Sir Geo. Rawden's care (who is, I believe, the Best High Way man in the kingdom) and the Industry of the Inhabitants. (See *Montgomery MSS.*, new edition, p. 163.)

From Antrim you have a high way northwest which leaves the lord Massereen's house (one of the pleasantest seats in the kingdom) on the left hand—being ill paved about half a mile, the rest a dry sandy way to Shanscastle over three small wooden Bridges, or by the Lough side in Summer time. Shanscastle belongs to the Lady Marchioness of Antrim, and it is mightily improved since the King's restoration—in buildings, orcharding, enclosures, Parks, &c., and stands upon the Lough Neagh. (See pp. 252, 289, *supra.*) From Shanscastle (from

one Shane O'Neile, or Edenduff Carrick, from the Black Rock it stands on)—(see p. 252 *supra*)—the way leads to Randalstown from thence to Staffordstown, so to Toomb where Lough Neagh falls into the Band, and so by Ferry to the County of Londonderry. Another goes from Randalstown to Maghrehoghill, Portglenoyne, and so over the Bridge to Derry; these last high ways go through a level deep country, most Causeway and ill enough in Winter for travellers.

From Antrim to the North a causeway brings you by a high Road and narrow steeple (the Round Tower), about a mile; and so on to Connor and Ballymeanogh.

At the south end of Antrim you have one way which leads to Carrickfergus, another by Temple Patrick to Belfast—the way not very good in Winter. Ballymeanogh, which, I think, is near about the centre of the county, you have one way which leads to Galgorme (Sir Robert Colvill's house)—(see pp. 200, 201, 202, *supra)*, from thence over the Main water (see p. 198, *supra)* and a handsome Bridge of Lime and stone of 10 or 11 arches by his Deer Park—so to Ballymonny, and so to Colrain; from Ballymeanogh is another high way northward, which keeps direct half a mile out of town, and, then to the right, one leads to Bruaghshane over the Brade water; over a wooden Bridge, it leads to Glenarm, &c.; the other leads to Clogh—a house built by the first Earl of Antrim, and bad way—from hence, on the Right hand, there is a way which Leads to Ballycastle—being the mountains on the Right hand, and right forward from the town—the high way to Clogh mills two miles, so to Ballymony.

From Ballymony or Ballycastle, the first in the County, the other by the sea-side, that have high ways to Dunluce, Bushmills, Dervoge, Ballintoy; but the nearest way to these places, if you come from the upper part of the County, is from Clogh mills by a little Town called Dervoge, with a fair stone bridge over Dervoge water, by Derrykyghan and so to Bushmills; where over the Bushwater is such another Bridge, and so to Dunluce, or Dunluce Hall, the Earl of Antrim's chief house. Whosoever travels hither by the sea-side, or rather in sight of the sea, go by Larn, by the Church of Carn Castle, and so by Glenarm, to which are several high ways, but none good, for the lower ways are deep clay, and the upper ways great and steep hills. From Glenarm, he that would coast it, to Colerain goes from Glenarm over the mountain to Red Bay and must have a guide, or if he keep the sea near his right hand; it is very deep in winter, and yet some steep passages ill to ride up or down; both ways are not to be commended either in summer or in winter. From Red Bay is a very good way to Coshandun, but from thence over the mountains to Cary, you must have a guide to Bally Castle and well you escape—so the mountains seem a continual bog, where a man is in danger sinking with his horse, and the Lower way so steep that your horse climbs very oft. Slippery in winter and steep in summer. Once passed the Moor there is a very good way to Bally Castle. And so I finish being extremely weary travelling the Last Way.

CARRICKFERGUS, *6th of April*, 1683.

Having seen a paper relating to a design of Mr. Moses Pitt of London, desiring that an answer of several Queries therein contained, or some of them, might be sent to you, by such as were willing to advance their labour, though perhaps other persons may have both more leisure and ability to give you satisfaction as to this Town, yet observing that none here did take further notice of it, than to read your paper, I have picked up some few materials which at least shows my willingness to serve the chief workman. (See p. 376, *supra.)*

If they give you satisfaction I have all I look for, and I must beg your pardon, that the queries were not methodically observed, not having them by me, nor time to write otherwise, than as a matter came to my mind or observation.

If you think fit to have any further account of this place, I will not fail to give you what satisfaction I can, and perhaps may give you a better description of the County of Antrim if so desired, and that I can have time, being at present Mayor of this Town, and so much more diverted by other Business.

I wish a good issue to your endeavours, and remain—Your Humble Servant,

RICHARD DOBBS.

TOWN AND COUNTY OF CARRICKFERGUS.

March 27th, 1683.

Carrickfergus, so called from King Fergus, either because he built the Castle, or as some conceive for that he was here drowned, or cast away upon this rock,—Carrick signifies a Rock in Irish; the Scotch usually call it Creagfergus, and in old writings it is often called Knockfergus. (See p. 6, *supra.*)

The Castle or Tower is encompassed with a very strong and high wall, within which are several excellent arched vaults. There are two strong gates with a drawbridge about midway between them. Before you come

into the Castle or Tower, over the inner gate is a platform, which commands or overlooks the greater part of the Town.

This gate before the Late Rebellion of Ireland, and sometime after the King's Restoration, was kept by a Constable and a certain number of Wardens ; the last two Constables were Sir Faithful Fortescue, and Sir Thomas, his son, still living, but now is (as it has been 16 or 18 years) guarded by a foot Company of the Army, belonging to the Earl of Longford, who is likewise governor of the Town and so of the whole County of Antrim. This government heretofore reached as far as the Newry. (See p. 222, *supra.*) This Castle, Londonderry, and Charlemont, are the chief strength of Ulster, and here is always a Magazin of Arms and ammunition.

This Town stands on the North side of the Bay or Lough, and the County of Down runs along the South-east and South side.

The Bay begins near Cowpland Isles, which belong to the County of Down ; there are three of them, or rather four. Two next the County of Down, more emminent, the other very low next Scotland and scarce discernible.

In foul weather, Ships coming in or going out, must either Clear all these Isles, or pass through the Sound, which is between the County of Down, and the next and largest Island, and about a mile over. This Bay is from Carrickfergus about five miles over, and Belfast stands at the head of this Lough, about 9 Leagues from Cowpland Isles.

The entrance into the Bay is about 10 or 15 fathoms, and opposite to the town from 3 fathoms to 5, 6, and 7, at full sea ; it is deepest towards the South side, and some banks make it so shallow towards the North side.

On the North side, likewise, within two leagues of the town, runs out a point of rocks, formerly called Spear-point, about a quarter of a mile long, now commonly called by the fishers the Cloghan ; whatsoever vessels come into the Lough, and keeps sight of any part of the Bishop's house hereafter spoke of, is out of danger of these rocks. North from the Cowpland Isles is a large hill, called the Blackhead, whereon is a Lighthouse. (See p. 379, *supra.*)

Eastward from the town about a mile, stands Killroot, the mansion house of the Bishop of Connor—tho' no Bishop hath lived there, in the memory of man, that I can learn. Here is an old Church hard by the House, and formerly there has been large Buildings as of a monastery, whereof some remains appear in digging the ground. (See p. 378, *supra.*)

South East from Carrickfergus, on the County of Down side, is a town called Bangor; anciently it belonged to the O'Neils, as all the Clandeboys did, but in King James's Time it was given to Sir James Hamilton, afterwards Lord Viscount Clanaboys, father unto Henry 1st Earl of Clanbrazil, and grandfather to Henry, the last Earl, who died without issue. (See *Hamilton MSS.*)

This Bangor was a large Monastery, and belonged to the monks of Bangor, who, as we have by tradition, were all killed by the Highlanders coming thither in long Boats out of the highlands of Scotland. Some remains of the Abbey or Monastery appear to this day.

In the Castle of Carrickfergus (I mean the tower) there is a draw well of good water, a great Depth, and wrought through the Rock. (See p. 6, *supra.*) The sea (at full sea) surrounds the Castle 3 parts of 4, and with indifferent Labour and cost might be brought right round directly under the Castle; to the West, is a handsome Key which cost £11,000 or £12,000. The Building towards the latter end, as I take it, of Queen Elizbth. I have seen a vessel of 80 or 100 Tuns lie within it, but must come in at a spring tide.

Here is one of the stateliest houses in the Kingdom, the Earl of Donnegall proprietor, built by Sir A. Chichester, that was, as I remember, 11 years Lord Deputy of Ireland, under Queen Eliz. and King James. (See p. 265, *supra.*) I rather think the later ; he lived sometimes here, was an alderman of this Town ; and I find submitted to his fine, being elected mayor annually; where the house stands and about the quantity of two acres of ground belonging to it, is exempt from the jurisdiction of the corporation, being as it is said part of the County of Antrim. So the Castle and that space of ground where the County of Antrim gaol stands upon. I have heard Arthur Earl of Donnegall, great uncle to the present Earl, say, " he could never find any account amongst any of his uncle's papers of what this house cost in Building, &c., tho' he had then by him several weekly accounts of old Sir Arthur's charges in housekeeping. But I have heard an old gentleman say it cost at least £20,000.

Where this house stands was an old abbey, called the abbey of Joymount, and the house is called Joymount House.

There has been another abbey west from the Town about a quarter of a mile distant, called the abbey of Woodburn, a rapid River (in sudden floods) dividing the same from the Town—called so from Woods that grew about it, or from the fierce running. I find it sometimes in old deeds of the Town called Good Burn.

The Land about this Town is very good with great store of meadow, excellent grass for all sorts of cattle, but the soil generally a strong clay.

The Bay and Lough affords good plenty of Scollops and some very large oysters, the latter at 7, 8, and 10 fathom water—in season all the year.

It is observed by some that since the Earl of Donnegall and Earl of Clanbrazill's servants bustled about the oysters, whereof there was then great plenty in Garmoile, there are few or none to be found there, but I rather believe the many ships lying there have broken the Beds.

Within the Liberties of this Town is good store of Freestone and Limestone. The Limestone all white as Chalk, but very hard. Likewise very good clay and marl for tobacco pipes, Brick, and Tile.

In several places likewise several appearances of Sea Coal, and some trials made to find them, but in vain. The fireing with the abler sort of people here is White Haven and Scotch Coal with some Turf. The common people generally use Turf, of which there is plenty.

There was not one foot of Land forfeited in this town or Liberties of the same, by the late Rebellion, tho' I suppose there are about a hundred several Free holds in it, besides leases for years, nor is there at this day one known papist within its walls.

The greatest number of the Inhabitants are Scotch Presbiterians, but the most considerable and valuable are of the Church of England.

The Charter, of which we have one in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, another from King James, gives us a Mayor, Recorder, two Sheriffs, sixteen aldermen, and a common council of 24 Burgesses, and 3 Sergeants at Mace with a sword to be carried before the Mayor.

He that is mayor of the Town 1 year is always mayor of the Staple; and the last Sheriffs are next year Corroners.

The mayor by Charter is Judge of Assize for the Town and county of the Town. The town clerk, clerk of the Crown of Peace—nor is any other justice of Peace to intermeddle here.

In June A.D. 1681, a vast number of young Whales, as some people thought, came into this Lough, and as far up as Garmoyle, some whereof were taken 21 foot long.

Sometimes great store of herring have been taken in this Lough. The only plentiful take of them in my time, was in the year 1674.

This town is or might be well furnished with Sea-fish, as Codd, small Codlings, Skeat, sometimes Turbets, Plaice, Sole, and with Salmon from Lough Neagh and the Bandwater in Summer.

Here likewise a merchant may be furnished with Wheat, Barley, White Oats, Beans, Oatmeal, Beef, Hide, Tallow, Butter, &c., in good plenty—observing the Right Seasons.

This place is a Town and County of itself, and surrounded (except with the sea on the South and South East) with the County of Antrim. Is happy in a healthy clear air, not subject to mists or foggs, and something too sharp for consumptive people, to which few of the natives are subject.

The Largest River belonging to this Town is Woodburn, whereon are two ordinary Bridges of wood; there are four mills belonging to it, two whereof are double and covered with slate.

There is only one fresh water Lough called Lough about a mile and a half distant north west from the Town. It is about an English mile long, not so much over; it is well furnished with Pyke, and belongs to the Earl of Donnegall.

It seems to be only fed with springs, till of late a small River was turned into it, and affords no fish but Pikes and Eels.

Some parts of it is very deep.

I observed few springs about the Town (tho' exceedingly well watered, every street being furnished with running water except two)—the one in Bridewell Park (so called from the Well), and belongs to the Earl of Donnegall, furnishing the house and some upper rooms by lead pipes.

The other is a little spring near the Earl of Donnegall's mill, which I have seen by mixing a little Gall look like Claret, and I have been told by some who said they had experimented it, will turn a little into a posset.

The people for the most part are little given to industry or labour, many of them having little estates since the dividing of the Town Lands.

The greatest trade now is in Taverns and Ale-houses, which too are mostly relieved by the Assizes and Sessions of the County of Antrim, which have been always held or kept here since the memory of man; and when there was no Shire Hall, the Assizes and Sessions were held in the King's Castle of Carrickfergus.

This Town returns two Burgesses to pliamt., and by the words of the Charter no man is to be arrested in a freeman's house. Many other priviledges there are, perhaps too long to incert here.

The Corporation Land, Arrable, meadow and pasture, will be, I suppose, above 2000 acres, and about a thousand mountain Turbary and grassing lies for a common, of little advantage to the town except for fireing.

There is here a parcel of ground meadow and pasture enclosed, which is always possessed by the garrison troops of horse.

By Charter the 3rd part of all customs of merchandise imported or exported to or from this port, and the members and Creeks of the same, were granted unto the Town, but sold by them in the time of the Earl of Strafford's Government to the king for £3000, which was to be laid out in land for the use of the Corporation, but can not find that it was so disposed of, nor that the town got the money—tho' it was paid—which has proved the great impoverishing of this town.

The Town within the Walls is built generally of Lime and stone or Brick, and the houses covered with slate.

One handsome large street wherein the market is kept. At one end of it is the County of Antrim Shirehall; at the other end the Tholsell or Town Court.

The Town and County is in the Diocess of Connor annexed to Down, and the Dean called Dean of Connor—tho' I know nothing he has as Dean fit to keep a good curate, his livings being of other Parishes.

About the year 1589 I find in our Town Book that Sir Henry Sydney gave money towards the repair of the Church and the town Walls. It is a handsome Church, with a noble tomb and monument belonging to the Earl of Donnegall wherein many of the family lie in a vault, and in the Chancell Sr. Henry O'Neill, father to the Lady Marchioness of Antrim, and her mother, &c.

If it be thought necessary, the inscriptions, verses, &c., of this monument shall be more particularly returned (See M'Skimin's *Carrickfergus*.) The Irish have a prophecy of this Town that a merchant shall come to Killroot to buy salt, to whom the Castle of Carrickfergus shall appear like the head of a nail in the sea—meaning, I suppose, that the town shall be overflowed.

CARRICKFERGUS, *May 19th*, 1683.

I forbear at present to give you a fuller answer to your last letter, wherein I fear you may hereafter think you have overvalued me; however I have several materials ready to come to you and durst not trust all to one.

But intending to send my own servant thither sometime this or next week, when I doubt you will receive *parva in magno.*

However, I resolve now to venture till you bid me hold, or that I want matter.

I will endeavour to get you some Lough Neagh stones, with the wood, or very like. I have myself had some of that kind, but not these twenty years.

Expect by the next, "*Our Springs*" (see pp. 383, 384. *supra*), "*High Ways*" (see p. 385, *supra*), and a description of the most part of the out bounds of the County of Antrim, which was ready ten day since,—and so I remain, Sir, Your Very Humble Servant.

R. DOBBS.

III.

Will of William Boyd of Dunluce, 1624.

(See p. 72, *supra*.)

THE testament and letter will off Wm. Boyd in Dunluce, given up be his owne mouth att Dunluce, the nynthe off December, anno. 1624; given up befor these witnesses under wryttin.

In the name off God, I Wm. Boyd being sick off body and good and perfect memorie and understandinge, do make this my last will and testament. First, I comitt my sowle to almightie God, maker off heaven and earthe and all yt yr in is, on (one) true holy eternall and infinit god yxistinge off three persins—the Father, Sone, and Holy Ghoste, my creator off nothinge, my redeemer, when for my owne sine I was deservedly lost, and my yternall preserver since my conception wt ot whose helpe and providence every minute off ane hoare I should be readie to fall in utter

destruction of Bodie and soal. In wch holy God and Blessed Trinitie I stedfastly beleive, hopinge assuredly yt he will receave back againe in his mercie this my soale to Glorifie him in His heaveins for ever. As to my Body, I bequeath itt to the earth from whence it came, to be buried in ane Christian Buriall yr (where) itt shall please God.

As to my goods and chatteles, I bequeathe them as followeth—

First, I do appoynt and ordaine my weil beloved wyffe Catharine Mcgdmartine and my faithfull and trustie freinds Wm. Dunlapp laird off Crage, and Thomas Boyd off Carncogie, and Mr. Wm. Wallace to be exeacutors off this my will underwryten and intromettary wt my wyff jioyntlie and severally wt all my goods and chattelis rightis and creditis whatsoever (to the performinge my will as heireunder is expressed). (See p. 72, *supra*).

Inprimis, my will is yt all the debt wch I do justly owe shall be payed wt the reste of my creditis :

Item, my will is yt my wyffe shall have during her mortal lyfe my houses and gardens in the towne off Dunluce wt the furnitewre and land yr unto belonginge, beinge the aqual halfe off the ffeild called Macheranecrossie and Dollnabrade ; and after her decease I leave the same to the eldest off my sones then livinge, ther heirs exrs or assignais wch failinge to be devyded amongst my dauchters and ther heirs.

Item, my will is, and I ordaine yt my wyfe shall have all the plenishinge insighte and goods whatsoever wch shall be wh in my hoase the tyme of my decease, reservinge money and plate and other reservationis under wrytten, and yt be ffull satisfaction off all dower joynter and thirds wch she may clame ; as also I leave unto her ffowre off my best kowis, and she to injoy the same by the sighte off the overseers, and advise off them whom I do appoynte as after followeth.

Item, my will is yt my son Adam shall have and injoy the qrterland off Ballebreill, the Salmon fishinge off Portnein and Lands ; the Towne land of Carvelly wt all the titles and ryghts qch I leave to him, his heirs, exrs and assignais ; and I do appoynte and ordaine my faithfull and weilbeloved friends Mr. Andrew Monypenny, Archdeacon of Coner, and Mr. Wm. fentwine, preacher off God his word att Carn Castle, to be curators to him and possess the profits off the sd land and fishinge duringe his minoritie, to be pute and qnverted towards the honest aducãoine off him, and in wch tym I will and desyre yt the sd Mr. Monypenny (iff not being burdensome unto him), and Mr. Wm Fentwine jointlie and severallie shall keip him att schooles and to breed him according as they schall in yr discretion think fitt, to quhome jointlie and severallie (Mr. Fentown being less distracted by uther occasions yn the ryt worschipfull Mr. Monypenny) I comitt him and his portione. Item I do leave all my plate to my sone Adam, togither wt on furnisched fether bedd wt the apportunances necessarilie belonginge, my brewinge kettill, my aquavitæ pott, always reserving the use of them to his mother until he shall come to perfect age, or be married, iff she shall live so longe, prayinge the sd Mr. Monypenny and Mr. Fentowine to acceptt off this charge jointlie and severally to direct my sd sone as they schall think wreite (and iff the sd Mr. Monypenny be promoted to greater dignities or remove himself hence) I recommend him and his portion to the care and fidelitie of Mr. Fentowne, desyring my saide sone to doe nothing wtot the direction and advyse off them the sd Mr. Monypenny or Mr. Fentowne.

Item, I do leave my sone Johne the Townelande off Carmoohen and the qrterland off Bellihemlein, togither wh the somme off Fowrtie pownde ster., and if it can be so acquired by the advyse of my exrs nott hurting the portions off the rest off my children, I leave him twenty pownde ster. more to make up three score pownds ster. in whole off my goods, and do comitt the educăoine, Tutorship, and Curatorship, until he be auchtein yeirs owld, to my weilbeloved and fatfull friend, Ard Stewart off Ballelache (see p. 62, *supra*), whom I pray to bring him up att schoolis and cawse breed honestlïe wt the profites off the sd land and the use off the three score pownds abovementioned as he shall think fitt, and att the auchteenth year off the sd Johne his age, the sd Archibald is to pay unto the sd Johne the sd Three score pownds, and to this effect the sd Ard is ather to give in surties for the re-delyverie off the sd thrie score pownds, or put it in sufficient men ther hands att the sicht, discretion, and advyse off the overseers undernamed.

Item, I ordaine and will yt my sone Wm. schall have three score pownd ster. off my goods, and my silver signett, and do comitt him and his portion to my weilbeloved and faithffull freind, Wm. Dunlap, off Creig, in the Realm off Scotland, qn he is readie to putt to schoole, and till then I ordaine my wyfe his mother to keip him upon the use off his portion, alwayes provyded yt surties sufficient be given for his breeding and aduca°ine, as weil as for the payment off the portion when he schall come to the age of auchtein yeir old, and this to be done be the sight and advyce off the undernamed overseers.

Item, my will is, yt my daughter Katharin schall have the thrie score pownds wch is in Anthonie Dobbine his hand, for wch I have ane howse in morgage, wch payeth ten pownde per anum wt twentie pounds more besyd the remaner of the whol goods beïng caste up, provyded sche do bestow her selfe in mariage be the advyce off my exrs or any two off them, qr off Thomas Boyd, off Carncogie, to be on (one), and I leave the sd Katharin, wt her portion forsdt to the sd Thomas Boyd to be aducatt and bred, he the sd Thomas giving in sufficient surties, as weill for her aduca°ine as for the re-delyverie off her portion att the day of her mariage, and this to be done by the advyse and direction off the afternamed overseers.

Item, I leave to my dawghter Issobel thrie score pownd ster. wheroff fowrtie pownde is owinge me in larne, and the other twentie of the rediest off my goods quhom wt her portion I putt in trust (to her good educa°ine) to my beloved and trustie freinds as curators for her, Archibald Boyd oft Carncualagh (see p. 72, *supra*), and Johne logan, off the Bosth milnes, jointlie and severallie, provyded yt they give in surties for her educa°ine and re-delyverie off her portion att the day off her mariage, and all yt aforsd to be done att the discretion off the overseers after specified.

Item, I will yt my daughter Margaret schall have thrie score pownde ster. off my goods for her portion and for her educa°ine; I recomend the charge of her to my weilbeloved sone-in-lawe, Walter Kennedie (see p. 64, *supra*), wh her portion, the use qr off is to be bestowed upon her aduca°in and for her better breding; the sd Walter is to give surteis both for her upbringing and also for re-delyverie off her portion at the day off her mariage as it schall be thocht fit by the undernamed overseers.

Item, my will is, yt the childrens portionis schall be putt in honest men ther hands, to bring good surteis for the same, and the yearly use for yr aduca°in in the fear off God as shall be thocht fitt by the overseers.

Item, my will is, yt iff any off my children schall departe this naturall lyff before they have issue off their owne Bodies, yt yn the portion off the deceased schall be devyded equally amongst my survivinge children and ther heirs, exrs, and assignais.

Item, I ordaine, and will yt my sone-in-law, Walter Kenidie, schall have ten pownde ster. over and above his mariag goods, behind unpayed as yett, ot off yt lease wch I have off the tythes off Magherafopa, att the expyring off the sd lease, as also yt the sd Walter schall have his mariage goods, unpayed as yett, ot off the first paymentis off those tythes and qt is superpaid, my sd sone, Walter, is to be anserable for itt to my exrs, his mariag goods being first payed, and this to be don be the advyse off the overseers; as also I leave to him ane cleashoch or harpe qche I have.

Ite, my will is, that iff my goods schall amounte to more then to pay my debtis and suche portionis as I have alreadie nominated to my sd children, then I ordain the superplus to be equallie devyded amongste my thrie youngest Dauchters and thrie sones, saving the reservaonis followinge.

Item, I leave to the Ryt honorable the Earl off Antrym my gray stoned horse as ane herriot, praying his Lsp for God his sake to be kind to my wyff and children.

Item, my will is, qt so longe as the ryt reverend the Lord Bishop off Down and Coner schall suffer my servant, Rot. Thomson, to injoye my office off registerschip wch I have off his (Lp.) then my lord Bischop to keep the thirtie pownde ster. wch his (Lp.) stands indebted unto me, and qn it please his (lop.) to putt another into the place, then I will my exrs to delyver to ye sd lord Buschop his band off thirtie pownde ster. he paying unto them twentie pownde ster. off the sd Band due unto me.

Item, I leave to Mr. Andrew Monypenny my pasing naige qch I bocht from Mr. Arthur Monypenny.

Item, I leave to Rt. Thomson thirtie bolles off oates owing me in Larne, wt all my waring apparell except my grogram suit, and my best blak cloak, and the next best cloak qch leave to his father, David Thomson, wt my rappier, and all the books off my office, to be used be him to extract all precedents and wrytt them in my great blak book off precedents, qch I ordaine to be keipt to my eldest sone, and the sd Rot. Thomson to extract ane book for his owne uses, and I ordaine the sd Rot. so long as it pleaseth the lord off Downe to give him liciene to exercise my place off Registerschip under his (lop.), qtsoever fees he getteth as due to the office to be cowntable to my exrs off the samin to my exrs, his charges being deducted for him selff, he beinge served wt ane horse; also I will the sd Rot. Thomson to serve my wyffe so long as he is bownde by indentwr, sche furnishing him the mean quhyle wt meat, drink, and apparell, as also I ordain the sd Rot. to oversie the Salmon fischinge yearly, to the use of my son Adam, for wch I ordain him ane Barrell off Salmon yearly.

Item, I leave to Thomas Boyd off Carncogie, my best silver peice and my best saddell and Bryddell.

Ite, I leave to Wm. Dunlape, the lard of Craige, my grein worsted stokkingis, wch ar new, and ane paire off grein taffatie garters, wt broad band lease upon them.

Ite, I leave to Mr. Wm. fentwne my best blak cloak.

Ite, I leave to Mr. Wm. Wallace my blak turbrie grogram suit, ane pair of russett worse stokkingis, ane paire off blak towris silk garters, wt ane paire of schooes.

Ite, I leave to Johne Logan, my Brother in law, ane new cloak off browne Inglisch cloath, not mad wt lease and Buttonis to itt, and ane schooting peac qch he hath off myne.

Ite, I leave Sr. Wm. Kennidie my best sword.

Ite, I leave to my sister Issobell, thrie milk kowes, and willes my heirs exrs to suffer her to possess and dwel still in Ballebred so long as sche liveth, nott paying any rent or dutie.

Ite, concerning Robt. Longmure his portion itt is on (one) Thowsand marck Scottische money, qch appeareth by billis, bookis, and Bonds, wch ar bunt togither into ane bunche wt ane linninge rage in my quhyt (white) boxe.

As for my accomptes wt the lard of Crage they will seim perfyt in my papers betwixt him and me, excepe the Salmon fisching for this year 1624, wt duis amount to ane Tun of salmon, and ane Barrell, qch barrell was foysted and remaines unsowld, the particular accomptes appears amongst my papers.

Lastly, I will and appoynt my fatfull and well-loved ffreinds, Mr. Andrew Monypenny archdeacon off Coner, Wm. Dunlape the lard of Crage, Thomas Boyd off Carncogie, Archibald Boyd off Carncualagh, Archibald Stewart off Bellilachmore, and my son in law, Walter Kennidie, John Logane off the Bosthmilnes, Thomas Boyd off Bellihabrett, to be overseers yt this my will and laste Testament shall duly be performed in all poynts reservinge the interpretaõne off itt to them or any fowre or more off, iff any question shall happen to arise, qr off Thomas Boyd and Mr. Wm. Wallace shall be two.

Ite, moreover I leave Mr. Moore one silver goblett qch is in my howse.

Ite, I leave to Ard Stewart ane long fowling-peice, qch I brought ot of Knokffergy.

Ite, I leave Ard Boyd ane young browne cowlte, qch I have off the Earle off Antrim for his food.

Ite, I leave my sister Margaret yt litell silver goblet qch sche hath in possession off.

Ite, I leave to John Wallace that schooting piece wch he hath of myne.

Witness, WILLIAM WALLAS. THOMAS BOYD, Witness.

IV.

Translation from an Irish Historical Tract relating to the island of Rathlin.

(See p. 151, *supra.*)

A KING assumed the sovereignty of Huardha (Norway), whose name was Nabghodon, son of Ioruath, and he was circumstanced thus: he had a good economical wife, namely, Bebid, daughter of Dornglan. But a temporal affliction befel him after a certain period; for his wife was seized with sickness of which she died. And Nabghodon fell into a deep decline, through sorrow for the death of his wife; and no remedy was found to abate his affliction, so that he continued to pine away on account of his infirmity; and he neither engaged in conflict, made arrangements of any kind, nor was he susceptible of any friendly communication; neither did he enjoy the social board, pleasure, or pastime, and he remained in this condition for a whole year. Meanwhile the people of the neighbouring states were harrassing his kingdom most grievously during that year. At the end of that period the people of Huardha assembled and came in a body before the king. "Well, O

Nabghodon," said they, "what terrible disorder is this that has afflicted you, since your kingdom and sovereignty are being destroyed around you; for misfortune has lain heavily upon you—tell us what disorder has been afflicting you that we may have it cured and effectually remedied." "I do not wish to tell it," responded he. "If it be grief for the loss of your wife that troubles you, the sorrow for the loss of a woman should not torment you; for we will make a search throughout every country and race of people, and if we find either a wife espoused to any man, or a widow a suitable match for you, in any part of the world, we will bring her to you either of her free will or by force." "There is certainly such a person to be found," said Nabghodon. "What country is she to be found in, O sovereign king," asked they. "There is an island in the western extremity of Europe," said he, "and it is called Innis Fuineadh; (1) its men are small, symmetrical, and vigorous, and its women pretty, and extremely beautiful; and if any wife befitting me can be found in the world it is there she shall be found." "Let messengers and heralds be despatched to Ireland to select a wife for you there," said the nobility of Huardha. Thereupon they appointed thirty champions,—the bravest among them,—to proceed to Ireland to seek a wife for him; and a capacious bark was accordingly fitted out for their conveyance. They hoisted their splendid speckled sails, and pushed forward on the foam-crested waves of the ocean, on their voyage to Ireland. They saw the island of the barks, (2) which is called Rachrin on the coast of Dalriada; they saw at a distance the royal, splendid, lofty, large city, with its elegantly built white houses, its *grianans* of glass, and its very wide royal palaces. "That is certainly a noble city," said Nabghodon's messengers; "and it may be as well for us to put in there and refresh ourselves as anywhere else, since we have arrived on the coast of Ireland." And they steered their ship towards the city which they had seen.

. . . . . .

They saw before them (a lady), who appeared the most youthful, as well as the most handsome of the children of Adam, having clear blue eyes, curling tresses of hair, a melodious voice, and pleasing accent. She and her band of female attendants sat in another enchanting glade; and they commenced to play on their musical instruments and display their expertness, while she employed herself in instructing her female companions. Nabghodon's people continued admiring the symmetry and ornate dress of the youthful lady, while their eyes and vision were immoveably fixed upon her beauty. "Our adventure and journey have been prosperous," said the people of Nabghodon, "for if we searched any other part of the world, we should not find there a woman so befitting as she is, and we will bring her to Nabghodon." They inquired of the people who were nighest, who was the handsome royal personage that was chief of this country. "King Donn, son of Iomchada, son of Miodhna, son of Caischlothach, a descendant of Cearmad Milbheoil, (3) son of Dagdha, a lineal descendant of the Tuatha De Danann race, is king of this island," replied they. "Who is that admirable young lady who is head over yonder female band?" asked they. "It is

(1). Innis Fuineadh was one of the ancient names for Ireland. It signifies the uttermost Island—the Ultima Thule.

(2) *Island of barks.*—*Inis-nam-Barc*, 'Island of the Barks or Ships,' was one of the most ancient names of Rathlin. Some transcriber of the original account has supplied the information that the Island of Barks was called Rachrin, on the coast of Dalriada. See p. 14, *supra*

(3) *Milbheoil.*—This was the name of the father of the three brothers (Tuatha De-Dananns) when the Milesians came. *Dagdha*, the father of Cearmad Milbheoil, was the great king and oracle of the Tuatha De-Danann.

true," said the respondents, "that ye have been bred in some remote sea-begirt isle, since ye have not heard of that young lady, namely, Taise Taobhgheal, daughter of king Donn." They thereupon brought them plenty of food and ale; and king Donn himself came to inquire of them, whence they came, and to whom did they own subjection. "We are the people of Nabghodon, king of Hiruadh," said they, "and we came to seek a wife for him." "Who is the wife?" inquired king Donn. "Your daughter, Taise Taobhgheal, yonder," responded they. "You shall have an answer from me concerning that without further deliberation; for, even though my daughter should not have been betrothed to another man, I would not give her to him, because the assistance of such a son-in-law would be too remote from me," replied King Donn. "Who is the man to whom your daughter is betrothed?" asked they. "She is the possession of Congal Clairineach, son of Rudhraidh, namely son of the king of Ireland." And he spoke truth; for when the great banquet was given at Eamhain Macha, and he went concerning the sovereignty to Tara (4) that daughter was claimed by Congal, but the marriage was not consummated. "Possibly," said they, "you are not aware what trouble is in store for you, O King Donn; for Nabghodon shall come hither accompanied by a strong body of forces composed of the people of Huardha, and shall kill all the inhabitants of your city, and all Ireland shall be devastated in consequence of your non-compliance; and you yourself shall be slain, and your daughter shall be carried away from you forcibly." "I pledge my word," said king Donn, "only that I would not be guilty of an act of treachery towards any person, that a single man of you would never escape from me alive to tell your tidings, on account of your language."

They passed that night, and were furnished with food and attendance. They rose betimes the next morning, and embarked on board of their ship, and, having steered away over the same expanse of ocean, arrived in due time at the destined harbour, whence they proceeded to

(4) *Tara.*—The banquet at Emhain Macha, and the visit to Tara, here referred to, were important events, not only to Conghal but to all the men of Ulster. "*Lughaidh Luaighne*, of the Eberean line, assumed the monarchy of Eirinn in the year of the world 4024; and, in disposing of the petty kingships of the provinces, he imposed two kings on the province of Ulster. To one of whom, *Conghal Clarainech*, he gave the southern, and to *Fergus MacLeidé* the northern half of the province. The Ulstermen soon began to feel the weight of two royal establishments, and a secret meeting of their chiefs took place at Emania, at which it was resolved to invite both their kings to a great feast, for the purpose of having them assassinated, and then to elect one king from among themselves, whom they would support by force of arms against the monarch, should he feel dissatisfied with their deed. The feast was soon prepared, the two kings seated at it, and the assassins, who were selected from the menials of the chiefs, took up a convenient position outside the banqueting-house. By this time, however, the knowledge of the conspiracy had reached the ears of Fachtna Finn, the chief poet of Ulster; whereupon he, with the other chief poets of the province, who attended the feast, arose from their particular places, and seated themselves between the two kings. The assassins entered the house shortly after, but, seeing the position of the poets, they held back, unwilling to desecrate their sacred presence, or violate their too obvious protection. When the Prince Conghal saw the assassins he suspected their design, and asked the poet if his suspicions were not well-founded. Fachtna answersd in the affirmative, and stated the cause of the conspiracy; whereupon Conghal stood up, and, addressing the assembled chiefs, offered, on the part of himself and his colleague, to surrender their power and dignity into the hands of the monarch again, with a request that he would set up in their place the person most agreeable to the Ultonians. The chiefs agreed, and they all repaired to Tara, where they soon arrived, and announced the object of their visit. On their arrival at Tara, the monarch's daughter fell in love with Fergus M'Leidé, and, at her request, backed by the recommendation of the provincial kings, who then happened to be at court, the monarch appointed him sole King of Ulster, though such a decision was against an ancient law, which ordained that a junior should not be preferred to a senior—and Conghal was older than Fergus. Conghal, on hearing this decision, departed immediately from Tara, collected all the disaffected of the country about him, together with some Scottish exiles, and, having met the monarch's son, cut off his head, and bid defiance to the father."—*O'Curry's Manuscript Material for Ancient Irish History*, p. 261.

where Nabghodon resided. Nabghodon asked them their news, and if they had found a wife befitting for him. "Indeed we have," said they, "found a wife really befitting you; and we have never seen an individual, either man or woman, of any race on earth display such beauty as she, and it would be perfect folly on your part to die for love of your former wife instead of going to take her." When the king heard the account the messengers gave of the young lady, he became deeply enamoured of her, jumped out of his bed with great vigour, and inquired who was the father of the young lady, and what was the reason they had not brought her along with them voluntarily or forcibly. "King Donn son of Iomchada, son of Miodhna, son of Caischlothach, a descendant of the family of Cearmad Milbheoil, son of Dagdha, of the original race of the Tuatha De Dananns, is her father," said they; "and we were not sufficiently numerous to give him battle; and had not we been enjoying his own hospitality, he would have put us all to death for asking his daughter, for it was what he said, that since his daughter had been engaged to another man he would not give her to you." "Where does this man reside?" inquired Nabghodon. "In an island on the coast of Ireland king Donn resides, where he owns likewise a lofty, splendid city, and has a body of troops armed with keen-pointed javelins always prepared for battle," responded they. "I will make an incursion there," said Nabghodon; "for I will bring me the army of Hiruadha thither, and the inhabitants of that city shall be slain, he himself shall fall there, and finally I shall have his daughter, and that island shall remain as conquered land to me for ever." Nabghodon thereupon mustered his forces, and invited all the nobles of Hiruadha to attend. They began to prepare a banquet, and when it was ready and the guests feasting Nabghodon said to them, "Prepare your ships and furnish your fleet that we may undertake an expedition to capture that city and to carry away the young lady by force." "We will do that," said they. And they prepared their ships and furnished their fleet so that they were speedily in perfect readiness for the expedition. So far it is with regard to the affairs of Nabghodon, son of Iruadh.

With regard to king Donn, he had information that this great armament of the son of Iruadh was already on its way against him. And we must relate with respect to Congal how he was then engaged—that is, he was presiding over a muster of the people of his territory who were repairing his ships and swift barks. It was on that occasion Fachtna Finn the poet said:—"Let us depart from Ireland anon; for if the clanna Rudhraidhe oppose us they shall cause us danger." "Say not so, O Fachtna," replied Congal; "for we have already vanquished the chief enemy of that race, namely, Niall Niamhghlonach, son of Rudhraidhe, and also the best man among them, namely Feargus, son of Lede; I will myself encounter and prevent him from doing you any hurt in the battle. "Nevertheless, it is high time for you to depart from Ireland," said Fachtna, and they repeated the following lay:—

Fachtna. "It is time for us to embark upon the boundless sea
Since the districts of Eire are about to be devastated,
Ferocious otters on every occasion
Are the chieftains of clanna Rudhraidhe.

Congal. "Do not express such words, O man,
O Fachtna Fionn, the poet,
I will shield you in battle from that man,
The huge Feargus, son of Lede.

Fachtna. "Ere we shall have the strongholds of Niall destroyed,
Let us carry their treasures far away
To the stronghold of Mac Lir—
It is time to put to sea." (5)

He called together the chiefs of his people, and entered into consultation with them; they all were of opinion that it was high time to depart from Ireland. "Let us leave, then," said Congal, "and I will go to the house of king Donn and consummate the marriage with his daughter." As to king Donn, being indeed informed about the expedition of Nabghodon against him, his people advised him that he should not meet the forces of Huardha in his own Island, since druidism or the power of mysterious knowledge could afford him no protection. "Well then," said he, "it is better for me to go to Congal, since it is he himself that will protect his wife against them, whilst I am unable to muster a sufficient number of forces to meet them in battle, and your druidical mists are no protection unless Congal shall assist us." (6) He accordingly set out from the island to pay a visit to Congal. It happened that Congal had then his shipping in repair, his sails unbent, and all his forces properly arranged, when they discerned a single corrach bounding over the waves of the ocean approaching them; it contained only one noble-looking handsome man. They continued to observe it for some time until Congal said, "I know that man in the corrach; he is king Donn, son of Iomchadha, and coming to me to know if I am ready to wed his daughter." King Donn steered his corrach towards the fleet of Congal, and saluted him. "Where is this fleet destined for, O'Congal?" inquired king Donn, "To your house," responded Congal. "That will prove advantageous to us," said king Donn, "since a larger fleet than yours is on its way to invade us." "Whose fleet is it?" asked Congal. "That of Nabghodon son of Ioruadh, who sent to demand

(5) *To sea.*—Conghal's enemies had mustered so strongly that he was compelled to leave Ulster; but instead of seeking protection in the stronghold of MacLir, as the chief poet suggested, he went to Rathlin at a very critical moment in that island's history, and by his valour in repelling a northern invasion there (which, had it been successful, would have extended to the coasts of Ulster), he inspired his Irish antagonists with respect, and even fear for his prowess. We find from the subsequent portion of this narrative that, after his decided victory over the king of Norway, in Rathlin, his rival, Fergus *MacLede*, was quite willing that Conghal should again have a peaceable residence in Ulster. *Lir* was the founder of a great island family whose chiefs in succession appear to have borne the epithet *Manannan*, 'of Man,' which was their principal place of residence. Cormac's glossary, written about the year 890, refers to the founder of this house in the following words:—"Manannan MacLir, that is a famous merchant who resided in *Inis Manann* (Isle of Man); he was the best mariner in Western Europe. He used to know through heaven custom, that is, the custom of examining the heavens, the length of time the fair and foul weather would last, and when either of these two periods would change—*inde Scoti Britones eum deum vocaverunt maris; ejus inde filium esse dixerunt—i.e.*, Mac Lir, *i.e*, son of the sea; *et de nomine Manannan, Inis Manannan dicta est nomen, et de nomine Manann Insula Manann dicta est.*" The chieftains of the race of Lir had also a family residence in the island of Arran (Frith of Clyde), which island was then known by the name of *Emhain Abhlach*, or 'Emhain of the Appletrees.' (See *Atlantis*, vol. iv., pp. 228, 229.) The stronghold of MacLir, therefore, whose protection Fachtna so urgently pressed Conghal to seek, must have been situated either in the Isle of Man or Isle of Arran.

(6) *Assist us.*—"This people (the Tuatha De Danann) were the possessors of Erin at the coming of the Milesian colony; and having been conquered by the Milesians, and disdaining to live in subjection to a more material and less spiritual power than their own, their chiefs were imagined to have put on the garb of a heathen immortality, and selecting for themselves the most beautiful situations of hills, lakes, islands, &c., throughout the land, to have built for themselves, or caused to spring up splendid halls in the midst of those chosen situations, into which they entered, drawing a veil of magic around them to hide them from mortal eyes, but through which they had power to see all that was passing on earth. These immortal mortals were then believed not only to take husbands and wives from amongst the sons and daughters of men, but also to give and receive mutual assistance in their battles and wars respectively."—(See O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials for Ancient Irish History*, p. 505.) The *druidism* mentioned in the text which king Donn had fairly lost faith in, was some jugglery founded on this ancient belief.

your wife from me," responded king Donn, "but I did not give her to him, and he is now on his way with a very formidable fleet to force her from me—come then and protect her from them." "O, king Donn, proceed before me, and prepare for the reception of those chieftains belonging to me, and tell Taise Taobhgheal that I will myself encounter Nabghodon; for if he shall come to claim her as his prize, he shall fall by my hand." And he said this lay :—

"King Donn, proceed to your strong hold,
Get in readiness your lances and swords—
Assemble now, from every quarter,
The chiefs of the clanna Rudhraidhe.
Tell unto Taise Taobhgheal,
The far-famed young lady,
That when Nabghodon shall arrive from the north,
I shall oppose him at once in battle.
Should Nabghodon come from the north,
The king of Hiruadh, with a large army,
It is certain he shall be slain in the onslaught,
I assure you, O King Donn."

King Donn, thereupon, departed and proceeded before them to his own city to attend them, and make arrangements for them; and Congal, with the whole strength of his forces, followed, and they there received the refreshment of the bath and aquatic exercise, while they were furnished with a sufficiency of food and ale; and they all afterwards came into the great palace, for king Donn had so arranged that he prepared a palace outside of his fortress for the reception of Congal. "Congal," said he, "let you yourself henceforth manage your banquetting hall, and make arrangements for settling your people." "O Fraoch, the druid, tell us how shall this palace fare to-night?" "This is the palace I foretold, should be assaulted," said Fraoch, "and it behoves you to defend it well." "We shall do so," said they, "for though the forces of Nabghodon coming against us are numerous, nevertheless, we shall be more victorious than they." Congal then came into the palace and sat on his regal seat. "Well, O Fergus," said Congal, "in what part of this house shall you be to-night?" "I shall be in the northern porch of the house," responded Fergus; for should Nabghodon arrive he would make for the northern part." And Fergus went and placed his warlike weapons above his head in the open porch, and Muireadhach Meirgeach, son of the King of Alba, came to occupy the other open porch to support Fergus. Anadhal Eachtach, son of the king of Concan (Connaught), with his three hundred Connicani, came and occupied the gate next to Congal in the palace; and Criomthan Cosgrach, son of Fergus Fairrge, and Cairbre Congain-chreasach, son of Cairbre Crom, occupied the next gate to that; Oilioll Teoradh-gaoth and Oilioll Teoradh-crioch occupied the other gate. King Donn, son of Iomchadha, together with the chiefs of Rachruinn, from King Donn to Archuill, were located at the right hand side of Congal, while Taise Taobhgeal and her female attendants were placed on the other side of Congal. Those sons of kings were stationed upon the balconies of the palace; and Fachtna Fionn, the the bard, and Fraoch the druid, sat in presence of Congal, and although they were filled with apprehension and fear, yet they nevertheless indulged in the pleasures of the table, and enjoyed a great deal of music.

As to Nabghodon, son of Ioruadh, he put to sea with a large fleet, destined to sail to Ireland for the daug'.ter of king Donn, and the pilots who guided them on their voyage were those men whom they sent previously to Ireland. They steered directly to Rachruinn, and they saw the light of burning lamps while they were still out at sea. "Good pilots," said Nabghodon, "what place is that where the great light is which we see?" "It is our opinion," said they, "that it is at king Donn's palace it is, and it is there the woman is we are seeking for you; and it is also our opinion that the man she was betrothed to—namely, the son of the monarch of Ireland, is there to-night celebrating his nuptials." "I wish he may be there," said Nabghodon, "and let the crews of three ships proceed to explore the island, and let them bring us information concerning the city." These went forth to examine the island. As to Feargus, he was listening to the murmuring of the sea on the northern side, and he heard the plashing of the large ships coming to anchor on the island. Feargus started out and assumed his arms expeditiously. When Muireadheach Meirgeach, son of the king of Alba, saw that, he followed Feargus out, and hastened to assist Feargus in guarding the harbour. When the first ship of these entered into port, Feargus grasped the prow with his two large powerful hands, and shook it so powerfully that its planks started asunder, its binding bolts flew out, as well as all its other fastenings, and all its timbers separated, and the crew fell through the yawning wreck on the strand. . . . . And Muireadhach Meirgeach, son of the King of Alba, began to slaughter with assiduity the warriors, while Feargus boarded the next ship, and commenced to slaughter the crew. Muireadhach Meirgeach followed him into each ship of these, and thus they succeeded in slaying, without giving quarters, the crews of the ships. (7) They then returned to the palace, and, having raised their weapons above their heads, each of them sat in his own place; yet they made no boast at all of the achievements they performed. Nabghodon, accompanied by the full fleet, then came after his people, and the condition in which he found them was that of mangled, bleeding, beaten corses in every nook of their vessels, and their ships complete wrecks. "What a horrible state our men are in," exclaimed Nabghodon, "and how shockingly they have all been murdered in so short a time!" They heard cries of joy in the palace. "Let us march to the palace, young men," said Nabghodon, "and avenge the murder of our people upon all the Irishmen within it. Fetch rocks and stones from the harbour with you, that we may shatter that palace with them." Thus they came against the palace armed with heavy loads of stones from the strand. And when they reached it they made a furious assault upon the palace, so that the shields, javelins, and swords that were fixed up fell upon the heads of the men, and the upright columns of stone that supported the roof of the palace prevented it from falling in upon them. Thereupon Feargus, starting up, rushed out, and Muireadhach Meirgeach followed him; they took a speedy circuit around the palace, and made a courageous, manly attack on the besiegers from the palace, and one hundred warriors of them were slain. They returned into the palace after that, and raised their bloody weapons above their heads in it, and they afterwards quenched their thirst and refreshed themselves. All the foreigners

(7) *The ships.*—This description implies simply that these boats' crews were cast upon the rocks and slaughtered by the parties they had come to subjugate, just as Ralph Bagenall's thirty men were slain among the rocks on the shore of Rathlin, in 1551, by James and Colla Macdonnell. See p. 50, *supra*.

in a body returned to the palace, and made an assault upon all the gates around it. When Anadhal Eachtach, son of the king of the Connicati, and his three hundred Connicatians saw what they had done, they rushed out and made great slaughter amongst the forces of Nabghodon, and they routed and pursued them until they reached the place where Nabghodon was. After that they returned to the palace and quenched their thirst.

Nabghodon thereupon encouraged his men to make a sudden attack upon the palace. They surrounded it from every quarter, and raised a cry around it. Feargus and Muireadhach Meirgeach rushed out a second time, and having made a great havock of the forces, succeeded in routing them from the palace in every direction. They returned to the palace and sat again in their own seats. Nabghodon then said, "Let us proceed to the palace, and burn it and all that are in it." A strong force of the noble youths of Huardha proceeded to attack the palace, and shot fiery arrows at it. The two sons of the King of Connacht,namely, Oilioll Teora-Gaoth and Oilioll Teora-crioch, rushed out, and having made a great carnage outside, returned to the palace after they did so. This act greatly intimidated all the forces of Huardha. "We never before heard of the wondrous achievements the men of Ireland can perform," said Nabghodon. A strong battalion of men then marched to attack the palace, and made a determined attempt to break open the gates. Feargus and Muireadhach Meirgeach rushed out again from the south entrance of the palace, and routed all the assailants as far as the shore. They returned to the palace after having done so, but they had scarcely time to quench their thirst when a host of assailants raised a great cry around the palace. Thereupon Criomhthan Cosgarach, son of Feargus Fairrge, and Cairbre Congan-chreasach, son of Cairbre Crom, went out, and one of them having attacked those on the right hand side of the palace, and the other on the left, fought in defence of the palace. They routed all the assailants from around it; and they had scarcely had time to put up their weapons when the assaulting army flocked around the palace again. Feargus and Muireadhach Meirgeach started out again; and though the enemy were numerous, they succeeded in routing them from around the palace, and they pursued them until they took refuge in the midst of the foreigners, while they themselves cut their way through the midst of the enemy despite of opposition, and returned to the palace, where Muireadhach raised aloud his shout of triumph. Nabghodon then said—"It is cowardly and weakly my army makes an attack upon the forces in the palace; and my brave warriors of Huardha, let us march forward to destroy the palace, for it is a duty incumbent on us all to join in the assault." The whole force proceeded to attack the palace that moment, and they raised a cry on every side and at every corner of it—they then set fire to it in every part. The three companions (foster-brothers) of Congal, namely, Merne, Semhne, and Lathairne, (8) rushed out by the southern gate of the palace, and they quenched the fire and the firebrands, having slain the party of incendiaries on proceeding to the right hand side of the palace, and they did not stop until they entered by the same gate, and by the acute points of their javelins and the keenness of their swords the army of the palace succeeded in dispersing the enemy. Again the foreigners made a terrible attack upon the palace, broke in the gates, and disturbed the festivities of the citizens.

They passed over that night in enmity and watchfulness until day came with its

(8) *Lathairne.*—Latharna, the old name for the district of Larne, is probably derived from this chieftain.

lustrous lights of the next morning. But when day appeared Congal said, "Arise my watchful sentries, assume your arms, and make an attack from the gates of the palace." It was then they took their shields from the pins on which they were suspended, and their javelins from their rests, so that the whole palace shook terribly and roughly by the noise made by the four battalions, for there was no other palace like that palace. Thereupon Feargus rose up and assumed his armour. He came out of the palace and attacked the enemy's forces. Wherever the thick of the army was, it is there Feargus made an attack, and cut a destructive passage through the forces. It was then Congal went forth, with his well-appointed battalion against the foreigners, having his numerous, splendid, many-coloured banners raised above their heads. When the King of Huardha observed that, he arranged his battalion in such manner that he formed a breastwork of strong foreign shields around himself. Having recognised each other, their battalions engaged in a furious inimical conflict, while both performed prodigies of valour and thinned the ranks of each other. Feargus then made his way there, and carved the passage of a hero through the ranks of the foreigners. It was on that occasion the first anger ever known to have seized Feargus was observed. Anadhal, son of the king of the Connicati, with his three hundred Connicatians, joined in the conflict, and they blew their fiery breathing upon the enemy's forces, making a gap of one hundred men in the battle, and dispersing and putting to flight the battalions. It was then the valour and fury of Nabghodon was aroused, and he made a vigorous attack upon the army of Congal, who did not before enter into personal conflict or combat with him. He reflected that any help was at too great a distance from him, and he did not much care to die provided that his fame should be preserved in the recollection of his people; accordingly, he hastened nobly and inimically where Congal was in the battle, and both champions fought with each other, and their combat was really that of two champions, while they displayed the courage of two lions, the ferocity of two bears, and the strength of two oxen during their conflict. They suffered no person to approach within a distance of thirty feet of them on either side, in consequence of the fury of their combat and the danger of their engagement. They were engaged in that combat from the dawn of early morning until the close of the day. The anger and animosity of Nabghodon against Congal increased at that time, when all the poets, musicians, women, and children of the city were near them looking on the fight, and Bricne was likewise there, and seeing Congal on point of being vanquished, Bricne roared so loud that he attracted the attention of all the Ultonians in the city upon him, and he said :—"Upon thee, O Congal, be thy trepidity, and it is to be feared that Feargus, son of Lede, has banished you from Ulster in consequence of your weakness and cowardice; it is also to be feared that Nabghodon will cut off your head and then carry away your wife." It was then Congal assumed his own strength and power, and he made a furious blow at Nabghodon by which he cleft his shield completely; he made a second blow at him by which he severed his head from his body, and having taken up the head in his hand exhibited it before the whole army of Huardha, which smote them with so much terror that they were easily vanquished. They had a very short way to pursue in their flight unless they plunged into the sea; and though the carnage on the field of battle was great, it was still much greater on the shore, when the victorious warriors reached the shipping, so that all the army of Huardha was slain by Congal and his people. Their heads were piled into cairns and their

clothes burned into ashes in that place, while his spoil was given to Congal. They were the people of Congal who suffered most on that occasion, and numerous were those they lost, while leaders were wounded, and Congal himself was severely wounded. King Donn, and Taise Taobhgheal his daughter, came to visit Congal; the daughter placed her arm around his neck and carefully examined his wounds and scars. She also examined the head of Nabghodon, "It is a royal head indeed," said she, "and it is well for us that he is deprived of life, and also well for the Ultonians that he is as he is; it is lamentable to reflect on the incident," and she said this lay:—

"Large is that head upon the hill,
Astounding the amount of evil it did.
Nabghodon, the son of Iruadh,
Did a great deal of mischief.
Nabghodon, who came from the north,
King of Huardha, with a great army,
Congal severed off his head—
He being a descendant of clanna Rudhraidhe.
Though they have come from afar,
To us at the coasts of Rachruinn,
It is better than the enjoyment of a feast,
How we have fought the great battle."

They passed over into the palace after that, and were placed in well glazed *grianans*, and in white, extensive, well-furnished houses; physicians were employed to heal their wounds, and they remained a fortnight over a month in the residence of king Donn. They were among a friendly people, who expended a great deal on them, and succeeded in healing them. When they were able to travel, and they had enjoyed the great banquet and marriage-feast, king Donn said to Congal, "Well, Congal," said he, "bring your wife now with you, and request the clanna Rudhraidhe to give you lands for her; for I do not wish the Ultonians should be inimical to me on her account." "They shall not indeed be so," responded Congal; "but let Angota son of Lun, and Bricne son of Cairbre, proceed to Eamhain of Macha and solicit Feargus son of Lede, and the chiefs of Ulster for lands in my name for my wife, and I will engage that my enmity and the enmity of Feargus son of Rosa shall not trouble them as remuneration." They set out on their journey to Eamhain soon after, but the purport of their journey reached Eamhain before themselves. The people there considered that the battle Congal gained over the forces of Huardha entitled him to permission to govern the province, therefore they were welcomed by those princes who asked them tidings of that battle. They gave full information concerning it. "What business brought you here?" asked the chiefs of Ulster. "We came to solicit you for lands for the wife of Congal, namely the daughter of king Donn, and Congal engages to keep his own enmity and that of Feargus son of Rosa from giving any annoyance to the Ultonians as an equivalent," said they. "Let Congal himself come to Ireland," said Fergus son of Lede, "and since he has promised to abstain from being at enmity with the Ultonians, I will give him the kingdom of Ulster; for he is elder and more noble than I am." "He will not take that from you," said Angota; "for he has pledged his word that he would not take the sovereignty of Ulster before he made a conquest of the sovereignty of Ireland." (9) "If he has

(9) *Of Ireland.*—This pledge on the part of Congal was duly observed. After his victory in Rathlin, he spent a few years in Sweden and other Northern countries forming alliances and collecting forces for a descent on

said so," said Feargus son of Lede, "I will give you a good tract of land to his wife. "What land is that?" inquired they. "The cantred of land most contiguous to the dominions of her own father," replied Feargus son of Lede. "You may well give him that," said Bircne, "for you should want the sovereignty of Ulster unless you consented to give it." "If that be what he desires he shall have it from me without any dispute," said Feargus son of Lede. The messengers thereupon returned to Congal at the residence of king Donn. Congal questioned them as to whether they had obtained a grant of the land for him that they went to solicit. "We have," replied they; "and Feargus son of Lede, king of Ulster, will give you, if you have any desire for it, the sovereignty of Ulster; he has given the cantred of land nighest her father's territory, down as far as Dun Sobhairce (Dunseverick), to your wife. (10) Congal was glad to hear this, and king Donn settled his daughter on that cantred, and gave her a great deal of substance; he also built there a fortress for her called Dun Taise; and Dun Taise is the name of that whole tract of country (11) still.

[On reading the foregoing curious extract, one is inclined to ask *how far can it be true?* Can it be possible that Rathlin, now so bleak and remote, and comparatively unknown, was once the scene of such "moving incidents" as are here described? Does the island contain any traces in its soil, or on its surface, that its early inhabitants were a warlike people, or that its kings occupied a fortified residence of such strength and importance as we are led by this ancient tract to infer? To these questions a few well known facts may perhaps furnish some reply—they appear at least to corroborate some statements of the narrative in a rather remarkable manner. The Norwegians are represented as approaching the northern coast of Rathlin, and as being attracted by the lights of the town and palace, even whilst they must have been at a considerable distance from the island. This is a proof that the royal residence must have been situated on the northern coast, and in an elevated position. Now, it so happens that, at the most elevated point of the northern coast, about a mile from the western extremity of the island, there remain distinct traces of a large building which stood a little way inland from the cliffs, and commanded the grandest and most extensive view on all sides.

Ireland, and with the avowed object of raising himself to the monarchy of Ireland. On his return, he landed in the present Bay of Dundrum, and it so happened that on his arrival his antagonist, Fergus Mac Lede, was enjoying the hospitalities of *Câthair Boirché*, the residence of *Eochaidh Salbhuidhé*, the chief of the southern part of the present county of Down. In an Irish historical tract still preserved, and entitled *Argain Cathair Boirché*, or 'slaughter at Castle Boirché,' there is a narrative of Conghal's march from Dundrum upon that fortress and of his surrounding and destroying the whole assembly then gathered within its walls. He afterwards marched to Tara, where a fierce encounter took place between his troops and those of the monarch Lughaidh. The latter were defeated; the monarch was captured and beheaded, and Conghal proclaimed sovereign of Eirinn in his stead.

(10) *Your wife.*—A *cantred* of land contained 120 quarters or thirty *ballys*, each quarter containing one hundred and twenty acres of the large Irish measure.

(11) *Of country.*—The town of Ballycastle, on the coast opposite Rathlin, stands at the foot of a beautiful glen which stretches along the north-western base of Knocklayd, more accurately *Cnoc-Lede*, or 'hill of Lede,' this chief being probably the father of Fergus *MacLede* mentioned above as king of the northern part of Ulster. Down this glen runs the *Tow* water, whose name is perhaps the modern form of the ancient *Taise*. This glen still contains many very interesting remains of the past. Among these are the ruins of three *Duns* or fortresses, which must have been originally of large dimensions, and were very strongly fortified by their natural position. Near these mounds is a place called Carnatley, more properly *Carn Natluagh*, Natluagh being a prince of the Rudrician or northern Ultonian race. At a little distance from Carnatley is *Craig-na-Ghat*, where a great number of urns were found in a large cave several years ago. The glen is yet beautified by fragments of its original forest. Here probably stood *Dun-Taise*, the fortress built by the king of Rathlin for his daughter, Taise Tobhgheal. This cantred, extending along the coast from Knocklayd to Dunseverick, was five miles long, just the length of the island of Rathlin. See p. 133, *supra*.

The remains of this edifice consist now of—first, an oval-shaped mound, whose diameter on the top measures 156 feet by 105; secondly, the foundations of a surrounding wall about ten feet in breadth, built of stone without mortar, and intended as a protection to the interior; and lastly, the ruins of a building inside this wall, about forty feet in length and ten broad. The whole structure appears to have been erected with a view to strength and security, and was used no doubt as a place of refuge for the royal family when their little dominion happened to be invaded by a hostile force. There may also be still seen, on an elevated site at the eastern side of the island, near Doon Point, the ruins of another building which must have been of an almost equally formidable character. This latter structure was also surrounded by a wall of stone about three feet in breadth, and the circular space thus enclosed was upwards of an hundred feet in diameter. At the northern entrance of this building, there are still two granite pillars, or rather the remains of them, for they appear as but fragments of their originals. Either here, or at the ruins on the northern coast, probably stood the 'palace' mentioned above, whose roof was supported by pillars of stone, and which resisted the fierce and repeated assaults of its Norwegian assailants. The ruin now known as *Bruce's Castle*, is generally supposed to be the oldest in the island, but it is modern when compared with the remains now mentioned.

Again, our scepticism on reading of the ornaments and armour worn by Rathlin's ancient kings and chieftains will give way, when we find that specimens of each class of relics are found frequently in the soil of this little kingdom. We read in the *Túin Bo Cuailgné*, of the gold ornaments on the armour of prince Reochaid or Ruadh (the red-haired) of Rathlin, and not many years ago, a crescent-shaped ornament of pure gold was brought to light by the ploughshare, in a field at the southern end of the island. The modern value of the gold in this relic was upwards of ten pounds sterling. In a field near Church Bay, which was broken up for cultivation about sixty years ago, many graves were discovered, formed of unhewn stones, and containing skeletons so utterly decayed as only to present a dusty outline of the human frame. One of these receptacles contained an elaborately ornamented small fibula, and a collection of beads. Many urns, having various patterns wrought on them, were found near the stone coffins, and several brazen spear heads and iron swords have been dug up from time to time. The graves in this field were each carefully covered with a stone slab, and over that one in which the fibula and beads were found, stood a large limestone slab, somewhat resembling a modern tombstone, but without any sculpture or inscription. Very recently, other remains were found nearly at the same place, consisting of a tomb, or stone coffin of unhewn stones, containing a skeleton, an urn full of ashes, and a sword, all of which crumbled to pieces on being exposed to the air. The skull bore evident marks of having been fractured by some blunt weapon, wielded probably by a Norwegian arm.

The fortress and palace of king Donn were doubtless built of the beautiful lime-stone of the island, which gave to these structures the dazzling white appearance mentioned by the ancient chronicler. The *grianans*, or sunny chambers of the palace, it is stated, were made of glass. Fronting these apartments stood Kinbann or 'White-Head' on the west, and Benmore, now Fairhead, on the east.]

V.

Tract by sir Thomas Smith on the Colonisation of Ards in County of Down.

(See p. 152, *supra.*)

[THE following tract, which was printed in 1572, has now become exceedingly rare. It is highly interesting on the subject to which it relates, and certainly not the less so as having been one of the "books spred in print," whose publication alarmed Sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill for the safety of his territory, and was doubtless a means of urging him into revolt. See *Montgomery Manuscripts*, new edition, p. 59.]

A Letter sent by T. B. Gentleman unto his very frende Mayster R. C. Esquire, wherin is conteined a large discourse of the peopling and inhabiting the Cuntrie called the Ardes, and other adiacent in the North of Ireland, and taken in hand by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Queens Maisties priuie counsel, and Thomas Smith Esquire his sonne.

SUCHE doubtes and exceptions frende R. C. as I haue heard alleged and put forthe to onhable that enterprise of peopling and replenishing with the English nation the North of Ireland, which, with the assistance of Sir Thomas Smith, one of her Maisties Counsell, Mayster Thomas Smith his sonne, hath undertook to bring to passe, maketh mee that I can not holde from you my so singuler freende those arguments wherewith through conference had with him upon his sayde attempt by reason of our greate familiaritie hee hath fully persuaded and satisfied mee, Chiefly because I woulde confirme you in that whiche he hathe a little broke unto you, and partly because I would not have you waver in your promise thorow the vaine allegations of some, which eyther are ignorant altogither of his purpose or whose understanding can not stretche to a matter of so greate aduice or of suche who are of base and cowardly courages in the executions of matters of great importance, or els of enuious disposition ; partely also because I would not have his most commendable enterprise in his absence defaced for the greate affection I beare him, whom I know most sufficient to answer every point, article, and objection, can bee layd ageinst him in this behalf although I have nothing but that which, through much conference, I have drawen from him.

And firste by the way holde this for a maxime, that there hath bene at no time any notable attempt taken in hand without enuy, doubt, and defacing. The reason is, that because they are actions apperteyning to the increase or furtheraunce of a whole governement, they are also much noted, wherein every man will have his veridit. Some as it aforesayd not knowing halfe, wil answere at the first as they are affectionate to the partie or countrie; others that have bet their braines a little to understand y whiche their conceit wil not stretche vnto, take it vnpossible, The third, that ground the lengthening of their liues terme by home dwelling, and their cuntrie seruice performed, if as a cipher in a gra they fil y roume of a man, preserue their own, althogh many times they conceiue the likelyhode, and comend the thing, yet they neuer are inwardlye resolued of their doubtes superstitiously afrayd to enter into any vnvsual dooings but the last greewed to see honest woorkes attempted, and likely to be brought to passe (while they liue idle) to hide their neglegence, enuiouslye slaunder and deface all good purposes, suche is the nature of man, but I will now to the matter.

Ireland is a large Cuntrie, commended wonderfully for fertilenesse and commodious site therof, wherin the Kings of England haue had footing and continuall gournement these foure hundred yeeres and more But so as the barbarous Nation at no time fully subdued, throgh their often rebellion, haue bene rather an anoy and charge to this Realme of England than otherwise, which some men have imputed to the impossibilitie thereof, or to the evil gouernment of Deputies, which eyther haue bene neglygent or corrupt. But Maister Smith, to see and knowe the truthe, trauayled thither in the companie of Sir VVilliam Fitzwilliams, now Lord Justice there, minding after serche heerof made (for now beganne the desire of this attempt to root in his hart) to declare his opinion, if he thought it myght be accepted, and hath founde that the decay of the gouernment there hath not chaunced because that the planting at the firste of the Englishe Nation (so muche as it was) was not for the time substancially done, nor by the negligence and corruptnesse of the gouernours there, wherof within our remembraunce hath bene a successive order of noble, iust, wise, and sufficient persons, But hathe growne by the necessetie which hath constrayned the gouernours to give protections and pardons vnto moste heynous rebels and outlawes, after they haue spoyled, murthred, and made hauocke of the good subiects for lack of sufficient forces wherewith to attache and execute the sayde malefactours by reason of the

spare supplye at all times made to them by the Prince, who, at the firste inhabyting thereof, mynding more the Kyngdome of Fraunce, and thinking all to little for that purposed conquest, neglected Ireland as a matter of small importance, then worst looked to, when England itselfe was a prise or rewarde to them that best could besturre thēselues of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster; and if you wil marke the stories, you shal finde great reasons that have moved the Prince to bee spare of charges in that Cuntrie, and a consequence of decay in that government.

About the time of the first entrie of the Englishe in Ireland made that they begā to settle, arose y Barons warre, in England, that weakened and decayed all at home, Fraunce was chargeable too bee mainteyned with many garrisōs a great waster bothe of men and money, yet a thing whereto the Princes were more bent thā to Irelande, so that we may early perceive and iudge, that the Irishe whiche yet remayned vnsubdued, taking adauntage of the time, whiles the cheef that had authoritie there, were called over to upholde their factions here, possessed againe their land and expelled the new inhabitants : found without bed and scarce yet wel settled which could not be recouered againe so soone, because suche as were rune ouer after they had wasted themselues in ciuile warres, and had in the meane time lost their landes in Ireland lost also their credite with such as at the first adventured vnder them, by reason they had forsaken, and lefte them open to the spoile ; nor the Princes being eaten out also with ciuile discord and with the charges of France unto which they were more addicted, had the treasure to spare for the reformation thereof. Only King Richard the second, in hyes owne person, attempting the same, was ouertaken with ciuile discension and deposed, whiche hath ever since discouraged his successours personally to attēpt the like, Thus home warres still increasing, with the Armies in Fraunce (a deuouring grave of this nation), and lastly the losse therof, so weakened and impouerished the Crown of England, that both people and money wanted therein, much good land lying waste for lacke of inhabitaunts, that it was more time to recover by rest that which was wanting at home than to send abrode that could not be spared. And the Princes contented thēselues if they myght onely preserue a footyng or entrye into Ireland wyth some small charge, whereby the gouernours were cōstreyned for wante of supply by protections and pardons to appease every rebellion, which otherwise to represse and punish they were not sufficiently furnished. This perceived of the Irish, made them that uppon euery light occasion they will flie out, and, satisfied with bloud and burning, will not, without protection and pardon, be brought in. The Englishe race overrunne and daily spoiled, seeing no punishment of malefactors did buy their owne peace, alied and fostred themselves with the Irishe, and the race so nourished in the bosome of the Irishe, perceiving their immunitie from law and punishmente degenerated, choosing rather to maintain themselves in the Irish mans beastly liberty thā to submit themselues and to lieue there alone, and not the Irish in the goodly awe of the lawes of England, This degenerating and daily decay of the English manners by little and little in the countrey, discorageth those that have not perfectly wayed all that is aforesaid, to attempt any new enterprise. The Prince seeing no manne forwarde therein, is weryed with the continuaunce of the yerely great charge which her majestie liberall aboue her predecessoures hath borne more willingly, and to this the first entering of the English, their first inhabiting, the order and manner thereof, is almost worne out of memorie and forgotten, their decay and wasting daily to be seene.

All these things when my frend being then in Ireland, had informed himselfe of, by diligent inquisition he fell to consider what way were fittest for oure time to reforme the same, and if it were reformed, I meane the whole countrey replenished with Englishe men, what profite that coulde be to the estate of Englande, hath sithens his returne tolde me divers times, that he thought Irelande once inhabited with Englishe men, and polliced with Englishe lawes, would be as great commoditie to the Prince as the realme of England, the yerely rent and charges saved, that is now laide out to maintaine a garrison therein, for there cannot be (sayeth he) a more fertile soile thorowe out the worlde for that climate than it is, a more pleasant, healthful, full of springs, rivers, great fresh lakes, fishe, and foule, and of moste commodious herbers, England giveth nothing save fine woolle, that will not be had also moste abundantly there, it lacketh only inhabitants, manurance, and pollicie.

As for the meanes how to subdue and replenishe the same (sayeth he), they were easie to be devised, if the Queenes maiestie wold once take it upō hir, with army maintained at hir charges ; but sith hir highnesse is not bent thereto, what other meanes is to be followed ; he hath heeretofore in his first offer to the Queenes maisties Counsell declared, which is that which he nowe followeth, and so many that have not in them selves the will or grace to do so well, do impugne, which I will heere defende and persuade you in as a thing moste reasonable, faisable, and commendable.

He hathe taken in hande withoute his Maiesties pay to win and replenish with Englishe inhabitantes the countrey called the Ardes in the Northe of Irelande, and some partes thereto adioyning. Is there any think you, that heare only thus much of the enterprise, and will not commend the manifest good disposition of his towardes his countrey and his Princes service, Yes, and if he finde meanes to bring it to passe withoute the Queenes pay, his invention is the more

to be commended, But npon this doe they grounde all their argumentes, that either are not capable of the meanes, or else had rather speake againste it, than learne the like lihoode.

What (say they), it is not possible to win or inhabite any parte of Irelande, without the Queenes pay, hir forces and expences, and yet the first entry wch the Englishe men made into Irelande, was in Henrie the secondes time, with his licence, by Strangbovve, Earle of Chepstow, at his owne charges, and the charges of his adherents, at what time the Countrey was replenished with inhabitants, and devided only into five kingdomes ; who with a small number entred into ye same, and subdued ye Kingdô, which is nowe called Leinster, which he possessed and held quietly, plantyng it with Englyshe inhabytants, and placing Englishe Lawes, until the King envying his proceedings, and fearing to haue so great a Subject, enforced him to surrender his right, whiche he did, and this was the first foting of Englishe men in that Land, not by the King's power, without which as I have sayd, divers hold an opinion no good can be ther done, some I say, that have bene Capitaines there, wil persuade you in ye same, whom if you will aske what good service they have done, wil answer you, with xl footmen to have kept a Castle, and reaped the commoditie of the Lande adjacent in the middes of the enemies territory, yea, and with a hundred footmen and a fewe Horse, to have kepte whole Countries of the Irishe in awe and obeysance, and yet averre, that without the Princes pay, it is not possible to inhabite in any Cuntrie there ; as though there were more vertue in a quantitie of the Princes money, thã in so muche of other mennes, or that the like to their deeds have not bene donne in Ireland before them, and dayly since, that it were a greater matter for too bring too passe now in that which is least Irishe, and devided into an hundred factions, and having not the meanes to holde themselves together ten dayes if they should assemble, than it was in Strangbowes tyme, when the whole was devyded into five partes onely, in the prime of their forces and government, But how frivolous their sayings bene, you may by this easily cõiecture.

Muche more than that whiche Strangbowe wonne remayneth not at this day ciuile in Irelande ; but many parcels have been wonne by the English men therein without the King's forces, whiche eyther by the occasions afore rehersed were lost, or els for lack of inward policy degenerated, as great countries in Munster, by the Geraldines and Butlers ; In Connalt, by the Burges, In Meth, by Nogent, In Vlster sometimes by Lacy Earl of Lincolne, after him by Mortimer, yea a great part of the Arde was and is possessed by the Sauages, in whose ofspring, which at this time holde it, saue the name, remayneth nothing English, with diuers other parcelles, which, for shortnesse sake, I let passe. But the cause why they loste it againe, or els degenerated, is declared before.

Let thus in my exãples suffize to shew that the enterpryse is possyble, and hath often bene done. If they wil not yet let reason serue—that if a hundred or two of footmen, and fiftie or a hundred Horse, hauing the Queens pay to mainteine, can keepe and defend the Arde, then so many horsemen and footemen, as wel payed and mainteyned, can also and as sufficientlye keepe and defend the Arde ; and thus by proportion, a greater number a greater cuntrie, except there be other mistery in the Queens pay than I can hear or perceive, where many times foure score and ten, and those not allwayes cõplete, make a good hundred.

Wel (wil you say), I graunt that three hundred are sufficient to defend the Arde. But when every man is retired to dwel 'vpõ his own, then will the enemy (which wayleth hys tyme on ewery side), in the winter nights, spoyle this time one and the next time another, so that you shal never have rest nor profite of the soyle, nor liue wthout fear, as it happeneth many times uppon the frontier of the Englyshe pale for all the Queens Maiesties garryson, To this, as neere as I can, I will repeate his words, who, at the time I alleged it to him, smiled and sayed, I have not yet forgotte all mine Accidence by this text *Foelix quem facint aliena pericula cautum*, which was wont to make mee take heede to do that in schoole for whiche I saw another beaten, I stand, as it were, in a three want way, whereof one parte leadeth right, and I have seen two take seuerale ways, and both lose their labours because they were out of the right way, What letteth nowe that I, perfectly instructed and warned by other mennes errors, should not boldly proceede the third way, and not go awry.

Moste of those that haue taken in hand before this to winne and inhabite in Ireland, have, after the place once possessed, deuided themselves eche to dwell uppon his owne land, and to fortifie himselfe thereon, trusting with his owne strength, if any invasion were made, to preserve himself therein, But this made not the enemy afrayed, who lay continually under his nose, and all alongst vppon the border, watching the time to serue his turne, sometimes stealing and praying cattle, other times laying wait to intrap and murther the Maister himselfe, sometimes setting fire on his Reekes or Townes, whereby they that lay next the Frontier were forced eyther to forsake their owne, or els compound and foster with the Irish, So they degenerated as is aforesayd, and in time all was frustrate, Yet the Countrie of Ophally vsing that order, lyeth at this day so safe, that they put forthe their Cattel in the night with out fear of stealing, but I iudge that brought to passe rather by Cowley's singuler good government otherwise than by that only

order, for the inhabitaunce of the Countrie of Lease (Leix), which was deuided in the same order, are not altogether so assured.

Others whom the Queenes forces doo defende, when the enemies growe strong upon them and begin to spoyle them, haue of the garrison sent down to defend them, so flyeth the enemy to trouble an other quarter, or els forbears for the time till the garrison be called away to a place of more need, or that the husbandmen, eaten out with cesse, when he is wery, by petition hath obteyned too be eased of them, who he no sooner gone but the enemie returneth to wast him ageine. Thus, every way goeth it backwards with them.

The third way is that wee must take, first to chose a place so neere as wee can that is naturallye strong. Then, after it is wonne, not to suffer the souldiours too be dispersed, wel to let the owner repaire to his portion, but so as a souldiour in his steede be alwayes on the frontier, least of all to truste to be dayly defended by the Queenes garrison for divers incoveniencies, And heerein sith wee have leasure inough, I will open to you somewhat of my design, and the reasons that have persuaded me thereto.

The Arde, which is my demaund, and the neerest part of all Ireland to Lancashire, and the Easte parte of England, I take to be a peece of ground as easie to be wonne, inhabited, safely kepte, and defended as any platte within the Realme of Irelsnd, being a reache of land (as if it were of purpose bayed out from the mayne into the sea, to wall in so muche of it as woulde make so faire and commodious a lake and harber as the haven of Strangford is) fasshioned like an Arme bente in the Elbowe, annexed no where to the mayne, but at the one ende as the Arme to the shoulder, The breadth of which entrie is aboute fiue miles, as by the platte heereonto annexed may be more plainlye seene, That straight once kept and defended, all the reste of the countrie muste of necessitie become quiet and safe, and thus shall it be defended.

Upon the sayed entrie shall be raysed strengths where all the souldiors, which are mainteyned by the cuntrie, shall lie in garrison for diuers good considerato's, keping there continuall scoute, watche, and warde so narrowly, that one single person vndiscried shal not be able to enter or flee out of the countrie, By this meanes the cuntrie is not onely safely preserued, the border as wel as the middell, but the Irish will alway keepe themselues aloofe, for fear of Scarbrough warning, if they should harbour themseselues any thing neere a garrison that lyeth ready to take every aduauntage vpon them, And to the ende the Souldiours should be the more vigilant, I am minded to lay all the very frõtier Lande diuided by proportion, to the strengths where the garrisons lie, so that every Souldiour shal put in his share towards the sowing and manuring thereof, and receive his parte of the Corne and other profite that is too bee gathered thereon, whiche shall come to him besides his maintenance from the cuntrie, This, for his own gain sake, which lyeth in most daunger of all, will make him haue better eye to his charge, and be the more ielous of the enemie.

As for haueing the Queenes ayde and garrison, I haue good hope it shal not need for sith 'y euery Souldiour is made Mayster and owner of his land, to him and to his heires for ever, will he not, think you, looke as well and as carefully to that as hee would if hee had sixe pence sterling a day of the Queenes Maiestie, whereof he should be sure not past for a yeer or thereabout, and then to go whether he would, Now, if he keepe and defend this, hee is a Gentleman, a man of lieuly hode and of inheritaunce, and who hath and shall haue his ground ploughed and eared for him without his paines, for that we haue prouided for, if hee lose it, he loseth his own inheritaunce, and hindreth his posteritie, And if by his own charges and costes he doo obteine it, and bring it to ciuilitie and good obedience to his Prince, how muche more favour, grace, and renown dooth he deserue at her Maiesties hand, and as without her highnes charge this he shal do, so as reason is, he hath it the better cheape, the larger estate in it, and the less incu'bered.

What difference, I pray you, is there in the ende between the charges without the Queenes aydes to go to win the sayde cuntry and inhabite it, or else to goe dwell, being sette in by the Prince, in a countrey which her maiestie hath wonne and left vnto the inhabiters to defende, nothing but the charges of the first winning, which is one yeares charge or two, for which charges to haue in recompence a larger estate, and to paie an easier rent, In faith, I iudge you nowe sufficiently informed, and that you do take this a better, more reasonable, and surer way than to couet heerein, at the firste getting, the Princes aide, which, if you shal haue done, it were reason we should both pay bigger rente and haue worse estates, as they haue alreadie in other places of Irelande on that forte lately wonne.

Nowe, you see I have not only answered you to your questio' and resolved you of your dout, but haue opened to you a secrete of mine enterprise, which maketh many that know not so much condemne me for taking it in hands.

There resteth yet, master Smith, said I, one poynt to be alleaged heerein, which is this—that there are not many can beare this first charge, and be willing to doe it also. With that he paused a while, and there replied again as foloweth:—If there be any thing that may hinder in dede this enterprise or make it vaine, it is that that you haue spoken of—namely, good councel slowly folowed; but you shal heare what likelihoodes and hope I have to the contrarie.

I am sure you are persuaded that all enterprises are very much either furthered or hindered by ye times in which they are taken in hand, For if Amintas, grandfather to the great Alexander (the estate of the Macedonians being then small and weake), had taken in hande the overthrowing of the Persian Empire, he had neur done it; nor Philip, which prepared the Macedonians to such an enterprise, whome, by sundry conquestes uppon his neighbours, he had fleshed to the warre, and by continual exercise had made them almost perfect souldiours, for now desired they nothing but worke and the spoile of some riche Kingdome, Which, when Alexander perceiued, he toke the advantage of the time, and had good successe: so, you may see, the time and inclination of the Macedonians was in deede of more effect to bring the enterprise to passe than Alexanders onely disposition coulde have bene, who was but a young man, and not much experienced at that time. More examples I will not vse, but declare onto you that my greatest hope is the time wherein I am, which I consider on this sorte.

England was neuer that can be heard of, fuller of people than it is at this day, and the dissolution of Abbayes hath done two things of importance heerin. It hath doubled the number of gentlemen and marriages, whereby commeth daily more increase of people, and suche younger brothers as were wonte to be thruste into Abbayes, there to liue (an idle life), sith that is taken from them must nowe seeke some other place to liue in. By this meanes there are many lacke abode, and few dwellings emptie.

With that our lawe, which gieuth all to the elder brother, furthereth much my purpose. And the excessive expence, both in diet and apparell, maketh that men which haue but small portions, can not maintaine them selves in the emulation of this world with like countenance as the grounded riche can do—thus stand we at home.

Then went I to examine the estate of Countreis abrode, and found that all the Countries adiacent rounde aboute were as wel peopled, or better than we be, or else more barren, so that, except we might master and expel the inhabitants, it would not auaile, But, therefore, or for any other cause, to fall in variance with Fraunce or Spaine, were but as the rubbing of one boughe against an other with the winde, where bothe fret neither increaseth. Scotland besides that, is barren, is ruled by a frend King, and peopled sufficiently, Ireland is the Queenes inheritaunce, many countreis there, as that which I demand, giuen to hir by acte of Parliament of the same realme; others hirs by dissente, the which lye almoste desolate, To inhabite and reforme so barbarous a nation as that is, and to bring them to the knowledge and law, were bothe a godly and commendable deede, and a sufficiet worke for our age.

All these things happening togither in my time, when I had cosidered, I iudged surely, that God did make apte and prepare this nation for such a purpose There resteth only to persuade the multitude alreadie destined therto, with will and desire to take the matter in hande.

Let us, therefore, vse the persuasions which Moses vsed to Israel, they will serve fitly in this place, and tell them that they shall goe to possesse a lande that floweth with milke and hony, a fertile soile truly if there be any in Europe, whether it be manured to corne or left to grasse. There is Timber, stone, plaister, and slate commodious for building everywhere aboundant, a countrey full of springs, rieuers and lakes bothe small and greate, full of excellent fishe and foule, no part of the countrey distant above viij. miles from a most plentifull sea, or land water able to beare lode.

You say wel, (sayed I then) But men are more moued by peculiar gaine, than of respecte they haue to common profite, Mary answereth he: they shall haue their peculiar portions in that frutefull soile, being but as a bootie to be deuided amongs them.

And this shall be the quantitie which a foote man shall haue, videlicet, a plowe lande, which containeth a c. and xx. Acres Irishe, but you will vnderstande it better by English measure. A plowland shall containe c.c. and lv. acres of earable grounde. Then can there not lie in any country almost (especially so full of bottomes as that soile is) so muche earable lande together, but there will lie also entermingled therewith sloppes, slips, and bottomes fitte for pasture and meading and commodious to be annexed to the same plowlande, so that the whole may amount to ccc. acres at the leaste, I pray you tell me if you had so much good ground in Essex, would you not take it for a pretie farme, and yet a horsse man shall have double, videlecet, six c. acres of ground one with an other at the least, whereof there is v.ccccc. x. acres earable, the rest medow and pasture, I beleeve you would call that in Essex a good manor, and yet these are the least deuisions, I purpose to make, sauing a ploweland or two in every parish, that I thinke good to diuide to laborers and artificers, but I am not of the manner thereof yet fully resolved.

This is good, sayde I, if a man mighte haue it as easely rented, Judge you, I pray you, saith he. They shall pay for euery acre of eareable lande one penie starling, as for the pasture and medowe, they shall haue it as reasonable as the eareable in some places better cheape, according to the goodnesse of the ground, But this is the greatest rent: I must haue vpon euery such plowland one able English footeman, or vppon his two plowlands, one horsse man maintained to be ready at all times for the defence of the whole coutry, abiding eyther upon the same plowland, or else vppon the frontier, which may be peradventure x. or xv. miles distant at the ottermoste, moste commonly nearer.

I intend not that this lying in the frontier shall be continuall, but one shall relieue an other by quarters, some in garrison, and some resting them selues at home in the country, and it may be (which I hope in my time to see) all Ireland reformed, and no need of garrison in al the countrey, when y service shall cease also.

This portion, sayde I, that you speak of, me thinke if it be in fee, so easily rented should make your enterprise a fit matche for youger brothers, such as haue but annuities, stipendes, and deade stockes to liue on, For by this meanes should they be provided of an house, and prettie lande belonging vnto it, sufficiente to yeelde wherewith to make a friend drinke, and many such farmes make a man rich, But I feare me it can be onely profitable to suche as dwell vppon the same as it is in some places of England, where the Gentlemen have vpon their wide Lordships, great prouision of corne and cattel; wherein most of their rente is payde, but that is so cheape there that a greate deale to be solde yeldeth but a little money, whereby they may giue meat and drinke to a number, but paye wages to a fewe, so that he that shoulde not dwell there him selfe, after the souldiours were found and the rent paide, should either have little or nothing for his own share: besides if the owner him selfe be not ther, to manure or to see the same manured, howe shoulde he gather profite thereof, or who woulde farme it for him, or yeelde him rente for his land, This is a doubte in deede that wil make many stay I tell you, who wold otherwyse aduenture, nay in good soothe is it not (sayd he) as you shall hereafter perceiue, So soone as wee shall ariue in Ireland and have proclaymed that all such of the Irishe as will liue quyetly and manure the ground vnder vs shal be welcome, defended from the enemie, and haue no coine, liverie, nor cesse layd upon them, but whatsoever bargain they make, that iustly performed, There is no doubt but ther will great numbers of the Husbandmen which they call Churles, come and offer to liue vnder vs, and to ferme our grounds both such as are of the cuntry birth, and the Englyshe pale, For the Churle of Ireland is a very simple and toylesome man, desiring nothing but that he may not bee eaten out with ceasse, coyne, nor liuerie.

Coyne and lieurie is this, There will come a Kerne or Galliglas which be the Irishe souldiours to lie in the Churles house, whiles he is there hee wil be maister of the house, hee will not onely haue meate, but money also allowed him, and at his departure the beste things he shall see in the Churles house, be it linné cloth, a shirte, mantil, or such like, Thus is the Churle eaten vp, so that if Dearth fall in the cuntry where he dwelleth, he should be the first starued, not beeing maister of his owne, From which exactions that he might be free, there is no part of the cuntrie but he would seeke to, and geue for Lande wonderfull rents, paying them in such comoditie as the ground will yeeld, be it Corne, Butter, or Cattel, You may haue farmers out of the Ile of Man and other poore men out of England, so they may be ayded at the firste with some stock of Corne and Cattel. It is but a little care at the begynning after the land is deuided, I for my part wil indeuer myself to persuade the one freendly to depart his commoditie with an other, but I feare the sweetnesse whiche the owners shall find in the Irish Churle giving excessively, wil hinder the countrie muche in the peopling of it with the English Nation, makyng men negligent to prouide Englishe Farmours, but thereof there is one prouiso in our instructions from her Maisties Counsel.

Now wil I tel you what rent the owner may reap of his Land, videlicet, Mony, Corne, Butter, Yarne, Cattel and such like, my counsell shalbe that every man, sith their land is delivered, suche as is errable, should continue the same vnder tillage, and receive his rent in Corn, which tilling of their Land that it be so done, is also provided for in the sayd instructions, because it settleth the occupier and what with tending his fallowe, reaptyde, seede time, and thrashing, it bindeth always the occupier to the Lande, and is a continuall occupaton of a great number of persons, a helper and a mainteyner of ciuilitie in my opinion, As for the rent, I would haue one rate therof thorow all the Cuntry, of every plowland a like, I think two pecks Irishe doo conteine foure Englishe Bushels, of an Irish Acre, which is two English Acres and a half quarter, were reasonable betweene the Lord and the Tenant, so that the Tenant should pay onely that rent for the errable grounde, having the Medowe and Pasture into the bargaine for maintenaunce of his Teame. Of this rent by my counsell the one parte should beare Wheate, and the other parte Otes and Barly, By which meanes one plowlande may yeelde yeerely to the owners thirtie quarters of Wheate, and as muche Otes and Barlie, towards the finding of his Souldiour, and the payment of his rent, As for the victualing of his footman Souldiour, I purpose to vndertake for v quarters of Wheat and five quarters of Barley, sufficiently to finde every such footeman, and for ten quarters of Wheat and ten of Barley and Otes to find every horseman and his horse in continual garrison, for one whole yeere, The footemans wages and the rente will be discharged for ten quarters more, the horsemans wages and rent

for twentie, Peradventure you wil say I allowe with the most, and that lesse will serve, yet hath the owner of one plowland forty quarters of Corne *de claro* at the yeers end, and the owner of two plowland foure score.

But what shal he do with that Corne, will you say, mary sell it, for ordinaryly Corne beareth the same price there that it beareth in England and saue of very late yeers, it hath bene accustomed to bee alwayes deerer. And yet there is another way more advantagious than the sale of Corne in Ireland that wil be acloyd therwith, if at the beginning before our parte bee thorowly peopled, wee fall to turning all the Lande as afore is sayd to Tilling not been able to spende it, therefore is it necessary, and I am fully persuaded, that the Queenes Majestie furthering the inhabeting and ciuilitie of the north (whiche encreaseth more by keeping men occupyed in Tyllage, than by idle followyng of heards, as the Tartarians, Arabians, and Irishe men doo) will give ful libertie for the transportation of Corn out of ye sayd Cuntries into England, Fraunce, Spaine, or other places, whereas the market shall serve best, and thereupon will lay a reasonable custome, For this cause shal there be one Hauen with common Granyers made upon the key, sufficient for the receipt of the Corne of the Cuntry and one Porte Town builded, so soon as we may begin to be any thing settled, more of the order herein I wil tell you another time, but comforte your selfe with this in the meane tyme, that Corn; in Spaine is alwayes good marchandize, and bringeth alway ready money, The cut between the Cuntries, shorte streight, and not fives dayes jorney, How say you now, have I not set forth to you another Eutopia, but I looked when you would bid me stay and declare first how to get it before al these be done, sith you will not aske mee, of my owne proper motion I wil tel you.

If these declarations of mine in so fit a time and countrie, where God hath prepared the Nation to such enterprise, may allure any number to take it in hand, were they but sixe or seaven hundred, which I take to be but a small number to be got in all this Realme, What should let that in a cuntrie almost desolate (except but of suche of ye Englysh race as wil bee glad of this enterprize), wee might not inhabite and dwel in safetie, It may be sayd that at the first, the Irishe wil assemble and put us backe, Alas, sixe thousande of them dare not set uppon seaven hundred Englishe men, having the advantage of a trench scarce in the plaines, But if wee will keepe our selves close for a while, they must of necessitie for lacke of victuall disperse themselves, and give us libertie, with the advantage over them to breake forth and proceede with our enterprize, and who is there now of the Lords in the north can make two thousand men, Onell though he joyned with him all the Lords of the Easte side of Ulster, and the Scottes is not able to make three thousand fighting men ; As for O'donnel, Mon Guyer, O'Raly, and the Barons sonnes, whiche be the greatest of the North, I take it certein, that they will not hazard their Cuntries with any new Rebellion, but had rather live contented with peace, favouring and finding ayd at the Englyshe mens handes, as they have been accustomed to do : And yet I hope wel of the rest, bicause I wil not (so neer as I can) doo them any inury.

If you will have examples of defending Countries with fewer men, take Lease and Ophally, the Cuntrie of Lecale our nexte neighbours, sometimes kept by Burton with a hundred horse, the Kerry by Sir VVarham Sentleger, till his comming awaye, with less than a hundred horse, and the Ards it self, where Goodrich, Capteine Barrowes Lieutenant, with fourteen men kept and defended the Castle called Castle Reau, in the entrie thereof, and went dayly one quarter of a mile for to fetche his water, against five hundred that lay dayly upon him, with many others : But if you will have example of winning it, and the valure of our Nation in comparison of them, see the overthrowe given to the Butlers, no lesse than three hundred horse, in the last generall rebellion, the appeasing and winning againe as it were of all Munster, at that time rebelled, by Sir Humfry Gilbart, with lesse than a hundred English men, The overthrowe of a thousand Skottes in Connaught, the last yeer by Captain Colyer and his foot band, The overthrowe given unto Shan Oneil with three thousand Irishe, by Captaine Randall and three hundred English men onely, The driving of Shan Oneil out of Dundak after hee had taken it, when hee was in his greatest forces, by two bands of Englishe men, with infinite other examples, as the taking of thirtie of their Castels in one day by two Englishe foot bands : Wherefore sith their Castels can not preserve them nor themselves in fight prevaile, uppon the plaine nor other where, all men may easely iudge that the winning or defending of any Cuntrie is easie inough in Ireland, if, therefore, there be anye competent number of Englyshe Souldyers together : And I will in these comfort you somewhat that the Arde, and the Cuntrie adjacent is a plaine Cuntrie wherein are very few Castels to be won, if it should chaunce the Irishe would defende them. I thinke not above foure, if there bee so manye : What resteth nowe sith I have prooved by examples that it is faisable and that without danger almost, excepte we shoulde more dispaire of oure selves, than smaller companies have heeretofore done, sithe I have shewed you by reason that it is profitable, but that I knit up our talke, bicause it is late, with declaring unto you with howe small charge it may be taken in hande, and howe that it may be rather a saving to some, than expence.

There be many that not considering what facillitie it is by good order and willing menes to bring great things to

passe, but wondring rather at the greatnesse of the summe which must furnish so many soldioures, cary them ouer and maintaine them there for a yeare or there aboutes (that must of necessitie be supplied from Englande), are of the opinion, that it can not be done without the Princes pay, But I will informe you an easie way, to bring this without her maiesties expences to passe.

All that Lande of the Arde and other places which her maiestie hath given unto my father and me, we are purposed to devide unto suche as shall be contented either to accompanie me, or be at the charges of a Souldioure, be he foote man or horse man in this iourney, reserving some small thing of a ploweland to our selves, as a cheife rent, contenting our selves rather to be accompted the motioners and ring leaders of so many Englishe families, to be planted for ever in the Ardes, &c., than forcing of any gain, Which, while some in the like matches have groped to narrowly after, they haue marde ye whole enterprize, Mary he that wil looke to haue the saide landes at the rent and rates, which I haue alreadie tolde you, must be at the charges of finding himself, or some other in his roume, for the winning and defence of the countrey, first to come furnished of all things necessarie, he be footeman or horsseman. Thus when all my companie shall come furnished, with armour and weapon, as souldioures ought to be, what is there then lacking to this voyage? Mary, shipping for transportation : when we are there, corne and other victuall for the first yeare, ships and boates to fishe for our better victualing, corne to put in the ground against the next yeare, plowes and all things necessary thereto, For I minde to have that done also of common charges, that if it be possible we may haue no more, or else very little leuying of money for the nexte yeres victuaile : but that the common stocke may serve this, I assure you am I purposed to doe, and to play the good husbande with the companies stocke, that it may reache far, and yet are there many moe things to be prouided, as powder, some furniture of Armour in store, Iron peeces and of all munition belonging to the warres, yea, and yet more, as all manner of things belonging to building and fortification, with the Carpenters, Masons, Smithes, &c., who will loke for wages, Item that belong to the handes, as Cookes, Bakers, Surgeons, &c., that will also loke for wages. And bicause all these prouisions might be orderly done, and nothing in time of neede be to seeke, I have taken it in hande, therfore, to leave of every man, according to the rate of lande he looketh for, videlicet ten pounde of one foote man, and twentie pounde of a horsse man, so to see all necessaries abundantly prouided, If lesse wold suffis, I would take lesse for I meane at the yeares ende, that the Treasorer shall yelde accompte, and what is not spente shall serue the second yeare, and the less leuied of the companie towardes the prouision of the sayde necessaries, After which time there is no manner dout but the Countrey will yeld to serue our turne sufficiently, withoute any more leuying, and as for them that will deliuer corne or any other thing necessary to the rate of the saide summes, it shall be accepted in lieu of money, And this is the charge and aduenture of a foote man, videlicet, tenne pounde for his victaile, sixe pounde thirtene shillings and foure pence, the rest of his furniture for one whole yere, and for that money will I vndertake to finde a foote man, arme him, giue him his liuerie, paie him three pounde sixe shillings and eight pence, wages, and victaile him one yeare, to serue in roume of him that neyther goeth him selfe, nor sendeth an other furnished.

Nowe lette vs gather and make one summe of all the collection of one yeare, and see whether it may be iudged sufficient or not: of seuen hundred, graunte three hundred horse men, which pay twentie pound a peece, that is sixe thousand pounde, And foure hundreth footemen after ten pound a peece, whiche amounteth to foure thousand pound, the whole X. thousand pound, Looke you nowe, every man putting in a share, that is not muche, what a summe ryseth it, for which I hope with good vsing will not only be sufficient to victuall the seauen hundred souldiours, but all other Artificers and Labourers, and to pay them their wages, with all other store of munition, shipping, and necessaryes for one whole yeer at the least. Two yeeres charges is the vttermoste can passe without gaine, wherefore, let vs compare the charges and yeerely profite (to bee looked for) togither, and see what euill bargaine this can be.

Two yeeres charges of a footeman is three-and-thirtie pound six shillings and eight pence, for, as for rente, there is none to be payed till the fourth yeere—the commoditie to be looked for is fortie quarters at the least *de claro* per annum, But the horseman's gaine and charge is double, and this is the worst bargaine, For he that goeth in his owne person, as younger brothers and such like, do rather saue than lose, for with lesse expences, if he haue no Horse in England, can he not liue for his dyet than ten pound, if he be a horseman, his Horse and hee vnder twentie pound ; yet liue he must, whither he spend the time in England or Ireland, and this I am sure of, that whatsoeur he may saue of his dyet in a yeer heere in England by lying in his friend's house, he shal spend in apparaile, for that Countrie of Ireland requireth rather lasting and warm clothes than gorgeous and deere garmentes, Besides this, in consideration of leading his life in Ireland, hee is to enioy a good and commodious peece of Land, yielding three-score quarters of graine yeerely towards his maintenaunce, beeing a footeman; or a hundred and twentie if

he be a horsman, and so, by proportion, shall I tel you my conscience heerin, I can not see how Fathers that haue many sonnes, or landed men that haue many younger brothers, can do better for their than to prefer them, and set them forthe in this jorney with me, who seeke to persuade nothing but that I wil go in person to execute not a whit the more fearful, bicause I am the only sonne of Sir Thomas Smith, And nowe that I haue resolued you of your doubte as I hope, and performed my promise in the ende, I will leaue for this time. Thus much Mayster, R. C. was in our conference at that time, which, so neere as I could remember, I haue repeated worde by worde, but to diuers other objections, his answers which I have learned at sundry meetings, wil I now declare.

Many say that they shal go into a place where they shal want meate, housing, and all things necessarye, for that no Prince yet hath bene able to victuale his Army ther sufficiently in their iorneys, besides, that the souldiour is alwayes constrayned to march thorow the Bogges and riuers, and in the nighte to lodge uppon the Grasse without meat and Fire, This, in deede, is great miserie, but they that threaten this in his iorney are altogether ignorant of his proceedings, nor consider not the difference that is between the Deputies iorneys (who seeketh still to apprehend the Rebelles bodies, following them thorowe Bogge, thorowe plaine, and wood, hoping, with persewerance and long iorneys, to wery them and bring them in) and his enterprise, who desireth the Land only, not any revenge vpon the Irish, and who purposeth not to spend him selfe with long iorneys, but to procede slowely, inhabite, builde, and fortifie him selfe as he goeth, contenting himselfe too obtein his portion of a Land wel defended in safetie, and not coueting otherwise with losse and discommoditie of his menne, to seeke to anoy the Irishe as afore is sayd proceeding on this sortie.

He bothe minde at his first landing to fortifie him selfe vppon the sea shore and frontier of his countrey, and builde there his store house and houses of prouision, which he will carefully and speedely see brought thither to be readie before it be wanting, a place for Artificers to lie safely in, and in the meane time that it is building and raising, to lodge all his men in campe, under canuas tents and hales, wherein he hath promised to take order with his associates, that will, peradventure, be one three monthes worke, Then after the store house and key of his countrey built, and left sufficiently garded, he will remoue v. vj. more or lesse miles, as the countrey shall serue, and there erecte uppon the liste an other fortresse, able to receiue and stowe a sufficiente crewe of souldiours, to be ready always in defence of the frontier, incamping and lodging his men there as before, til that forte also be done and furnished, Thus will he proceede in his iourney all the Sommer till the entrie of his countrey be sufficiently fortfied, Towards the winter season, deuiding his souldioures into the said strengthes, there to lie in garrison upon the enimie, for the more safetie of the countrie, as at the beginning I haue alreadie tolde you.

What miserie (I pray you nowe) can this bring the soldiour, in what scant and scarcitie of victuaile shall they be at any time constrained to, by reason it can not be brought to them, if otherwise it be wanting, which I am sure shal not be, it is by his faulte and slacknesse, not by the discomoditie of the carriage, or howe euill neede the souldiour be lodged, This his proceedings are others than hathe bene heretofore vsed, and other mennes errors haue taught him to take this order, to marke and consider them well is the onely way to perfectnesse, (sayth he) and nothing hath bene so well done, and if it were to do againe might be better done, for time is it that in the moste aduised gouernementes discouereth faults which while we patch and mende by little and little, the first order is altered, and become another thing, the very vanitie of the world,

And as for the present necessitie and lack of many commodities of the Country which are in England euery where, if you marke that hath bene heretofore said in describing it, you cannot say but the only default thereof is the unciuilitie of the inhabitants, and lacke of good orders, which as soone as he shal haue amended by bringing this his attempt to good ende, and that it may be replenished with building ciuill inhabitantes, and traffigue with lawe, iustice, and good order, what shal let that it be not also as pleasant and profitable as any parte of England, especially when it shall be furnished with a companie of Gentlemen and others that will liue frendly in felowship togither reioysing in the frute and commoditie of their former trauaile, which (throughe noble courage) for estimatio sake, and the loue of their owne countrey the first enterprised, deseruing if I may speake it, that am resolued one of the same companie, to be crowned, with garlands of honoure and euerlasting fame, But what doe I degresse, Is there any more doubts yet trow yee; yes, this.

There be some that like well inough of this takyng the Arde in hand, because it is both defensible with a few men, and those freeholders that yet remaine therein beeing of Englishe race, haue allwayes defended them selues from praying by the Irishe, but more they say, hee shall neuer bee able to compasse nor defende, to whom I will repeate this shorte answere. He that hathe but a little Cuntrie can mainteine therewith but a few men, and is constreyned gladly to except

such conditions of peace as hee can get at the enemies hands, but he that hath a large countrey may maintaine a greate number of men, and at pleasure command whether to make peace or warre with his enimie, As for master Smith, he will proceede and holde so muche onely as his forces will stretche vnto, for the olde Proverbe sake that sayeth : He that too muche gripeth fastneth on little.

Be of good courage, therefore, and resolue your selfe to be a partaker with him in person, The enterprise is commendable, and not only to the encrease of his nation and honor of his countrey, but very profitable to them that are doers therein, if it be brought to good passe, which is assured, if reason may serue, or the like at any time (as before hath often bene seene) hath taken effect, and the aduenture is small, not to the tenth parte of the gaine, He is prouided alreadie I know, of singulare good Captaines, and the promisse of an hundred Gentlemen already at the leaste hauing not yet opened the matter but to his frends, As for him selfe you shal finde him vigilant and carefull, coueting more the well doing hereof, and the safetie of his companie, than the glory of victorie in any rash attempt, more desiring to please and profit euery man, than loking for ceremonious curtesie and reuerence, To conclude, I knowe him to be suche as disdaineth no man, or that seeketh to feede the world with fine language, faire speaches, and promise, but a man that is open, plaine, more affable than he seemeth, such a one in faith. towards whom your loue and liking wil increase stil with acquaintance and familliaritie, to be then moste when you shall knowe him best, I speake this by experience and long proofe that I haue had of him.

Graunt it (wil you say) that hee for his part be suche an one, but all those whom hs shall haue assembled out of euery part of this Realme, shall not bee of so good a nature, as peraduenture hee is of, some be disdainful, proud, and insolent, some couetous, and other of quarellous disposition, a few of these are inough to disturbe the whole companie, Quarels begunne of small trifles, and by partes taking, come in the end greate matters, besides in tbe particion, one wil be angry because he was not preferred to that commodyous seat or this goode dwelling, and because hee hath not so muche Land as an other, but of this hope I also to satisfie you, for master Smith mindeth first to giue vnto euery man so much at the least as he promiseth by ye order he proposeth to giue out, and for whiche the Souldiour was willing to aduenture his parte, then can he not finde faulte with the quantitie, notwithstanding to him that deserueth well in this iorney, he will I am sure be more liberall, for I knowe he giueth willingly, The place where their Lande shall lie must fall to them by lot, as it shall be their chaunce firste or laste to be serued, from a place appointed to beginne at before the lottes so drawne, so can he not mislike of his chaunce nor be angry for the place which fell not to him by any mannes oppointing, And to take away al occasion of Quarels, Mutineries, or other disorder, that might otherwise ensue, he hath promised to cause one book of of orders or Discipline to be drawen, by the aduise of the best Captaines and shall be reade vnto the whole companie, Whiche after it is allowed and agreed to by them, shalbe kept safely as the Statutes of this iorney, and according to the letter of that Booke, shall all misdemeanours of the Campe be punished, for euery person abyding in the same shalbe solemnly sworn to obserue euery Article and ordinaunce conteyned therein, and to his power assist and ayd to see them duely punished, that they shall offend contrary too the Tenor of the forsayd Booke.

Aduenture, therefore, boldely with him, as for your portion of Lande, I knowe that his Father and he are bounde to her Maiestie by a Couenant, in her highnes graunt expressed, in no lesse bonde than in the forfeyture of the whole, that they shall distrybute to all ayders heerein according to the rate before mentioned, Besides I knowe he is liberall and will deale franckly with his frende or any other whom he shall haue a good lyking to.

And the Tequet or Bill signed, eyther with his fathers hand, or his, or with the hands of any Treasurer appoynted hys Deputie therein, testifying the quantetie of the aduenture, shalbe sufficiet to charge them in this behalfe, Your assurance shalbe made by deed signed, sealed, and delieuered so soone as possibly it can be dispatched, after the sayd Land shalbe assigned by lot and layde, and if it so chaunce that any die in this voyage, before the partition be made, his part shal notwithstandyng bee reserued and performed too his next heire or any of his kinred (that shall haue presently woorde sent to him thereof), If within three monthes after the saide worde giuen, they either personally repaire or sende their deputies thither to receive the same, To the ende no mannes aduenture and hope so willingly taken in hand through his owne mischaunce shuld be lost from his posteritie, nor vntimely death be preiudiciall to his deserued inheritance. Heer wil I end, hoping that I have fully satisfied you of all doubtes, that might haue dissuaded you heerin, And this is the effect of all, that I haue with thus many Argumentes gone about to persuade you that you shuld employ two or three yeeres of your youth in that most honorable seruice that can bee in our times done for England, therefor to receiue thanks, estimation, and a profitable inheritance, besides the contentation of minde in your possibilitie, to be the patron and first founder of a familie in that cuntrie which in time to come to Gods fauor, may spring vp to great authoritie, fare you wel.

Sith the wryting heereof he hath sent me worde as to a freende partaker of his ioy, that his booke is by the

Queenes Maistie fauourably signed, and already vnder the greate Seale, and that he myndeth to proceede to the gathering of men leuying of money, and making his prouision necessarye for this iorney with all speede, and therewithall hath sent mee a coppie of the order, or rather offer, to be giuen forthe for the dispatching heereof, whiche is this that I send you heerewith nothing differing, I warrante you, from that I hadde wrote to you before in this discourse:

The offer and order given forthe by Sir Thomas Smyth, Knighte, and Thomas Smyth, his sonne, vnto suche as be willing to accompanie the sayd Thomas Smyth, the sonne, in his voyage for the inhabiting some partes of the North of Irelande.

The Queenes Maiesties graunt made to Sir Thomas Smith, Knighte, and Thomas Smyth, his sonne, in Ireland is all that is her Maiesties by inheritance, or other right in the countrey called the Ardes, and part of other countreys adiacent in the Erledom of Vlster, so that they possesse and replenishe them with Englishe men, The which thing that it mighte the more surely be done, the saide Sir Thomas and Thomas his sonne haue bounden themselues to hir highnesse to distribute all the said land within the saide countreys, whiche they shalbe able to obtaine and possesse to suche as shall take paines to helpe them to possesse the same, to haue and holde to them and to their heires for ever.

That is to say, to eche man who wil serue as a soldier on foote, one plowland containing a hundredth and twentie acres Irishe of earable lande, for which the saide Sir Thomas and Thomas must pay to the Queenes maiesty two pence Irish for an Irish acre, after four and twentie foote to the pole, In consideration of which rent be them to be paide vnto her Maiestie, the Souldier shall pay for the saide plowlande vnto Syr Thomas Smyth and Thomas, and their heirs, one penie sterling for every English acre of the said plowland, after the measure of sixtene foote and an half to the pole, and no more—The first paiment to begin foure yeres hence, videlicet, 1576. To each man who will serue on horseback two plowlands—videlicet, two hundreth and fortie acres Irishe, which is at the leaste fiue hu'dreth acres and more English, paying for every acre English as the footeman dothe. And the earable lande being deuided, eche foote man and horseman shall haue also allotted vnto him pasture, meadowe, and such like necessary as the country wil serue, as reasonably as they haue arable grounde, so that theymay therwith be contented.

The charges that is required of a footeman at the first settyng forth, if he be furnished of sufficient Armour, for a Pike, Halberd or Caliuer, with a conuenient Lieury Cloke of red colour, or Carnation with black facing, is tenne poundes for his vitayling for one whole yeere after his arrival and his transportation, after which yeere there is hope to finde prouisyons inough in the countrie, which they shall obteine with good guidance.

The charges of a Horseman, wel horsed and armed for a light horseman, with a staffe and a case of Daggers, is twentie poundes for wittayle of him and his Horse for one whole yeere, and for his transportation. His liuery had neede be of the colour aforesayd, and of the fashyon of the ryding Dutch Clokes now used.

And to avoyde the Fluxe and suche dangerous diseases as doth many times chaunce to souldiours by reason of lying vpon the ground and vncoured, and lykewyse to Horses for lacke of Hales, If any souldiour footman wil giue before hand ten shillings and the Horseman twentye shyllyngs, they shalbe lodged vnder Canvas, and vppon Beddes, vntil houses may be prouided. And if any will beare the charges of a souldyour that cannot go himselfe, nor sende another in his roume, he shall haue his part of Land alotted to him as wel as though he went himselfe; but then for a footman he must pay in ready money xvj. pound xiii.s. iiij.d, This is one parte, And if any wil haue two parts or more then according to this rate to paye the money, The Coronell to finde the sayde footman or men in al points for the first yere according as the money is received.

And to the intente that no man willing to aduenture in this most honorable and profitable voyage may doubt hereof, if it please him to resort ls churchyard to the signe of the Sun, there he bothe the Letters Patent and the Indentures of Covenantes betwixt the Queenes Maiestie and the said Sir Thomas Smith and Thomas Smith, and pay suche money as he is disposed to aduenture, and receyue hys assuraunce from Thomas Smith, his sonne, who taketh the aduenture and voyage vppon him to go in person, or if the sayde Thomas bee not there, one of the receyuers of this voyage remayning there, shall do herein as apperteyneth, whom he hath made his Deputie in this behalfe. Note that all suche kindes of prouision as bee necessary in this iourney, the Treasourer may receive in lieu of money accordyng as he shall have neede of such prouision, be already furnished therewyth, and accordyng to the place where the sayd prouision shal lie, for the commodious transportation thereof.

GOD SAVE THE QUEENE.

VVe request all our partakers to make so speedie payment of their adventures, as possible they may, that nothing be wanting, at the time of our foorthe settyng, whiche they shall learne of the Treasourer, or Receyuer, where they pay the money, with the place on the day of our general meeting and imbarking.

Imprinted at London, by Henry Binneman, for Anthony K. dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Sunne.

VI.

Gentlemen Adventurers in Antrim.

(See p. 183.)

THE following letter, written at Carrickfergus on the 1st of December, by Thomas Wilsford, a sergeant-major in Essex's force, is only one of many such addressed at this time to persons in England, and intended to prepare the public mind there for the approaching collapse of the expedition to Ulster:—"First, I find this nation moche more inraged with the furie of desperation than ever I have done heretofore, and that, I gather, doth come from that they suppose that this warre is taken in hand by her Majesties subjects, and not by herself; which is proved for that they all are desirious to write, or send their messengers to her Majesty, for they are in despaire to farme any part of the lands. Secondly, they affirme they are noe rebelles, for that they saie it is not the Quenes warre, and that they doe but defende their own landes and goodes. Thirdlie, I find such imperfections in our countrymen, that through long peace had in England they have lost the mindes of soldiers, and are become weke in body to endure the travaile, and miserable in minde to susteine the force of the enemie; and this, noe question, doth grow of the fatte delicat soile, and long peace had in England; and therefore nothing more necessarie for a Prince that mindeth to keepe his countries and dominions, than some exercise of warres. This nation begin to know their own force and strength, and have learned the use and sorts of weapons, and their places of strength and advantage, and therefore highe time to repulse this rebellious nation, for feare of utter ruine of the whole; and yet I think this northe part is the quietest place of Ireland. My Lord, it is not a subjectes purse and countenance must doe this: it must be her Majesty only."

The project for the utter expulsion of the Scots was comparatively a private speculation between Essex and Elizabeth. These plotters evidently had no intention of admitting the hereditary claims of the Macdonnells to the Antrim coast, their grand design being to push English gentlemen adventurers into all Sorley Boy's positions, and thus to leave the Scottish settlers no alternative but war or flight from their now well cultivated fields. Accordingly, articles, dated January 22, 1574, were agreed upon by Essex as governor-general of Ulster, and certain persons descibed as "Gentlemen Adventurers for the taking of Land." These Articles proceed to "nomynate their severall seats, for the better settling of the country, the suppression and expulsion of the rebells, and bringing them to her Majesties obedience." It was further agreed that the most important places, and consequently the first to be seized and settled were the "Sea Coste, the Bann syde, the Lough syde, and so from thence by the Edge of Kilultagh downward to the Lagan. The reason is that the inhabitants upon the borders will not only keep out any foreign enemy, and those of Tyrone, (1) but also bringing these of the country into a narrow strait, shall in the space of two years overthrow them, or force them to come to obedience." The county of Antrim was thus to be

(1) *Tyrone.*—For many generations, the O'Neills of Tyrone had made common cause with their kinsmen in Killultagh, and in lower or northern Clannaboy, and were thus frequently drawn into Antrim—sometimes on slender pretexts. In the struggles of other septs also, they occasionally visited the county of Antrim. Thus, the Macquillins, in their last effort for the expulsion of the Macdonnells, were assisted by a force of O'Neills from Tyrone, under the command of a leader named Hugh MacFelomy. The English gentlemen settlers were, therefore, naturally anxious to keep these troublesome neighbours at a distance.

highly favoured indeed, encircled by a ring of English gentlemen and their followers, who would protect it from all enemies without, and impose their own regulations for self-aggrandisement on all subjugated Irish and Scottish inhabitants within! This project, however, had never any consummation but on paper, for Sorley Boy had not been consulted, and was prepared to hold his own against all comers. The following document is now interesting, as showing us how nicely these gentry had made their arrangements for the appropriation of other people's lands, and what dainty visitants Sorley Boy's redshanks then drove rudely away from our shores :—

"*A Noate of the Severall Seates for placying of the Gentlemen Adventurers for their principall dwellyngs.*

" Glenarm, (2) William Morgan of Penycode, (3) distant from Red Bay (4) eight miles.

" The Red Bay, Lord Rich, (5) distant from Burnay Dall (6) eight miles.

" Burnay Dall, Henry Knolles, (7) distant six miles from

" Marketon Bay; (8) on the countries of Mowbray and Cary, (9) William and John Norryce (10) in Mowbray; Michael and John Cary (11) in Cary; distant three miles from

(2) *Glenarm.*—See pp. 73, 188, 250, *supra.* This place was often known as Inverarma, and must have always been an important position on the coast. Its abbey and all its lands were included in a grant from the crown to Alexander Macrandal Boy Macdonnell, in the year 1557. This chieftain of the Clan Randal, Garmoran branch, appears to have confined his operations to Lecale in the county of Down, and probably never ventured to assert his claim to Glenarm, in opposition to his kinsmen, the Clandonnell.

(3) *Penycode.*—William Morgan was provost-marshal in Essex's army, but probably he never saw Glenarm, his grant in that district taking no effect whatever. He subsequently distinguished himself as a soldier, in the Low Countries, where he served under count Ludovic, and assisted at several defeats of the Spaniards. See Somers' *Tracts*, vol. i., pp. 346, 355, 362.

(4) *Red Bay.*—See pp. 45, 119, 171, 175, 188, *supra.*

(5) *Lord Rich.*—This was Robert, second lord Rich, who soon deserted Essex, being "heartily sick" of the part he had taken in the expedition. He afterwards married Penelope Devereux, a daughter of Essex, whom he was soon compelled to divorce, and who was afterwards married to sir Charles Blount, eighth baron Mountjoy. The son of this lord Rich was created earl of Warwick in 1613, although, in 1601, he had encouraged and assisted Robert, the second Devereux earl of Essex, whilst attempting his insane rebellion.

(6) *Burnay Dall.*—Correctly *Bun-na-Dall*, the 'foot of the river Dall.' This was another name for Cushindall, *Cos-abhann-Dhalla*,—the Irish term *Cos* in these topographical names having the same meaning as the word *Bun*. Cushindun Bay was sometimes called *Bun-abhann-Duine*, or 'foot of the river Dun.' See *Annals* of the Four Masters, A.D. 1567; Reeves's *Eccl. Antiquities*, p. 83.

(7) *Henry Knolles.*—This gentleman was a son of sir Francis Knollys or Knowles, vice-chamberlain and treasurer of the household to Elizabeth. Henry Knolles was brother of Alice, lady Essex, afterwards countess of Leicester.

(8) *Marketon Bay.*—Now Ballycastle Bay, see pp. 48, 124, 167, *supra.*

(9) *Mowbray and Cary.*—The district known then as *Mowbray*, but afterwards as Munerie, comprised the present parish of Ramoan and Grange of Drumtullagh. (See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 332). *Carey* here applies only to the parish of Culfeightrin, to which this territorial name has long been restricted. The barony of Carey, however, includes the parishes of Culfeightrin, Ramoan, Ballintoy, part of Billy, Armoy, and the island of Rathlin; but the two English gentlemen to whom it was granted—on paper—had only the parish of Culfeightrin, locally called Carey. See pp. 147, 162, 181, *supra.*

(10) *Norryce.*—These brothers, William and John Norris, to whom the lands of Mowbray or Munerie were granted, were the sons of lord Norris, their mother being a daughter of Henry Williams of Tyne, "a noble person, to whom in her adversitie, the queene had been committed to his safe custodie, and from him had received more than ordinarie observances. My Lord Norris had by his lady an apt issue, which the queene highly respected, for he had six sonnes, and all martiall and brave men." William was the eldest of these sons. John was but too well known in Ireland, being cruel and ruthless in his dealings with the Scots of Antrim. (See pp. 183—186, *supra.*) On the failure of Robert, the second earl of Essex, against the rebel earl of Tyrone, sir John Norris was sent hither in 1596, with the title of lord-general, but he, too, was unsuccessful, being over-reached by Tyrone, and at constant enmity with the lord-deputy Russell. When the latter was recalled, Norris expected to succeed him, but Essex had influence enough to get lord Bourg sent as Irish deputy, which so wounded and enraged Norris that he retired sullenly to his presidency of Munster, and died in 1597. See Somers' *Tracts*, vol. i., pp. 266–268.

(11) *Cary.*—These Carys, who were to have become lords of Culfeightrin, had Sorley Boy kept quiet, were second cousins of queen Elizabeth, being the sons of her cousin-german, sir Henry Cary, created by her viscount Hunsdon. Henry Cary was the son of the queen's aunt,

"Whitehead, (12) whereupon standeth a castell, not appointed; (13) distant six miles from

"Dunsarike, (14) Mr. Campernoune; (15) distant four miles from

"Dunluse, (16) Mr. Francis Kellaway; distant four miles from

"Portrush, (17) two of Mr. Treasurer's sons; (18) distant four miles from

"Colrane, (19) reserved for the Queen; distant two miles from

"James MacHenries Cronock, called Ynyshe Lockan, (20) reserved to keep that ford in the Banne, and not appointed; distant eight miles from

"Ballybony, (21) Ralph Bouchier; two miles from the Banne, and without the circuit; five miles from

Mary Boleyn. He had charge of Elizabeth when she made her celebrated visit to the camp at Tilbury in 1588. He could not induce her to create him an earl, but she granted him lands worth £4000 per annum. His two sons here mentioned, succeeded him as viscounts Hunsdon, the younger, John, dying in April, 1617. See Somers' *Tracts*, vol. i., p. 272; *Letters* of lord George Carew, edited by J. Maclean, p. 99.

(12) *Whitehead.*—This is the English translation of the original Irish name, *Ceann-ban*, or Kinbann. See p. 51, *supra.*

(13) *Not appointed.*—Whitehead, although having a 'castell,' was 'not appointed,' which meant that no one, probably, was willing to have it, from its isolated and almost inaccessible position. It was Colla Macdonnell's castle, where he died in 1558, and English gentlemen may have well supposed that the Scots would hardly allow a Sassanach occupant to hold it in peace.

(14) *Dunsarike.*—See p. 138, *supra.* We have not met with this form of the name Dunseverick in any other record.

(15) *Mr. Campernoune.*—This was Henry Campernoune of Modbury court, county of Devon, the representative of an old family, whose extensive landed property in Devon and Cornwall had been granted to an ancestor in the reign of Edward II. The gentleman above referred to was son of sir Richard Campernoune. There were at least two marriage alliances between the Campernounes and Chichesters of Devonshire. See lord Clermont's *History of the Family of Fortescue*, pp. 10, 26. Among Essex's adventurers, there was a sir Ar. Campnon.

(16) *Dunluse.*—See pp. 49, 63, 71, 137, 138, 160, 162, 180, 181, 188, 189, 312, *supra.* We have not discovered who Mr. Kellaway was, and have never seen his name associated with Dunluce, except in this "Noate of the Severall Seates." He was no doubt one of the "fiftie gentlemen," whom Essex represented as preparing to follow him; but he probably never came, or if so, he had but a short time to admire the beauties of Dunluce.

(17) *Portrush.*—"*Port-Ruis*, 'the port of the promontory' is so called from the harbour which is situate on the S.W. side of the long, narrow, basaltic promontory running into the sea, which is locally called Ramore, or Rathmore." The parish of Portrush is now known as Ballywillin, two-thirds of which parish are in the county of Londonderry. The dividing line between the two counties, till lately, ran through the churchyard, leaving the old church on the Londonderry side. There was formerly a castle or stronghold at Portrush, probably adjoining the old church, which stood at the point where the promontory connects with the mainland, but the ruins of both structures have been removed. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 76; see also pp. 162, 163, 202, 203, 217, *supra.*

(18) *Mr. Treasurer's sons.*—These gentlemen to whom the whole lands in the district were assigned, probably never visited Portrush. Although sons of Cecil, they were only half brothers. The elder, Thomas, became first earl of Exeter, and married Dorothy, one of the co-heirs of lord Latimer. The younger, Robert, became the celebrated minister of James I., and was best known by his title of earl of Salisbury. Dr. Birch asserts that Salisbury was a "man of quicker parts, and a more spirited writer and speaker than his father. He fully understood the English constitution, and the just limits of the prerogative; and, in short was as good a minister as James would suffer him to be, and as was consistent with his own safety in a factious and corrupt court." See Nichol's *Autographs.*

(19) *Colrane.*—See pp. 66, 67, 72, 75, 76, 131, 166, 218, *supra.* "The town now called Coleraine is written Culrath or Coulrath in most early English records. The original name was Cuilrathain, signifying the 'ferney corner.' For this etymology there is the authority of the Tripartite Life, which relates that St. Patrick, having arrived in the neighbourhood, was hospitably entertained, and received an offer of a tract of ground whereon to build a church, which was pointed out to him on the *northern bank* of the river Bann, in a spot overgrown with ferns, where some boys at the moment were setting fire to the ferns." (Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 75). Coleraine was reserved for the queen in Essex's arrangement with his adventuring friends, and some time afterwards the queen ordered a castle to be built there for the protection of her settlers against the Irish. The place had thus two fortified positions, designated by marshal Bagenal, severally, as "the castle of Colran, somewhat defaced, yet wardable, and Castleroe, wherein Turlough O'Neyle hath a constable and a ward to receive his part of the fishings." This was written in 1586. The town had then fallen into entire decay. It is said that the modern town was planned by sir John Perrot, the houses being timber, built in London, and thus forwarded to Coleraine. Each frame consisted of hard, black oak, in the form of what is called cage-work; the interstices were filled by plastered wicker-work, the front of the house having a pent-way or piazza. Several of these houses existed in good preservation until only a few years ago.

(20) *Lockan.*—See p. 62, *supra.*

(21) *Ballybony.*—In the account of the hosting against the Scots, led by the deputy Sussex in 1556, it is stated

" Brian Caroghes Cronock (22) uppon the Banne, reserved for footmen to keep that ford of the Banne ; distant five miles from

" Castle Toome, (23) George Carleton ; distant six miles from

" Masseryn, (24) reserved for the Quene, distant four miles from

" Belfaste, (25) reserved for the Quene, distant four miles from

" The bottom beneath the Cave, (26) having two little Pyles, (27) Mr. Barkley and Mr. Brunker ; (28) distant four miles from

by Phil. Butler the pursuivant :—" This day we came by a bishop's house, which was with a castle and a church joined together in one, called Ballymonyn." (*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, first series, pp. 259—262). The castle here mentioned, and the bishop's house, occupied the site on which the old market-house in that town was afterwards built, and their walls extended northward, so as to meet those of the ancient church, the position of the latter being still indicated by a square tower bearing the date of 1637. No vestiges of the castle, or of the bishop's house, now remain. The old church was superseded by a new one in 1637, and the latter was burned during the outbreak of 1641. The name is now invariably written *Ballymoney*, although " in early records the third syllable of the name always begins with a *b*." (Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 80, 81). As stated above, Ballymoney is about two miles from the Bann, on the north-eastern side of the river, being thus far " without the Circuitt," or without that circular chain of strong positions with which the gentlemen adventurers intended to surround the whole county of Antrim. Captain Ralph Bouchier soon disappeared from Carrickfergus, and probably never saw Ballymoney. He was a kinsman of the earl of Essex, belonging to that family which had previously borne the title. Essex, in a letter to the queen, speaks of his " cousin Bourchier," as having been with him in an expedition against the fastness of Brian Carrach. See *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i., p. 110.

(22) *Cronock.*—This was another lake-dwelling on the Bann, occupied by a great family of the O'Neills. The locality is now known as *Inishrush*, 'the island in the wood.' Brian O'Neill, surnamed *Carrach*, or 'Scarred,' was its owner and occupant at the time Essex was thus taking possession of it—on paper. For a most interesting account of this crannoge, see a contribution by Dr. Reeves in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii., p. 212 ; see also pp. 176—185, *supra*.

(23) *Castell Toome.*—See p. 286, *supra*. This castle stood near the famous ford or pass of the Bann, known as *Fersait Tuama*, in the present parish of Dunean. For several interesting notices of Toome and its locality, see Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 86, 184, 293, 300, 345. George Carleton, to whom this castle was granted—in imagination—was probably the founder of a respectable family connexion bearing his surname, since known in the County of Antrim.

(24) *Masseryn.*—There had been a fort recently erected at this place by the government, Elizabeth having ordered the lord deputy, in July, 1567, to get it built, and to erect forts also at Coleraine, Toome, Newry, and Strangford. Massereene was one of the places in Antrim originally included in the queen's grant to sir Thomas Smith, as were also Belfast, Toome, and Edenduffcarrick, all of which Smith consented to surrender to Essex on certain conditions, in the year 1573 (See Hamilton's *Calendar*, 1st series, pp. 340, 507). On the 7th of July, 1575, Essex " marched through the woods from Killulto to Massareen," where he rested, and made arrangements for an expedition against Brian Caroghe's crannoge on the Bann. (See *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i, p. 104.) O'Mellan, chaplain to sir Phelim O'Neill, writes the name *Massareghna*, which is said to mean the " Queen's Hill." The name at first belonged to a small friary of Franciscans of the third order, which was founded about the year 1500, by the O'Neills. (Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 389.)

(25) *Belfaste.*—Essex had the credit, though not exclusively, of recognising the importance of Belfast as a superior position in all respects to Carrickfergus. In his " Instructions," sent through Waterhouse to the council in London, he says—" The experience of the beginning of this winter (1573), whereof I have made trial here, doth persuade how unnecessary this town of Knockfergus is for the lodging of any garrison, both for lack of wood and convenient harbour of ships, and for annoying of enemies, which commonly keep themselves in the woods. Therefore, considering that near unto Belfaste is a place meet for a corporate town, armed with all commodities, as a principal haven, wood, and good ground, standing also upon a border, and a place of great importance for service, I think it convenient that a fortification be made there at the spring ; the fortification for the circuit, and a storehouse for victuals, to be at her Majesty's charges, all other buildings at mine, and such as shall inhabit it, and for the doing hereof, I desire that Ligh, the engineer, or some other skilful in fortification, should be sent hither, who shall also build a bridge upon the Laigan, without her Majesty's charge." (See *Calendar of the Carew MSS.*, first series, p 448.) The fort was built, as recommended by Essex, and garrisoned by Englishmen. In 1597 it was taken by Shane, the son of Brian Mac Felim, and all the "Inglishmen in ward hanged, their throats cut, and their bowells cutt out of their bellyes," no doubt in revenge for the cruel murder of his father at Belfast, by Essex. Sir John Chichester re-took the fort or castle next day (July 11), " and putt those founde in yt to the sworde."—*Ulster Journal*, vol. v., pp. 189, 190.

(26) *The Cave.*—The flat expense between the Cave Hill and the lough is here termed the " Bottom."

(27) *Pyles.*—These two little " Pyles" were Greencastle and another at Whitehouse, the remains of which have been converted into a stable. The only portion of this Pyle which is known to have existed was a large square tower. (See *Ulster Journal*, vol. iii., p. 83.) The

"Carigfergus, (29) reserved for the Quene; distant four miles from
"Mac Guyes Ilande, (30) reserved for the Quene; distant four miles from
"Oulder fleete, (31) reserved for the Quene; distant seven miles from
"Glenarme, as aforesaid." See *Ulster Journal*, vol. ix., pp. 250, 251.

The foregoing arrangement appeared very well on paper, and was drawn up for the special study, and indeed, in some measure, for the quieting of the gentlemen adventurers, until such time as they could actually take possession of the fine positions thus indicated in the "Noate." Essex's own account of the matter is this:—"The country being now in unquietness by Brian's revolt, (32)

remains of the 'Old Whitehouse' which, probably, superseded the castle as a residence, still exist at the place now known as *Macedon Point*. Part of the troops brought by William III. to Ireland, in 1689, disembarked at the *Whitehouse*, where they were joined by the king, who had come on shore at Carrickfergus. He was there met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirk, and other officers. (See *Ulster Journal*, vol. i., p. 131.) *Greencastle* was formerly called *Cloughcastella*. See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 185.

(28) *Barkley—Brunker.*—These officers afterwards distinguished themselves in the campaigns against the Scots conducted by sir John Perrot. The former was one of a few officers who received the special thanks of Elizabeth for not deserting Essex until the total failure of his expedition. Barkley's name was on the original list of adventurers who came with Essex; Brunker was among the "fiftie" other gentlemen who joined subsequently.

(29) *Carigfergus.*—Essex determined to take up the better position offered by the vicinity of Belfast, had he succeeded in his enterprise. When writing to the council in England, soon after his arrival, he says:—"According to my covenant with her Majesty, I have discharged the ward in the Castle of Knockefargus, which, notwithstanding, doth not serve to any use, having in it very few rooms, and none of those covered, so as I have no apt place to employ her Majesty's munition and other store but in wet vaults. Therefore, for as much as the house is reserved to her Highness, I desire that her surveyor may bestow such necessary cost upon repairing of it as may be convenient for the uses whereunto it should be put, as storehouses, garners, and such like, or else that I may have warrant for charges to be bestowed both upon it and the abbey here, which is also in extreme decay." (*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, first series, p. 446.) Richard Dobbs has several curious remarks on Carrickfergus in his *Briefe Description*. He concludes with the following:—"The Irish have a prophecy of this Towne, that a merchant shall come to Kilroot to buy salt, to whom the castle of Carrickfergus shall appear like the head of a nail in the sea—meaning, I suppose, that the Towne shall be overflowed." See Appendix II.; see also pp. 6, 66, 67, 198.

(30) *Ilande.*—In 1573, the time now referred to, there was an old, strong fortress on Island Magee. In 1683, Richard Dobbs states that the remains of this castle, which stood on the rock above Portmuck about a mile northward from the Gobbins, consisted then only of the salley-port, which was in shape; and opposite to it was the little Isle of Portmuck, which could be waded into at low water. When Essex's grand project had failed, he felt anxious to obtain some recompense in lieu of his lost money. Abandoning his claim on the former grant, he asked for a grant of the barony of Farney, in the county of Monaghan, and of Island-Magee, on the Antrim coast, together with the command of 100 horse and 200 foot. "As touching his demand for Mac Guy's Island," said sir Henry Sydney, "your Majesty may esteem that you have made a good purchase for yourself to have such a tenant; who, besides obedience—which is rather to be desired than generally looked for in these parts—may in time, by building, planting, and settling there, draw such a consent and liking of others to fancy his neighbourhood, as benefit may grow to your coffers, honour to your realme, and safety to many of your good subjects." (See *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i., pp. 120, 121.) See also Appendix II.

(31) *Oulder fleete.*—For a learned and very interesting account of this locality, see Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 55, 252, 265. The castle of Olderfleete, near the southern point of the Curran (*Corann*, 'a sickle'), is supposed to have been built by the Bysets. It is more likely to have been originally built by Norwegians, who frequently landed here, and *rebuilt* by the Bysets. At this place Edward Bruce disembarked his troops, on coming to invade Ireland, early in the fourteenth century. The facilities offered to sea-faring men by this inlet account for its attractiveness in all ages. Richard Dobbs, in his *Briefe Description of Antrim*, says:—"The mouth of Loughlarn opens directly to the north, and the entrance is made by Island Magee on the south-east and the Lands of Drumalis, and the Corran to the west north-west, and running up about half a mile, and continuing about so broad, makes the Harbour, called Olderfleete Haven, one of the best (as I have heard seamen upon the place discourse it) in Ireland; for here is good anchorage, deep water,—the ebb runs out so strong that a ship can hardly miss an opportunity of going out; and if a vessel should be forced in by an enemy or other accident, she may run aground safe into the Lough, which, being free from Rocks, is either clear, smooth sand at the bottom or soft ows, or slitch." See Appendix II.

(32) *Brian's Revolt.*—See p. 147, *supra*. Brian Mac Felim's movement could hardly have been called a revolt. Before Essex's landing, Brian had been a sworn member of the northern League already mentioned, and he practised a *ruse* to find out what forces were really at Essex's command. When he found that he had nothing to fear on this account, he not only deserted Essex, but, as a matter of course, he communicated the real state of affairs at Carrickfergus to the other leading northern chiefs—Sorley

partitions cannot be made of the adventurers' portions; nevertheless *it doth satisfy* them partly that I offered that the best places along the sea cost from Knockfergus to the Banne, shall be theirs by lot for their demaines and dwelling houses, the rest of their portions to fall within the country. My reasons moving me to this offer were these. If they fortify themselves upon each commodious landing-place by the seaside, the Scots shall have no commodity to infest or invade this country; the one of the adventurers being near to the other may relieve and help the other, and every one to have the sea to friend for his victualling and other necessities. This plat though it partly satisfied them, doth not thoroughly content them, because of the unquietness, and that her majesties consent is not had to the same, wherein I desire resolution." The discontent which had thus been manifested among the gentlemen adventurers soon became distinctly evident in the ranks, and throughout the little bands of humbler settlers who had been induced to accompany the expedition. Referring to the more urgent case of the soldiers, Essex has the following passage in his *Instructions* sent through Waterhouse on the 2nd of November, 1573:—"And forasmuch as the soldiers sent hither were levied by a commission, rather exhorting them than compelling them to this service, they grow to mutiny, alleging that they came for goodwill and are not to continue longer than they list themselves, neither are (as they think) tied to the smallness of this entertainment; so as my humble desire is that some mean may be devised how her Majesty may more effectually countenance this war both for more obedience in the army, and for more appearance to the enemies that her Highness is resolved to bring to effect that which is undertaken. And for a present needful supply I desire 200 footmen to be embarked at Chester and Lirepoole, with all convenient speed. By my former letters I have signified how much the soldiers grudge at their pay, especially the horsemen, who want cess or any manner of help that the civil parts of Ireland yieldeth, whereby for weariness of the place some have willingly lamed their horses, some lost them, and will abide the danger due for mutiny rather than content themselves with so great travail, with so apparent loss." See *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, first series, pp. 447—449.

VII.

Sir James Macdonnell's Will.

(See p. 192, *supra.*)

Sir Alexander Macdonnell's eldest son, sir James of Ballybannagh, in the county of Antrim, married Mary, daughter of Donough O'Brien, in the county of Clare. He is also styled of Eanagh, in the parish of Ballymoney, county of Antrim, this residence being situate near the Bann, and near the Cross.(1) This sir James Macdonnell, the second baronet, engaged zealously in the wars of 1641,

Boy and Turlough Luinech. This was the "head and front of his offending," coupled with the *intention* of starving the garrison at Carrickfergus by withholding provisions! Some cruelties are laid to his charge, or rather brutalities towards the dead, which he is not at all likely to have committed. For this Essex seized him by the grossest treachery, and when Brian's friends resisted, upwards of one hundred of them were put to the sword, besides ladies and children! The English earl accompanied this foul and bloody murder by stealing 3000 head of cattle and a great number of brood mares from sir Brian's enclosures near Belfast. Essex issued a proclamation endeavouring to justify himself, and enclosed a copy of this document in a despatch to the privy council, dated on Christmas Eve, 1574. See *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i., pp. 89, 90.

(1) *Crosse.*—See p. 69, *supra*. The little town known as the Crosse stood on the Bann side, about a mile and a half westward from the town of Ballymoney. It was known in ancient times as *Aonach Cros, i.e.*, the Fair of

and was distinguished for his humane efforts to avert the evils of that crisis, even from his enemies. (See his *Letters*, pp. 64—68, 70, 71, *supra*). His estate, however, was forfeited and never restored, being afterwards granted to captain John Galland, a Cromwellian officer. (See p. 284, *supra*). Sir James, however, obtained a grant under the act of settlement, but of much smaller dimensions than the estate he had lost. His eldest son, Alexander, a colonel, married the lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Henry, earl of Surrey, Arundel, and Norfolk. This colonel Alexander Macdonnell was killed in a duel, in the year 1677, leaving by his lady one son, Randal, who, as well as his father, died in the life-time of sir James, the second baronet. In the interval between the death of his son and grandson, sir James of Eanagh made his will, of which the following is a correct copy :—" In the Name of God, Amen. The 28th day of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1688. I, Sir James M'Donnell of Eanagh, in the parish of Ballymoney and county of Antrim, being sicke of bodie but sound of mind, do make and ordain my last will and Testament, in manner and form following:—1st. I give and bequeathe my soul to Almighty God, my Maker and Redeemer, and my bodie to be buried at the disposition of my executors. Item, my will is that my beloved wife shall have and enjoy all and every goods and chattels, lands, and leases, that now properly belongeth unto mee, viz., The half townland of Rabirenny, and the quarterland of Horky, both lying and being in the baronie of Dunluce and County of Antrim; as also the quarterland of Lisnagal, one quarter of Elantikerd, the quarter of Ballaghnastrad, the quarter of Lemineighbeg, and the quarter of Lisballynagroaghbeg, lying and being in the Baronie of Carey and county aforesaid, during her natural life and no longer. Item, it is my Will that 50 pounds sterling be payed out to my grandchild, Mary O'Neill, of the above-named lands; and 50 pounds sterling unto any that the said Mary my wife thinks fit, of Morough O'Fflaherty's children, and that to be paid after the death of Mary my said wife. Item, it is my will that shee distribute whatever goods and chattels she will have free from debts at the time of her decease, according to her own discretion. Item, it is my will that my grandchild, Randal, my son Alexander his son, shall have a trustee appointed to carry out this arrangement." In Nov., 1696, Charles Campbell, Esq., was appointed trustee. The trust was confirmed by act of Parliament, passed in the first year of Queen Anne's reign. The first claimant against the estate (which had been forfeited in 1688) was Jas. M'Donnell, the guardian to Randal's children. The names of these children were James, Randal, John, Mary, and Henrietta. The claim was on remainders in tail, by letters patent, dated 24th of Sept., 3rd James II., to these minors' father. Randal, the father of these children, and

Crosses; "a celebrated place," says the late Dr. O'Donovan, "in the county of Antrim, and much spoken of in Irish history, although its exact situation is not now known." There can be no doubt as to its situation, or rather the immediate locality in which it was situated, as the two names, Aonach or Enagh, and the Cross, are there still preserved, and regularly used. The place was mentioned in a very complimentary way by an Irish poet, named Cormachan, who wrote a poem entitled the *Circuit of Ireland*, about the year 942. This poem celebrates the famous journey made round Ireland, in the winter of 941, by Murtough MacNeill, prince of Aileach, in Donegal. From his palace there, he "set out with an army of one thousand chosen men to make the circuit of Ireland, for the purpose of exacting hostages from all such chieftains as he supposed were likely to oppose his future elevation" to the throne of Ireland. His first day's march brought him from Aileach, near Derry, to Aonach Cros on the Bann. There he made a halt; and his poet Cormachan, when referring to the night spent at that place, says :—

"We were a night at Oenach-Cros—
Not more delightful to be in Paradise."

(See *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, vol. i., edited by Dr. O'Donovan, 1841). The only remnant of this once celebrated place was an immense green mound (now recently removed), on or adjoining which stood the residence, whose internal arrangements and enjoyments so enchanted the poet. This spot was known in the 17th century as the Crosses of Antrim. See p. 69, *supra*.

his wife Hanna, daughter of David Roche, Esq., were claimants for and in behalf of the said Hanna, claiming £300 per ann., during life of the claimant, Hanna's separate use Proceed and Interest of £7000 after Randal's death, and a full fourth part of the whole Principal to claimant, Hanna' s separate use, for discovery of the estate. These claims were founded on articles of Marriage, dated the 8th of Jan., 1686, and witnessed by Eliza Rumbald, Patk. Sarsfield, and Edward White. They were further founded on letters patent, under the great seal of Ireland, dated 6th Nov., 8th William III., and also on letters patent to Rowland White and John Baggot in trust, dated 24th September, 3rd James II." (See *List of Claims as entered at Chichester House*, &c., &c., pp. 72, 73). Of Randal's children, his three sons in succession held the family property in the Route; Mary, the elder daughter, became the wife of Christopher O'Brien of Ennystemon, otherwise called Newhall, in the county of Clare. James, the eldest son, would have been fourth baronet, but for his father's forfeiture, which abolished the title. He was known, however, as sir James, and as an amiable, accomplished gentleman. He died unmarried, in May, 1728, and was interred in St. James's churchyard, Dublin, where his sister Henrietta had a monument raised to mark his grave and that of their mother. See Lodge's *Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., p. 201.

VIII.

Extract from an Elegy on the Death of Sorley Macdonnell, of Kilkee, county of Clare.

(See p. 193, *supra.*)

[TRANSLATED FROM THE IRISH BY C. W. HAMILTON, ESQ., HAMWOOD, CLONEE, COUNTY MEATH.]

SAD is my heart—my thoughts and mem'ry broken,
Wander uncentred, since that word was spoken;
Since he, the hero, highly born and brave,
Is stretched, alas! in an untimely grave.

Charles, son of James, 'twas thou, whose falchion bright
Aye glittered foremost in thy country's fight;
But the cold flag lies above thy honest heart—
From Munster's friend, all Munster grieves to part.

A noble race was that which came before thee,
A noble mother of that proud stock bore thee.
A towering tree, far spreading, didst thou grow,
Thy roots are now uptorn, thy stem laid low.

Yes! Munster's hospitable lord is gone,
Her ready counsellor, her corner-stone—
Upon his strength and prudence she relied,
And he supported her Milesian pride.

Hard were the task to tell thy noble race,
And count each branch wide spreading from the base;
Beyond the power of one by love unfired,
Or by the sacred muses uninspired.

Where I, and other three more learned in verse,
Thy Father's noble actions to rehearse,
And in the grateful task our lives to spend,
The lengthen'd task would never have an end.

Yet would I tell of Heber, I would tell
How thy cousin, Conn of the hundred battles, fell,
And won the honours of a warrior's tomb
Upon the field of slaughter at Macroom.

Eugene Oge, 'twas thou whom Beinne slew,
'Twas thou, so hard in combat to subdue,
A lion thou, impetuous and brave,
The high-born son of Oliol and Meave.

Nor less renowned for valour didst thou die—
Great Eugene More, victim of treachery.
The Feriis' scourge wert thou, till foully slain
Unarmed, by Gaul upon Moylena's plain.

Nor should I venture to omit thy name—
CORMAC the true, whose lineage was the same.
Noble protector of a happy band,
Who raised their numbers and increased their land.

Nor thine, O Carbry, ever first to wield
The sword of triumph on the battle field,
And in despite the Finian heroes' boast,
Hurl death and ruin on their flying host.

Nor, Nial of the heavenly showers—thine
Nial, the good, the wise, and the benign;
The poet's friend, in whose auspicious reign
Three gentle showers revived the thirsty plain.

Nor Tuathal the festive, generous king,
Who ruled and made this country flourishing.
Nor Fiachra, who upon Scotland laid
The tribute to his valour justly paid.

Nor his successor on the throne, the free,
The bountiful, the warlike Felimidth,
Who gave just laws for his people to obey,
And swept abuses from the code away.

Nor shall I venture to pass over thee,
Brian the Brave, friend of humanity!
Who, at Clontarf, subdued the Danish pride,
And, though victorious, in the battle died.

Nor Enda, is thy name forgotten now,
Nor yet the white-toothed Alexander—thou,
The sword, the shield of the Gadelian name,
Ere treachery their victim overcame.

Of noble lineage thy relations were—
The chiefs of Thomond and the lords of Clare,
Since Hermon and Heber, mingling
Of blood was none save of a chief or king.

The hawk of Dooagh, and the brave and good
Lord of Bunratty, best of Saxon blood—
O'Brien—he who reined the strangers in,
And his associate meet—the Knight of Glin.

IX.

Topography of Antrim Estates.

(See p. 196, *supra*.)

[THE whole area of the Antrim estates was once divided into tuoghs or districts, the names of which are recited in the Antrim patents, and the topography of which has been admirably illustrated by the Rev. Dr. Reeves. We quote his account, omitting only such passages as have already been given in preceding portions of this volume. His remarks contain, in a concise form, by far the most interesting and reliable account of these districts anywhere to be found.]

"I. In the Route nine tuoghs or districts, namely:—

"1. *Tuogh between the Bande and the Boys.*—This territory, as the name indicates, was bounded by the Bann on the west, and the Bush on the east. It comprehended the parishes of Coleraine, Ballyaghran, Ballywillan, Ballyrashane, Dunluce, and Kildollagh. The part of it which lay near the Bann was anciently called Moy Elle. (1)

"2. *Tuogh of Dunseverick and Ballenatoy.*—Separated from the last by the Bush. It contained that part of Billy parish which lies in the barony of Cary, and to which belongs Dunseverick castle, with the parish of Ballintoy. (2)

(1) *Moy Elle.*—An early and very strong position in this district was the fortress called *Dun-da-bheann*, 'the fort of the two peaks,' which stood at *Eas Craoibhe*, the 'cataract of Craobh, or Creeve,' now the Cutts of Coleraine. This waterfall on the Bann was so called from a princess named *Creeve*, who was drowned there. The ancient fortress was rebuilt, A.D. 1197, by John de Courcy, and is mentioned by the Four Masters as *Kill-Sanctan*. (See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 74, 342, *notes*). De Courcy's castle was rased almost to its foundations by the Irish in 1221. In 1248, the castle and bridge were rebuilt, but again destroyed, soon after the invasion of Edward Bruce, early in the fourteenth century. The remains of the castle still occupy the mound now known as Mount-Sandal. (See *Cambrensis Eversus*, as translated and edited by Kelly, vol. i., p. 217, *note*.) For notices of Dunluce, another celebrated position in this tuogh or district, see Appendix VI.

(2) *Ballintoy.*—See pp. 63, 312, 329, *supra*. The castle which stood a little westward from the village of

"3. *Tuogh of Ballelagh.*—Containing that part of Billy which is in the barony of lower Dunluce, together with the parish of Derrykeighan. In this lay the castle of Ballylough. (3)

"4. *Tuogh of Loughgill.*—So called from the parish of Loughguile, which forms the chief part of it, and was anciently important on account of its castle. (4)

"5. *Tuogh of Ballemoney and Dromart.*—So called from the parish of Ballymoney, and the

Ballintoy, was finally removed early in the present century. The village is beautifully situated, although the houses are not numerous, nor attractive. The hill of Croaghmore, not far distant southward from the village, is 470 feet above the sea-level, and very remarkable, being wholly of basaltic formation, revealing from base to summit curiously arranged columns. The spire of the modest little church at Ballintoy, is a useful land-mark to navigators of the stormy channel, and can be seen at a very great distance at sea. In this immediate district, also, is the rather remarkable Rock, called locally and corruptly Carrick-a-Rede, the name being evidently *Carrig Riada*, meaning perhaps the most note-worthy rock on the coast of Dalriada, or because it may have been associated in some way with the personal history of Cairbre Riada. It is locally asserted to mean the *Rock on the Road*, because it intercepts the progress of the Salmon along the shore. It is, however, an insulated crag of rudely prismatic basalt, separated from the mainland by a chasm sixty feet in breadth, and about ninety in depth. On it is a fishing station, and in a little cottage on the crag, or carrig, the fishermen dwell during a part of every summer. For reference to the castle at Dunseverick, seep. 138, *supra*. The rock of Dunseverick has been mouldering rapidly away, until now scarcely so much remains as to afford space for even the small portion of the ruins of the old castle yet standing. It takes its name from *Sobhairce*, or *Sovarke*, its supposed original founder and its very early celebrity is shown by the following entries in the Annals of Ireland :—"Anno Mundi 3501, Dun-Sobharky Muirbhulg of Dal-Riada [was fortified] by Sobharky. A.M. 3668, Sobharky [governed] the North in Dun-Sobharky. A.M. 4176, After Rotheacht had been seven years King of Ireland, he was burned by lighting in Dun-Sobharky. Anno Domini, 664, Eochaidh Iarliathe, King of Ulster, was slain at Dunseverick, in revenge for an evil deed done by his daughter, who had married Ronan, King of Leinster." Eochaidh was interred in Conneire, now Connor, and his bard Flaithir, referred to his death and burial as follows :—"This day distinguished the grave of Eochaidh, son of Fiacha Lurgan, in the earth of the church of Conneire, which has received the great heat of his mouth. Eochaidh has received one shirt in his grave-bed, slaughtered, which has brought sorrow upon every person who is at Dun-Sobhairce." "A.D. 870, The storming of Dun Sobharky, a thing which had never been effected before." In a note on this passage, Dr. O'Connor observes that there are preserved at Stowe certain ancient Irish poems on the *Storming of Dun-Sobhairce in Ulster*. Other annalists place this event under the year 871, and describe the event as the *demolition* of Dun-Sobhairce, which had never happened before. A.D. 924, "Dun-Sobharky was plundered by the Danes of Lough Cuan" (Strangford Lough). Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 286, 287; *Three Fragments of Annals*, translated and edited by Dr. O'Donovan, pp. 67, 195.

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(3) *Ballylough.*—This castle, from which the tuogh or territory had its name, is mentioned by the Four Masters at year 1544, as *Baile-an-locha*, "the town of the lough." It was a stronghold of the Macquillins, and a part of the old structure is still to be seen in the rere of Ballylough House, but the lake or lough has disappeared. (See p. 67, *supra*. See Reeve's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 78, 287.) In this tuogh is the Giants' Causeway, with its wondrous caves of Port-Coon and Dunkerry ; its Whindyke, composed of seven distinct walls constructed by horizontal prisms ; and its three moles or piers, projected from a stratified cliff 400 feet high, and composed of polygonal pillars of dark coloured basalt. The cliffs eastward from the Causeway appear as so many portions of one great headland called Bengore, which rivals Fair Head, and presents a similar formation. On one of these huge capes stand a few shattered columns, locally known as the "Chimney Tops," which are said to have been fired at by the crew of the Spanish vessel, who mistook them for the turrets of a castle. The vessel was dashed to pieces near a little creek at the foot of the cliffs, which has been since known in the district as *Port-na Spaigna*. (See p. 189, *supra*.) The basalt of the Causeway is the most accurately crystalised of any hitherto known throughout the world, and the pillars of Pleaskin, in the immediate vicinity, are the grandest specimens of this rock, excepting those seen at Fairhead, near Ballycastle. The Giants' Causeway is probably so called from its having been a landing-place, in early times, for stalwart Norsemen, known as *Fomorians*, or "Men of the Sea."

(4) *Its castle.*—The Athlone pursuivant who accompanied Sussex to the north in 1556, states that Loughgill Castle was built by the "Red Earl," although it was generally believed to have been built by sir Philip Savage, whose son, sir Robert, died there in the year 1390. Richard de Burgo, the "Red Earl," so called from the colour of his hair, was son of Walter de Burgo, lord of Connaught, and Maud, daughter and heir of the younger Hugh de Lacie, earl of Ulster. The latter died in 1243, and his son-in-law became, in right of his wife, the first de Burgo earl of Ulster. Walter died in 1271, and was succeeded by his son, "the Red Earl," who was educated in the court of Henry III., and became the most potent Irish magnate of his day. Being able, in a great measure, to wield the powers of a ruler in both Ulster and Connaught, he kept the O'Neills and O'Donnells in fear. He accompanied King Edward on the three several occasions of his invading Scotland—in 1296, 1299, and 1303. Besides this castle of Loughgill, the keep of which was standing until within the last few years, he built also Greencastle, at the entrance to Carlingford Bay, the castles of Corran and Ballymote in Sligo, and Castle Connell on the Shannon, near Limerick. His eldest daughter, Ellen, married Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, afterwards king of Scotland, and by him was mother of David II. Lodge, *Irish Peerage*, edited by Archdall, vol. i., pp.

townland of Drumard therein, which lies north-east of the town. This territory included the parishes of Ballymoney and Kilraghts. (5)

"6. *Tuogh of Killeoconway.*—The name Kilconway, which is now borne by the barony of which this territory forms a part, originally belonged to the western part of the parish of Finvoy. The name seems to be derived from *Coil na g-Connmhuigh*, 'the wood of O'Conway.' A large earthen fort, now enclosed in Finvoy Glebe, was formerly called Kilconway Fort, and a writer in the Parochial Survey states that from it the barony took its name. (6) (*Par. Survey*, vol. i., p. 383.)

"7. *Tuogh of Killioquin.*—Now known under the form of *Killyquin*, as the name of an estate containing thirteen townlands, in the western part of Rasharkin parish. (7)

"8. *Tuogh of Killiomorrie.*—Now known by the name Killymurris. *Coill Ui Mhuireadhaigh*, 'the wood of O'Murry.' This district lies around the village of Dunloy, in the eastern part of Finvoy parish, and is a place of note on account of its wood-coal. (8)

"9. *Tuogh of Magheradunagh.*—It received this name from *Machaire*, 'a plain,' and *Dun Eachdach*, 'Dunaghy;' the parish of which it chiefly consisted. In the Antrim patent the village of Clough, in this parish, is called *Clogh-maghera-donaghie*, which name together with *Oldstone*, its aliter, belonged to the ancient castle at the north of the village. This castle was 'a Macdonnell's house' in 1641, and was a place of refuge for the Protestants of the neighbourhood. (9) (*Deposit.* T.C.D., Com. Antrim, col. 3492.)

"II. The district of the Glynnes was subdivided into seven territories. Dymmok, in his *Treatice of Ireland*, thus notices them:—'The ile of Glinnes conteyneth seven Baronyes of which the Raughlines being sixe miles, is counted half a barony, the rest are Larnparke, Glanar, Redbay, Lade, Carye, and Mowbray. (p. 23.) Or, as the names are recited in another document of the same age:—'The names of the baronies are these—Larne, Parke, Glenarm, Red Bay (where Randall, now lord of the country, has his residence), (10) Carie [Isle of Raghlin], and Mowberry." (Dubourdieu's *Antrim*, p. 621.) In the Antrim patents they are the following:—

"1. *Tuogh of Munerie.*—This was the district in which Ballycastle was situate, and it was about

120, 122; Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 73; see also pp. 61, 195 *supra*.

(5) *Kilraghts.*—The principal position in this tuogh or territory, in early times, was probably Drumard, now Dromart, where there still remains a huge mound similar to that which stood at the Cross, on the Bann, near Ballymoney. Kilraghts, in the fourteenth century, was called Kellrethi (See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 73), a name probably corrupted from Kill-Reda or Kill-Riada.

6) *Its name.*—See p. 283, 284.

(7) *Parish.*—For reference to this district in 1641, see p. 74, 284, *supra*.

(8) *Wood coal.*—This substance, which is found in several districts throughout Ulster, has been at various times used as fuel for domestic purposes, and also in supplying public works. It is found at Ballintoy, in the cliffs of Portnoffer near the Causeway, along the eastern shores of Loughneagh, and especially in this tuogh or district of Killymurris in the parish of Finvoy, near the centre of the basaltic area. The texture of the wood here and at other places is often remarkably distinct, indicating it as a species of fir. It is said that, in many instances, the roots and branches of the trees can be easily traced in the coal. At Ballintoy the pits caught fire and continued to burn during several years, the fire being only at length smothered by the falling in of the incumbent basaltic mass. In the severe season of 1817, the poor people near the Causeway commenced, of themselves, to work the vein of wood coal there, to supply the want of regular fuel; but the roofing of their little mine fell in, and several of the workers perished.

(9) *Neighbourhood.*—Dunaghy, *Dun Eachdach*, Eochaidh's fort, or fortified residence, is the name of a townland, and also of a whole parish on the banks of the once famous river Frecabhail (now Ravel), in the barony of Kilconway. It was supposed to be the place mentioned in the *Circuit of Ireland* from which the king of Uladh was carried off as a hostage; but *Duneight*, near Lisburn, is the residence there spoken. (See p. 136, *supra*).

co-extensive with the parish of Ramoan and Grange of Drumtullagh. In the later patent the name was written *Mynerie*, and, in the authorities just cited, *Mowbray*, *Mowberry*. A.D. 1333, William de Welles was tenant of the Earl of Ulster in *Manybery* and *Cary*. The town of Ballycastle takes its name from the castle which stood there, and of which a portion yet remains. (11) In 1641, this building was occupied by Alice, countess dowager of Antrim. (Deposit, *ut supra*, col. 4229.)

"2. *Cynamond of Armoy and Raghlins*—As the name indicates, the parish of Armoy and the island of Rathlin were combined to form this *cinament*, or minor territory. (12)

"3. *Tuogh of Carey*.—The name Cary is often used as synonymous with the parochial name Culfeightrin. The barony, which is now so called, comprehends much more than the original territory. (13)

"4. *Tuogh of Glinmiconogh*. (14)

"5. *Tuogh of Largie*.—That part of the parish of Ardclinis which lies between Nappan and Lemnalary is still called the *Largy*. *Learga* signifies 'slopes of hills,' and the name is

(10) *Residence*.—For old name of Red Bay castle, see p. 136, *supra*. There is no record of sir Randal Macdonnell having ever dwelt in this castle, as stated in the old Tract quoted by Dubourdieu. There was a constable, however, regularly appointed to keep the place down to the year 1641.

(11) *Yet remains*.—Since the above was written by Dr. Reeves, the ruins of sir Randal Macdonnell's castle have been entirely removed. (See p. 250, *supra*). In this tuogh is the mountain of Knocklayd, which has been called a "hemispherical mass." It resembles a green mound, but of monster dimensions, ascending to a height of about 1700 feet above the sea-level. A mass of trap covers the summit 930 feet in thickness, and various petrifactions have been found, particularly bivalves and volutes, of the species which are now extinct. Time immemorial, a grey cairn stands on the summit, called *Cairn-an-Truagh*, and there is a tradition about three Norwegians buried beneath. In the year 1095, there was a great and decisive battle fought on the eastern slope of Knocklayd called *Ardachadh*, now Ardagh. This battle is mentioned by the Four Masters, under that year, as follows:—"A great victory was gained at Ard-achadh by the Dal-Araidhe over the Ulidians, wherein were slain Lochlainn Ua Cairill, royal heir of Ulidia, and Gilla Chomghaill Ua Cairill, and a great host along with them." The Ua Cairill—descended from Cairill, a king of Uladh, who died in A.D. 256—were a ruling family in northern Ulster during several centuries; but their power was broken at this battle of Ardagh, and it finally died out before the advancing sway of the O'Neills. Several of the O'Carrolls, however, founded distinguished families on the Scottish coast, especially in Ayrshire and Galloway.

(12) *Territory*.—This combination is not easily accounted for. A wild legend still exists which tells us that the island of Rathlin was transferred from a *hollow space* in the district of Armoy, shaped pretty much like the island! This hollow space is known as the Lagg, formerly as *Lagg-na-Peste*.

(13) *Original territory*.—See pp. 147, 283, 325, *supra*. Among many natural attractions to be found in this tuogh or territory is the huge headland, inappropriately named *Fairhead*, for it is characteristically dark and gloomy. This promontory rises from the sea to a height of more than 600 feet, and consists principally of a huge body of green-stone columns of perfectly colossal dimensions. The whole structure may be viewed as composed of two distinct parts, the lower one, next the sea, being an inclined plane, strewn with enormous fragments of pillars that have fallen from the face of the promontory. This slope is overlooked by an array of gigantic columns which still retain their upright position, some of them being 300 feet long. Close to their base, the surface, from which their Titanian brothers have fallen consists of a regular pavement formed of the extremities left behind by the enormous prismatic masses. Adjoining Fairhead is Murlough Bay, unrivalled, perhaps, in its picturesque beauty. The Four Masters, at the year of the world 2859, record the battle of "Murbulg (Murloch), in Dalriada;" and Keating adds that in this battle "Starn, the son of Nevvy, fell by the hand of Coning, son of Faevar." See Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, p. 252, *note*.

(14) *Glinmiconagh*.—See p. 171, *supra*. This is the tuogh known as the *Middle Glens*, and as presenting some of the most attractive scenery on the Antrim coast. It contains a fine open tract of fertile land between the mountains and the sea, in the centre of which is situated the beautiful little town of Cushendall. Westward from this place, the mountains form a vast amphitheatre of many miles in extent. The lofty, conical hill called Luiriegedan, viewed from every point is conspicuous and beautiful. It unites with another equally attractive hill, called Teabuliagh, which is 1235 feet in height, having the vale of Glenarm on one side, and Glenballyemon on the other. From the road between Cushendall and Cushindun the view of the mountains is unrivalled in grandeur and extent. Throughout this district the inhabitants are familiar with the poems of Ossian, and believe that the bard lived here, died here, and was buried in Glenaan. On the summit of Luiriegedan, which is perfectly flat and green, there still exists a mound called *Dun Clanamorna*, which is traditionally said to have been one of the great warrior-bard's dwelling places.

descriptive in the present instance, of the continuous inclination of the high ground towards the shore. (15)

"6. *Tuogh of the Parke.*—It included Tickmacrevan, Templeoughter, and Solar, and was so called fom the Demesne attached to the castle of Glenarm. (16)

"7. *Tuogh of Larne.*—Elsewhere called 'the Larne.' This territory comprised the parishes of Carncastle, Killyglen, Kilwaughter, and Larne." (17)

"The following table, compiled from the Ordnance Survey Valuation, sets out the acreable extent in statute measure, and the valuation per annum of the seven modern baronies which represent the sixteen territories just recited :—

	Baronies.	Arable extent Statute measure.			Valuation per annum.		
		A.	R.	P.	£	s	d
1	North-East Liberties of Coleraine.	17,986	1	8	16,421	17	0
2	Lower Dunluce.	30,574	0	36	16,810	7	8
3	Upper Dunluce.	52,742	0	14	25,267	10	0
4	Kilconway.	68,265	2	8	22,209	9	2
5	Cary.	74,876	0	12	24,053	1	1
6	Lower Glenarm.	65,433	0	15	13,492	12	7
7	Upper Glenarm.	24,030	0	23	12,483	2	9
	Total.	333,907	1	36	130,738	0	3

"The names of the Glens are:—1, *Glenshesk*, through which runs the river Shesk, dividing the parishes of Ramoan and Culfeightrin; 2, *Glendun*, traversed by the river Dun; 3, *Glencorp*, a small

(15) *Shore.*—This tuogh, or territory, comprehended all the parish of Ardclinis, and probably a portion of Layd, although its name, *Largy*, is now confined to more limited dimensions. "The arable and inhabited part of Ardclinis consists of one long stripe, extending from the village of Carnlough along the coast into Red Bay, and up one side of the beautiful glen of Glenariff. It is enclosed on the land side by a steep and high mountain, to be ascended only by narrow paths traversing its sides. The extent of the cultivated part of the parish is about nine miles and a half—viz, three and a half from Carnlough to the entrance of Red Bay, three to the inner shore, and three up the glen towards the interior of the country." (See *Parochial Survey of Ireland*, vol. iii., pp. 8, 9.) Glenariff is one of those picturesque places which irresistibly impress themselves on the mind, and are never forgotten. The mountains rise around it regularly, but without monotony. At their feet are green slopes, which connect them with mural precipices of dark basalt, standing along the western side of the Glen. The principal waterfall, named Isnaleara, never fails, its unvarying cascade being supplied by the stream which comes down the centre of the Glen, and reaches the sea at Red Bay.

(16) *Glenarm.*—The two Deer Parks, great and little, include more than two thousand acres. The latter, including about 170 acres, lies on the south of the bay, and is perhaps one of the most attractive localities in the vicinity of Glenarm. It may be described as a natural platform, so large as to be employed for the purposes of a park, the floor of which is limestone richly carpeted with wild thyme, and made gay in summer by little clumps of wild roses in every nook and crannie. Its limestone walls, once subjected to the action of the sea, were then shaped into grotesque caverns and curious archways, which appear exceedingly picturesque, now that the restless waters have left them in peace. Whilst the sea forms the northern boundary of this enclosure, its southern is protected by a mural precipice of basalt, about 200 feet high, and completely impassable, even to the most adventurous among the little herds of deer that live below. Over the vast carpeted floor hugh blocks of limestone are scattered at intervals in wild irregularity. From the summit of the precipice one is reminded of the wild scene of devastation around the base of the promontory at Benmore or Fairhead. See p. 226.

(17) *Larne*—See p. 226, *supra*.—The bold and magnificent scenery of the Antrim coast begins to unfold itself in the vicinity of Larne, and the eye is alternately attracted by the long range of precipitous mountain westward, known as Agnew's Hill, 1,450 feet above the sea level, and the outline of the promontory called Ballygellie Head, rising abruptly at a very little distance from the road along the shore. The latter is a specimen of basaltic strata in a state of incipient columnisation. The different strata are composed of rudely-formed pillars, whose joints measure from eight to ten feet, all having a dip towards the land—a characteristic, indeed, which prevails along the whole coast. Under Ballygellie Head stands an enormous rock, which, at high water, becomes a little island, on the summit of which is perched a ruinous structure known as *Cairn-Castle*, giving name to the parish.—See p. 149, *supra*.

valley at the north-east of Layd; 4, *Glenaan*, gives name to a townland in Layd (*Ord. Survey, s.* 19); 5, *Glenballyemon*, also in Layd parish; it is not marked on the Ordnance Map, but the 'Ballyemon river,' which runs through it, is noticed in Lendrick's county Map,—the streams which flow through this Glen and the last, meet and form the river Dall, whence Cushindall derives its name; 6, *Glenariff* lies between Layd and Ardclinis, running in a south-western direction from Red Bay,—the stream which flows through it is called the 'Acre river,' but on Petty's Map it is marked 'Dree Fiuvius;' 7. *Glencloy* lies between Ardclinis, and Tickmacrevan, beginning at Camlough,—'Glencoy' is marked on the Ordnance Map (s. 25); 8, *Glenarm* in Tickmacrevan." Reeves's *Eccles. Antiquities*, pp. 330—334. According to an old saying in the district, when any report was put into general circulation, it was said to be "*known over the nine Glens.*" For a ninth Glen, see p. 133.

X.

Fishing Stations on the Antrim Coast.

(See p. 204, *supra.*)

An Inquisition taken at Carrickfergus, on the 10th of April, 1630, before Theophilus, bishop of Dromore, Sir Ffoulke Conway, knight, and Stephen Allen, Esq., commissioners, in virtue of a commission under the great seal, dated August 18, last past.

The jurors on this occasion were the following, viz., William Stephenson, gent., Alex. Stewart, gent., Arnold Michell, gent., John Peebles, yeoman, Thomas Boyd, gent., Richard M'Kernon, yeoman, James Michell, gent., James Allen, gent., Oliver Nugent, gent., Hugh Wilson, gent., Thomas Grace, gent., Jenkin M'Theobald M'Quillen, gent., Gillduff M'Omulvanny, gent., Robert Horseborough, gent.

"Who, being duly sworn, do find and present upon their oaths that there is a Royal Salmon-Fishing in the river of the Bann within the said county (of Antrim), from the sea up to the Salmon Leap within the said river, which is two miles or thereabouts, from the sea to the said Leap, which doth ebb and flow and is navigable with Barks, Lighters, and Boats, and that the said fishing is in possession of the Society of the City of London, and hath been in their possession for the space of these six years last past, and the said fishing is worth by the year above all reprise £10 sterling.

"And the said jury do further find upon their oaths, that there is a Royal Salmon-Fishing upon a Bay in the sea called Port Rushe, where that doth ebb and flow, is navigable with barks and great boats, the fishing thereof is in the possession of Randall, now Earl of Antrim, who hath taken the profits thereof for the space of these three years last past, and the said fishing is worth by the year above all reprise £20 sterling.

"And the said jury doth further find that there is a Royal Salmon-Fishing within the river of the Boyshe, at a place called Port Ballentra, for the space of half a quarter of a mile upon the said river, within the said countie, where that doth ebb and flow, and is navigable with barks and boats, the fishing whereof is in the possession of the said Randall, Earl of Antrim, and that he hath taken the profits of the fishing thereof for the space of these three years last past, and the said fishing is worth by the year above all reprise £20 sterling.

"And the said jury do further find that there is a Royal Salmon-Fishing at a Rock in the sea called Portbradan, at Portelary, (now Lariebann) near unto Port Camplye, (now Ballintoy) where that doth ebb and flow, and is navigable with barks and boats, the fishing whereof is worth by the year above all reprise £20.

"And the said Jury do further find that there is a Royal Salmon-Fishing at a place called Bononevergey (Bunnamairge) near Port Brittas, where the sea doth ebb and flow, and that is navigable with barks and boats, but the same hath not been fished for these three years last past, but when that was fished the said Randall, Earl of Antrim, took the profits thereof, and that the said fishing is worth above all reprise £10 sterling.

"And the said Jury doth further find that there is an arm of the sea called Bunondaney (now Cushindun), where that doth ebb and flow for the space of half a quarter of a mile, and there is Salmon in time of year in the said water, but the same hath not been lately fished to their knowledge, and the lands upon either side are possessed by the said Randall, Earl of Antrim.

"And the said Jury do further find that there is likewise another arm or river out of the sea called Bonondalley (now Cushindall), where ths sea doth ebb and flow, and where Salmon do keep in times when they are in season, but the same hath not been fished to their knowledge for these many years past, and the lands of the said Earl lyeth on either side of the said river.

"And the said Jury do further find that upon the Bay of the river of Glenarm there hath been a Royal Salmon-Fishing, and that the sea doth ebb and flow there, and Salmon doth use there, but the same hath not been lately fished to their knowledge.

"And the said Jury doth further find that there is a Royal Salmon-Fishing within the river of the Lagan, where the sea doth ebb and flow, for the space of half a mile up above Belfaste, and that the said river is navigable with barks and boats, and that the said fishing is in possession of Arthur Le Chichester, Baron of Belfast, or his assignes, and hath been so in their possession for the space of these fifteen years, and that the said Le Chichester holdeth the said fishing by letters patent from his Matie, bearing date the 9th of May, 1605.

XI.

Decree of Innocence in favour of the Marquis of Antrim.

(See p. 247, *supra*.)

[The following accurate copy of this Decree has been extracted from Roll IX., Public Record Office, Ireland, and is now printed for the first time. It is one of the most interesting documents connected with the Antrim case, containing, as it does, the names of the jointure lands settled by the first earl on his countess, the provisions of his will, the fee-farm rents and services reserved over his lands, together with other curious matters illustrative of the family history.]

By His Maiesties Commissioners appointed for putting in Execucõn an Act of Parliament intituled, an Act for the better execucõn of his Majesties gracious declaracõn for the settlement of his kingdome of Irelande, and satisfaccõn of the seaverall Interests of Adventurers souldiers and other his subjects there.

Randle L^d Marquess of Antrim, Plt. . . . . Defts.

WHEREAS Randle Lord Marquess of Antrim did exhibite his clayme before his Majesties late Com^rs appointed to execute his gracious declaracõn for the settlement of his Kingdome of Ireland, upon the tenth day of August, in the thirteenth yeare of the raigne of our soverẽigne Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, Ffrance, and Ireland, defend^r of the ffaith, &c., and in the year of o^r Lord God one thousand six hundred sixty one, and in pursuance of the said act of settlement did exhibite an amendment or additional clayme to his former clayme before us, upon the sixth day of November, in the fourteenth yeare of the Raigne of our said soveraigne Lord the King, Thereby and by the said former clayme setting forth that the claymant, on the two and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred forty-one, and before, was lawfully seized in his demeasne as of ffee, or ffeetaylie, of the Castles, Mannors, Lordshipps, Lands, Tennements, and hereditaments . . . scituate in the Territories of the Roote and Glins in the county of Antrim, and all Manno^rs, Castles, Messuages, lands, tenements, advowsons, Rectories, Tythes, Abbyes, Monasteryes, Religious houses, Loghes, courts Leets, Courts Barrons, and Courts in nature of Courts Barrons, liberties, privilledges, and hereditam^ts whatsoever, spirituall or Temporall, to S^r Randall M^cDonell, Kn^t., the late Earle of Antrim in use possession or reversion in the county of Antrim or elsewhere in the Realme of Ireland belonging.

All which Manno^rs, Castle, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and prmisses, have beene by the late Earl of Antrim, by his deed duely perfected and executed, with livery and seisin, and otherwise beareing date on or about the last day of Ffebruary, one thousand six hundred twenty-nyne, conveyed to certayne ffeoffees of trust, and to theire heires, to the uses and intents following—that is to say, that the said ffeoffees in the deed named, theire heires and assignes, should stand and be seised of all the manno^rs, Castles, lands, Tenem^ts, hereditam^ts, and prmisses, to the use of the above named S^r Randall M^cDonell, Kn^t., the said late Earl of Antrim, and his assignes, dureing his life naturall, and of the Courts leets, Courts Barrons, and the profitts of them, ffines, amerciam^ts, waifes, strayes, felons and ffugitives goods, customs, and Toles of marketts, and all other Royalties, libertyes, and priviledges, Jurisdiccõns, and hereditam^ts whatsoever, in the Tuogh of Minnery, and of and in the Towne, villages, hamletts, feilds, places knowen, and parcell of the quarters of Land of Ceanbane, the Quarter of Carnanmoan, the halfe towneland of Carneduffe, the fforty acres of Clare Castle, the towne called Margie, the Townelande of Gortecomine, the Towne and Land of Noaghvalle, the towneland of Canetellagh, the Towne land of Coolekeny, the quarter of Kelloge, the halfe towne of Brumine, the q^r of Drumana, the halfe towne of Moyargitt, the towneland called Balleclogh Dunmire, the q^r of land of Monenaclogh, the q^r of Balleluig, the q^r of Bellany, the twenty acres of Nessane, the twenty acres of Corvally, the towne called Aghaleisk and Balletalheor, the twenty acres of Bruyne, the Hill of Knockleg, the Lough of Cary—vizt., the towneland called Balleghlintesk, the Towneland of Brunemargie, the twenty acres of Culfeightrin, the twenty acres of Magheren M^cDonell, the townland of Ballyaleisk, the halfe towne of , y^e towne of Ballerdagh, the forty acres of Dunard, the halfe towne of Danveck, the ffower score acres of Ballechion, the towne of Ballebonaght, the halfe towne of Torr, the twenty acres of arinveckallin, the forty acres of the two Loghans, the Towne Land cal led Ballekerin, the sinamount of Armoy and the Raghlins (vizt.) the halfe towne of Kilnoghe and Ardomarky, the Quart^r of Nallane, the quarter of Strade, the quarter of Knocklane, the quarter of Cormilis, the quarter of Tarreagh, the quarter of Tullagh-murry, twenty acres of Srunagalmore, the towne lands of Ceankill, the towne land called Ballanoe, the halfe towne of Ballecarry, the towne land called Ballevaragna, the towne land called Killpatrick, the towne land of Ballegill, the towne called Kearamer, the five acres of Skrine, the Tough of Middle Glins (vizt.) the towne and a halfe of Ballegiman, the towne of Redbey, the land of Glinarkney, and the twenty acres of Laide, with the appurtenances in the said deed comprised, from and imediately after the death of the said late Earle of Antrim, to the use of Dame Ellis, countess of Antrim, wife to the said late Earle of Antrim, dureing her widdowhood and sole liveing, in recompence and satisfaccõn of all joyntures, dowrys, thirds, rents, maintenance, and charge whatsoever, which shee may any wayes

clayme or demand, of or out of any of the lands, tenemts, or hereditaments, of the saide late Earle of Antrim, within the Realme of Ireland; the said dame Ellis, and her assignes, yielding and paying therefore and thereout, yearly, att the feast of St. Michaell the Archangell, unto Randall M'Donell Lord Viscount of Dunluce, sonn and heire apparent to the said late Earl of Antrim, and the heires males of his body, and for want of such heires to such other as for the time being shalbe inheritable to the towne and lands of Dunluce, in the said deed comprised, by force of the limitacons hereafter in the intent of the said deed of ffeoffment declared or expressed, the full and just sume of seaventeen pounds tenn shillings ster. current money of and in England, towards the payment of the Rents payable for out or by reason of the prmisses in the said deed comprised, to his Majesty, his heires, and successors; and if itt fortune Dame Allis to marry, after the death of the said Earle of Antrim, Then the said ffeoffees, theire heirs and assignes, should stand and be seized of all and singular the prmisses, formerly by the said intent lymited to the use of the said Dame Allis, to such use, purpose, and intent as the said Dame Allis, and her assignes, should yearely during her life, from and after her second marriage, receive of the Rents, issues, and profitts thereof, the full and iust sume of four hundred pounds ster., att the ffeasts of Phillip and Jacob, and Allsaynts, even and equall proporcons, in full recompence and satisfaction of all dowryes, which shee might any way clayme or demand of any the saide Earle of Antrim, his lands, Tenements, and hereditamts, PROVIDED alwayes, that if the said Dame Ellis should, at any time hereafter, demand, clayme, or sue for, any dowryes or thirds of any the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the said ffeoffment comprised, or clayme or demannd any rent, or charge, out of the prmisses in the said ffeoffment conteyned, or out of any part or parcell thereof, other then as by the said intent is formerly to her appointed, That then, and from thenceforth all uses formerly by the said intent to her limited or appointed should cease, determine, and be utterly voyde to all intents and purposes, as if shee had never been therein named; and the intent of the said deed further was that the said ffeoffees, their heires, and assignes should stand and be seised of the castles, towns, hamlett, and feilds of Dunluce, in the said deed comprised, for and imediately after the death of the said Earl of Antrim, to the use of the said Randall Lord Viscount of Dunluce, the now claymt, and the heires males of his body, and for want of such heires males, to the use of Allexandr M'Donell, second son to the said Earle of Antrim, and the heires males of his body, and for want of such issues, to the use of the third sonne, which the said Earle of Antrim should begett upon the Body of the said Dame Ellis, and the heires males of his body, and for want of such heires to the use of the fourth sonne, of the said Earle of Antrim begotten or to be begotten upon the Body of the said Dame Ellis, and the heires males of his Body, and for want of such heires to the use of the heires males of the Body of the said Earle of Antrim.

The further intent of the said deed alsoe was that the ffeoffees, theire heires and assignes, should stand and be seised of all the mannors, castles, messuages, lands, tenemts, Rectoryes, Tythes, Abbeys, Monasterys, Religious houses, advowsons, courts, Jurisdiccons, priviledges, and other hereditamts whatsoever in the said deed comprised, except the premisses in Dunluce before excepted, from and after the aforesaid uses, thereof thereby limited respectively ended and determined to such use, purpose, and intent, as the said Randall Lord Viscount Dunluce, now Marquess of Antrim, the claymt and his assignes, should yearely receive of the rents, issues, and profits thereof, towards the supporte of his honor, the full and iust sume of ffiffteen hundred pounds ster., currant money of and in England, att the ffeast of Phillip and Jacob, and all saints, by even and equall porcons, and that each of the daughters of the said Earle of Antrime, which should be unprferred att the time of his death, should alsoe receive of the rents, issues, and profitts thereof towards each of their prefermts, the full and iust sume of one hundred pounds ster., currant money of and in England, and that evry of the said daughters that should marry with the consent of the said Dame Ellis, Hugh Lord Viscount of Iveagh, Oliver Lord Barron of Louth, and Sr. Allexandr M'Donnell of Killkonway, Knt and Barronett, nephew unto the said Earle of Antrime, or of the greater number of them, or the surviveor or surviveors of them, or of the heires of the said Hugh Lord Viscount of Iveagh, Oliver Lord Baron of Louth, and Sr.

Alexandr M'Donnell, Knight and Barronett, or the greater number of them, or the surviveor or surviveors of them, or their heires should limitt or appointe soe as they should not limitt or appoint to any of the saide daughters above the sūme of two thousand seaven hundred pounds porcōn, of the moneyes aforesaid, over and above the sūme aforesaid of one hundred pounds to every of the said daughters before by the said intent appointed, and alsoe to such use, purpose and intent that every of the younger sons, which the said Earle of Antrim should have att the time of his death unpreferred, should likewise receive of the Rents, issues, and profitts thereof, such sūme and sumes of money, and in such manner and forme, as the said Earle of Antrim, by an Instrument of writeing, under his hand and Seale, or by his last will and testament, should limitt, declare, and appointe, and to and for the payment of other sūme and sumes of money to such person, and in such manner and forme, as the said Earle of Antrim, by an Instrumt in writeing, or by his laste will and Testamt, should declare and appointe, and also to such use, purpose, and intent, as the said Alexander M'Donell, second sonne unto the said Earle of Antrim, should likewise yearly, from and after the death of the said Earle of Antrim, dureing the minority of the said Alexandr, receive of the rents, issues, and profitts of all the Mannors, castles, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, in the Tough of Larne, the Tough of Parke, the Tough of Largie, and the Tough of the middle Glins, in the Glins, in the said deed comprised, the full and iust sume of four hundred pounds ster., currant money of and in England, and after that the said Alexandr should attayne to the age of twenty and one yeares, then the said Alexandr should have the Toughs of Larne, Parke, Largie, and middle Glins, with Courts Leets and Courts Barrons, with all the appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging. To the said Alexandr, sonn to the said Earle of Antrim, and to the heires males of the Body of the said Alexandr.

The further intent of the said ffeoffment was that the said ffeoffees theire heires and assignes should stand and be seised of all and singuler the prmisses in the said severall Toughes of Larne, Parke, Largie, and middle Glins, after the payment of the aforesaid sūmes and portions, by force of the said intent, To bee paid unto the said daughters of the said Earle of Antrim, and to be limitted and appointed unto them by the aforesaid Dame Ellis, Hugh Lord Viscount of Iveagh, Oliver Lord Barron of Louth, and Sr Allexandr M'Donell Knight and Barronett, or the greater number of them, or the surviveor or surviveors of them, or by the heires of the said Hugh Lord Viscount of Iveagh, Oliver Lord Baron of Louth, and Sr. Allexandr M'Donell, Knight and Barronett, to the use of the said Allexandr M'Donell, second sonne to the said Earle of Antrim, and the heires males of his Body, soe long as the said Randall Lord Viscount of Dunluce, now Marquess of Antrim, should have heires males of his Body, and after to the use of the third sonne which the said Earle of Antrim should have, and the heires males of his body of such third sonn, soe long as the said Randall Lord Viscount Dunluce and his aforesaid brother Allexandr M'Donell, or either of them, should have heires males of theire or either of their Bodyes, and after to the use of the fourth sonn which the said Earle of Antrim should have, and the heires males of his Body, soe long as the said Randall Lord Viscount Dunluce, now Marquesse of Antrim, and the aforesaid Allexandr M'Donell, second sonne unto the said Earl of Antrim, or the third sonn which the said Earl of Antrim should have, heires males of either or any of their bodyes, and after to the use of the fifth sonne which the said Earle of Antrim should have and the heires males of his Body, soe long as the said Randall Lord Viscount of Dunluce, now Marquess of Antrim, or Allexandr M'Donell his brother, the third and fourth sonne which the said Earle of Antrim should have heires males of either or any of their bodyes, and after to the use of the sixth sonn which the said Earle of Antrim should have, and the heires males of his body, soe long as the said Lord Viscount Dunluce, now Marquess of Antrim, Allexander M'Donell, his brother, and the third, fourth, and fifth sonn, which the said Earle of Antrim should have, heires males of either or any of their bodyes, and that the said Allexandr M'Donell, second sonn unto the said Earle of Antrim, and the heires males of his Body, and the third, ffourth, fifth, and sixth sonne which the said Earl of Antrim should have and the heires males of either and every of their bodyes severally and respectively as they should be inheritable to the prmisses in the said severall Toughs of Larne, Parke, Lergie, middle

Glins, by force of the limitacōns aforesaid, yeilding and paying therefore and thereout yearely unto the said Randall Lord Viscount Dunluce, now Marquess of Antrim, and the heires males of his Body and for want of such heires to such as for the time being should be inheritable to the prmisses in Dunluce aforesaid, by force of the limittations of uses thereof before in the said intent declared, the full and and iust sume of fforty shillings ster. currant money of and in England, att the ffeasts of allsaints, and Phillip and Jacob, by even and equall porcōns, as a cheiffe rent due to the said Lord Viscount and his heires as aforesaid, and also yeilding ffifty pounds ster. currant money of and in England, unto the said Lord Viscount and the foresaid heires males of his body, att the ffeasts of St. Michaell the Archangell, yearly, for a proporcōn of his Majesties rent, and alsoe payeing, beareing, and dischargeing for and out of the prmisses in the said four severall Toughs a rateable and proporconable part of all generall hostings, riseing out, cess press, and other duties whatsoever, which shall be imposed by the state, for the King's service, or as the said shall soe or otherwise growe due and be payable, and after the same rate as others of the lands of the said Earle of Antrim and of his heires shall be charged and assessed and not otherwise, except the yearly rent payable to his Ma^tie, his heires, and successo^rs, which is to be payd and discharged from time to time, yearely, by the said Lord Viscount of Dunluce and the heires males of his Body, and for want of such heires by such by whom, for the time being, the Kings rents are appointed to be paid as aforesaid.

The further intent of the said ffeoffement is, and always was, that the ffeoffees, theire heires, and assignes, should stand and be seised of all the Manno^rs, Castles, and messuages, Rectories, Tythes, Abeyes, Monastaries, Religious houses, advowsons, courts, priviledges, libertyes, and other hereditam^ts whatsoever, in the said deed comprised, except the prmisses of Dunluce aforesaid, alsoe the said former uses thereof thereby limitted, respectively ended and determined to the use of the said Randall Lord Viscount of Dunluce, now Marquesse of Antrim, and the heires males of his body, and for want of such heires to the use of the aforesaid Allexander M'Donell second sonn of the said Earle of Antrim and the heires males of his body, and for want of such heires to the use of the third sonne which the said Earle of Antrim should have, and the heires males of his body, and for want of such heires to the use of the fourth sonne which the said Earle of Antrim should have, and the heires males of his Body, and for want of such heires to the use of the fifth sonne which the said Earle of Antrim should have, and to the heires males of his Body, and for want of such heires to the use of the heires males of the Body of the said Earle of Antrim, and for want of such heires to such further uses as the said Earl of Antrim, by his last will and Testament, or any other instrument, in writeing, should limitt, declare, or appointe. Provided, neverthelesse, and the true meaneing of the said deed alwayes was, that such of the aforesaide daughters of the said Earle of Antrim as should be first marryed, should be first paid her porcōn, by force of the said intent to be to be paid, and soe every of the rest in order as they should happen to be marryed, and to all equally according to their age, PROVIDED nevertheless, and the true meaneing of the said deed was, that the said Sr Randall M'Donell, Earle of Antrim, should have full power, liberty, and authority, from time to time, and at all times thereafter, under his hand and seal, to change, alter, and revoke all, any, or soe many, of the uses in the said deed specified (the use limitted to the said Dame Alice only accepted), and to add to them, or any of them, or declare such further uses as hee should think fitt; and that the said Earle of Antrim should have full power, liberty, and authority, to make such and soe many leases, for years, for life, or lives, and such and soe many estates in ffee, or ffee tayle, as hee should think fitt, of all and singuler the prmisses (except before excepted) to any person, or persons, att his will and pleasure, and to recall, frustrate, and make voide what uses hee pleases of the aforesaide uses (except before excepted), and that the said ffeoffees, theire heirs and assignes, should stand and be seised of all and singuler the prmisses, in the said deed comprised, to such uses as the saide Earle of Antrim should soe newly limitt, declare, or appointe any use or uses, in the said intent limitted or declared, or any thing in the said deed contayned to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that the said late Earle of Antrim afterwards made his last will and Testament, in writeing

which last will and testament followes in theise words, that is to say *In dei nomine*, Amen, I, Sr. Randall M'Donell, Knight, Earle of Antrim, being of perfect witt and memory, doe make this my last will and testament under my hande and seale, in manner and forme following: ffirst, I bequeath my soul to God, and my body to be buried where it should please God. I doe constitute and ordayne Hugh M'Gennis Lord Viscount of Iveagh, Sr Allexander M'Donell, Knight and Barronet, Peter Clinton of Donestowne in the county of Louth, gent., and John M'Naghten of Ballemagare in the said county of Antrim, gent., Overseers and supervisers of this my last will and Testament, to see the same duely executed and performed according to the true intent and meaneing thereof. Whereas I Sr. Randall M'Donell, Knt., Earle of Antrim, by deed Indented bearing date the last day of ffebruary, one thousand six hundred twenty nyne, did give, graunt, enfeoffe, and confirme unto the Right Hon^ble^ Lucas Plunckett, Lord Barrone of Killene, Earle of ffingall, Sr Lucas Dillon of Loghglin, Knt., Sr. Nicholas White of Leixlip, Knight, Sr Lucas Ffitzgerrald of Ticrohan, Knight, and Donnell M'Naghten of Ballemagery in the county of Antrim, gent., and their heires, all my lands Tenem^ts^ and hereditam^ts^ in the county of Antrim, under which ffeoffem^ts^ there is an intent expressing divers uses of all the said lands, by which intent of uses, I limited certaine parcells for a joynture to my wife, of which parcells the Tough of Killoquin is one, and left a charge for the prfermt of my daughters, and provided alsoe for my sonns, as by the said intent or declaracōns of uses may appeare, in which intent there is a provisoe, or clause, that I, the said Sr Randall, Earle of Antrim, should have full power and authority, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under my hand and seale, to change, alter, and revoake all, any, or soe many, of the uses in that intent specified (the use limitted to Dame Ellis, my wife, only excepted), and to add to them, or any of them, or declare such further uses as I should thinck fitt, and that the said ffeoffees, theire heires, and assignes, shall stand and be seised of all and singuler the prmisses, in the said feoffment comprised, to such uses as I, the said Earl of Antrim, shall hereby soe declare, limitt, or appointe any use, or uses formerly in this intent limitted, appointed, or declared, or any thing in the same contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And now, I, the said S^r^ Randall m^c^Donell, Earl of Antrim, considering that the porcōns I left to my sonns and daughters are but small, and that there is not provision for some of my kindsmen, whom I thinck fitt and reasonable to provide for, and that without further addicōn of meanes to my sonns, my said daughters can hardly be matched according to their Right and descent, and for other good causes and considerations, I doe, by this my will under my hand and seale, declare that my will is, and soe limitt that every of my daughters that shall bee unpreferred att the time of my death, videlizit, Catherin and Rose, shall have, leavie, and receive, of the issues, profitts, and Rents of all the said lands, limitted to be chargeable with the sume of two thousand seaven hundred pounds, ster., currant money of and in England, towards the prferment and marriage of each of them, the eldest daughter to be first satisfied and paid; and soe every of my daughters as they shalbe in Degree of age, provided allwayes, that if any of my said daughters shall marry without the consent, privity, and advice of the said Lord Viscount of Dunluce, Sr. Alexandr M'Donell, Knt. and Barronett, Peter Clinton, and John M'naghten, gent., or the greatest number of them, or the survivors of them, or their heirs, that then the daughters, or daughter, that soe shall marry, shall by this my will, and by the intent and meaneing of the saide deed Indented, and enfeoffmt, Have, and receive for her prferment and marriage porcōn, only the sume of ffive hundreds pounds ster., and no more.

Ffurther I doe give and bequeath all my furniture, and household stuffe of my house in Balle Castle, to my wife Dame Ellis nii Neile, together with all my linnings, and the one halfe of all my silver plate, both cupps, dishes, and trenchers, and all other silver plate, also remaine for her dureing her naturall life, and after her death, to be left with my second sonn, Allexand McDonell, begotten on her Body, to whome all such lands in the Tough of Larne, the Tough of Parke, the Tough of Largie, and the Tough of Middleglins, being the whole Barony of Glinarme, is limitted and appointed, together with the house of Glenarme, with all the silver plate and household stuffe therein. My will is, that my said wife, and said overseers, have the custody and keeping of my house of Dunluce, with

all the furnitures and household stuff therein conteyned, except the one halfe of my silver plate, as aforesaid, reserved for my said wife, for the use of my eldest sonn begotten upon the Body of my said wife, during his minority and her widdowhood, only I will and give unto my second sonne Allexandr, or other surviveor, son of him four hundred pounds ster. currant money of and in England, by the yeare dureing his minority, and the non payment of my debt, as in the intent of the said feoffement is declared, and to every one of my youngest daughters, being two, untill they be respectively marryed as aforesaid, the sume of one hundred pounds ster. per annum, and doe appointe my wife, Sr. Nicholas White, and John mcNaghten Executors of this my last will and Testamt. I will, give, and bequeath all my horses to my wife and her sonns. Item, I appointe, and my will is, That my eldest sonne Randall, Lord Viscount of Dunluce, shall, dureing the life of the Lady his mother, and the non-paymt of my debts, and non-payment of my legacies, receive and take, of the issues and the profits of the lands to be charged by the intent of the said feoffemt, the sume of one thousand pounds ster. p. anum, over and above the fiffteen hundred pounds limitted to him by the said intent, Provided that the thousand pound hereby to him intended and appointed, shall not charge the said lands, chargeable untill the uses and intent in this my will for the prferment of my daughter, payment of my debts, and other uses hereby limitted, shall be respectively determined ; and if the said Randall, Lord Viscount Dunluce shall dye without issue of his body (liveing the Lady his mother), Then my will is, that the thousand pounds p. annum menconed in this will, shall goe and remaine to Allexandr McDonnell, my second sonne, begotten on the Body of the said Dame Ellis. And if the said Allexandr McDonnell shall dye without issue male of his body, (liveing the said Dame Ellis) then the said sume to goe and remaine to those in remaynder ; by the intent of the said ffeoffment, as the remaindr shall respectively happen. Item, I will that Morrish McDonnell (1) reputed sonne to mee, the saide Earle, shall yearly, dureing his life, receive of the rents, issues, and profitts of the said Lands chargeable, the iust and full sume of one hundred pounds sterl. att May and Allhollantide, or within one month after, by equeall proportions, untill such time that the said Morrish, or his asignes, shall receive att the hands of the said Lord Viscount of Dunluce, or such as shall inheritt after him, the iust sume of one thousand pounds ster. currant and lawfull money of and in England, equally att two payments, and att the payment of the first five hundred pounds, ffifty pounds yearly of the said one hundred pounds to cease and determine.

And whereas, by the intent of the said feoffemt., there is a power reserved to me, to limitt more remaindrs then are mentioned in the said intent, my will is, that after the perticuler estates and remaindrs mencŏned in the said intent, shalbe ended and determined, That after the death of them that shall last dye without issue male of his Body, according to the limitacon and true meaneing of the saide intent, that then all and singuler, the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, comprised in the said feoffment, shall goe and remaine to Morrish mcDonell, reputed sonne to me the said Earle of Antrim, and the heires males of his Body, and to Sr Allexander mcDonell, Knight and Barronett, nephew to mee the said Earle, and the heires males of the body of the said Alexander, the lands and hereditaments to be equally divided and apportionated betwixt the said Morrish mcDonell and Sr Allexander mcDonell and the heires males of theire Bodyes respectively, for want of issue male of those that are first named by the intent of the said feoffment, and for want of issue male of the Bodyes of the said Morrish, and Allexander, my nephew, respectively and singulerly, the prmisses to remaine to the Right Heires of the said Randall Lord Viscount of Dunluce, sonn to mee, the said Earle of Antrim for ever. My will further is, that James mcDonell, son to Colla mcDonell, my nephew, deceased, shall have in legacie out of the said Lands, the sume of three hundred pounds, ster. My will further is, that the thousand pounds, ster., which is due unto mee upon the Tough of Killyloagh, shalbe paide to my heires, Executors, and assignes, after the rate of two hundred pounds, ster., per anum, being to pay for the space of five yeares by my grandchild, Henry O'Neill (see p. 249, *supra*), now lawfull heire unto the said lands, if hee shall live soe long, if not the said Randall Lord Viscount of Dunluce, or what other person shall inheritt my said Lands, is to keep his mortgage in Killyloagh untill the said thousand

(1) *Morrish M'Donnell.*— See p. 223, *supra*.

pounds bee paid by any other heire whoe shall succeed after the death of the said Henry and to the said lands, in one intire payment. I leave one hundred pounds legacie to my servants, to be distributed as it shall please my wife and my sonn, the Lord Viscount of Dunluce. My will is, alsoe, that the sume of six score pounds ster. shalbe distributed amongst the churchmen and the poor, att the time of my death, to be paid out of the rents and issues of the foresaide Lands, and to be devided as it shall please my wife and the Lord Viscount of Dunluce, without any further delay. My will further is, that my said wife shall have all my salt workes, and coal workes, within the Tough of Carie, with all the rents and profitts thereof, during her naturall life, and the hundred pounds ster., which is due unto me upon William Vennery and Samuell Smith.

The claymt doth further sett forth, that afterwards the said late Earle of Antrim dyed, in the yeare one thousand six hundred thirty six, after whose decease the now Marquess of Antrim, the claymt being sonn and heire of the said late Earle, in the yeare one thousand six hundred thirty-seven, did graunt unto his said mother, the countess of Antrim, Twelve hundred pounds a yeare, to be issueing out of that part of the prmisses limited and appointed to her and to himself, as aforesaid, for and in liewe of her said Joynture, (2) and of her thirds, and Dower of the said late Earle of Antrim's Estate, which Rent charge she did accept, and accordingly injoyed for some yeares after, untill the Rebellion broke out. That the claymt being seised and interrested, as aforesaid, for securing and payments of his debts, and in consideracŏn of a certyne sume of money received, by deed Indented beareing date the Twenty fifth day of November, one thousand six hundred thirty-seaven, demised and Leased, bargained and sold, to Allexander mcDonell, Esq., brother to the claymant, John Moore, Doctor in Phisick, Archibald Steward of Ballintoy, Esq., and John Traylman, gent., all that the Barrony of Cary (3), with the Rights, Royalties, members, and appurtenances thereof, and all the Mannor and Lordship of Ballicastle, with the Rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, and all that the Island of Rathlins, and all and singuler the mannors, lands, and Tenements to the said Barrony, Mannor, and Island belonging, and all the claymants lands, and all other the claymts Lands, tenements, and hereditamts, lyeing within the said Barrony, Lordship, and Island, and all the Revercŏn and Revercŏns of all and singuler the prmisses, for four score and nineteen yeares, upon trust and confidence, and to the intent and purpose, That the said Leasees, theire heires, Executors, Admrs, or assignes, should permitt and suffer the said Earle, his heires, and assignes, to have, receive, and take to his and theire owne use

(2) *Said Joynture*—The countess returned to the neighbourhood of Ballycastle, and was there in 1661. In the Castlestuart collection of family papers there are at least two letters written by her ladyship besides the one printed at p. 354, *supra*. They are also addressed to her kinsman, colonel Robert Stewart, whom she entreats to lose no time in going to Dublin for the purpose of urging her claims on the authorities there. One of these letters was written on the 25th of March, 1660, and signed *Alis Antrim;* the other is dated *Bunamargie*, May, 1661, and signed *Ellis* Antrim. In 1663, it appears from other documents in the same collection, that she was then petitioning the commissioners to require from Robert Stewart, son of colonel Robert abovenamed, an account of certain property which she had made over in trust to his father, as security for his expenses in the prosecution of her suit for restoration to her property. She claimed, according to her marriage settlement, and in pursuance of a subsequent arrangement with her eldest son, the sum of £1200 per annum, four hundred acres of land, and the family mansion, with all its appurtenances and accommodations at Ballycastle. The above facts have been kindly communicated by the hon. and Rev. A. J. Stuart, Cottesmore Rectory, Oakham.

(3) *Barrony of Cary.*—This Indenture, made the 21st of November 1637, between the right hon. Randell McDonnell, Earle of Antrim, of the one parte, and Alexander M'Donnell, esquire, brother of the said earle, John Moor, of the citie of London, Doctor in Physicke, Archibald Stewart, of Ballentoy, Esqr., and John Traylman, of the citie of Westminster, gent., the said Stewart and Trayleman being servauntes and officers to the said Earle, of the other parte, WITNESSETH that he said Earle to the intente and purpose, and for uppon, and under the truste hereinafter declared, and for in consideration of competent sums of lawful money of England, to him the said Earle, paid in hand by the abovenamed trustees before the sealing and delivery of those presents, hath demised, sold, and to farm letten, all that the barrony of Cary, with the rights, royalties, members and appurtenances thereof; and also, all that the manor or Lordship of Ballicastle; and also, all the Iyland of Rachlyns; and also and singular, the manorhouses, edifices, building, backsides, tenements, meadows, pastures, feedings, rents, services, hereditaments to the said Barrony Lordship and Iyland pertaining, for the tearme of four score and nyneteen yeres, from the Feast-day of St. Michall the Archangell last past. The rents, revenues, &c., to be used in paying the Earle's debts.

and behooffes, the rents, issues, and profitts of the said Barrony, lands, Island, Tenements, hereditam^{ts}, and prmisses, with theire and every of theire Rights, Royaltyes, Memb^{rs}, and appurtenances, for soe long time and space of one whole yeare of the said Tearme next ensueing the date of the said Lease, as the said Earle, his heires, Executo^{rs}, or administrato^{rs}, or any of them should well and sufficiently acquitt and discharge, or save harmlelesse, and keep indempnified the said leasees, and every of them, and theire and every of theire Lands and Tenem^{ts}, goods, and chatte^{els}, as well of and from all and all manner of debts and sumes of money, for which the said Leasees and any of them did then stand bound and ingaged to any person or persons, by any wayes or meanes whatsoever, for the said Earle, or for his use, as alsoe of and from all such other debts and sumes of money, for which the said Leasees, or any of them, should att any time then after, dureing the said space of one whole yeare next ensueing the date of the said Lease, by the appointment of the said Earle, and by warrant under his hand, become bound and ingaged, to and for the further use of the said Earle, and of and from all and all manner of damages, losses, forfeitures, and penalties, for and concerning the same, Provided allwayes, and upon condicŏn, that if the said Earle, his heires, executo^{rs}, or administrato^{rs}, or any of them should, att any time, dureing the said space of one yeare next comeing, pay and discharge all such debts and sumes of money, for which the said Leasees, and every and any of them, should then stand bound and ingaged to and for the use of the said Earle, in manner as aforesaid, and should then alsoe fully acquitt and free the said Leasees, and every of them, their or every of their heires, executo^{rs}, and administrato^{rs}, and every of them and every of theire Lands, and Tenements, goods, and chattels, of and from the same, that then the said Indenture of lease, and every clause, sentence, Article, and thing therein conteyned, should cease, and be utterly voide, to all intents and purposes, anything therein contayned to the contrary notwithstanding, as by the said deed of demise and lease, beareing date as aforesaid, to which relacŏn is had may more att large appeare.

That upon severall ffreehoulds and ffeoffements by the claymant and by his said ffather made, severall ffeeffearmes, Rents, and services were reserved (videlizt.) Archibald Stewart, (4) Esqr., for the Towne lands of Ballelagh more yearely, tenn pounds ; Donell mcNaghton, (5) for the half Towne

(4) *Archibald Stewart Esq.* — Among the earliest leases granted by the first earl, was one to this gentleman, of lands in Ballylough, near Bushmills, containing 120 acres. Mr. Stewart also held lands by lease, of the same extent, in Ballintoy. He became lord Antrim's principal agent on the death of John Macnaghten in 1630, and held that situation until after 1665. He also had a lease, dated May, 1621, of the five quarters of Cavanmore, Cabragh, Coolremony, Craigballyvenoge, and Goyse, containing 70 acres, for a term of 101 years, at the annual rent of £11 5s 0d. The original of the following letter, now partly illegible, is preserved at Glenarm castle. It was written by Mr. Stewart at a critical period—whilst the Decree of Innocence obtained in favour of the marquis for restoration to his estate was being resisted by tenants in ths interests of the adventurers—(see p. 343, *supra*) :—

"Most Honourable and my very good Lord,—The Sheriff of Bute, and the rest of my friends in Scotland had written three several times for me to go unto Scotland, about a small tenement I have there, but now I am necessitated to make a start over to them, but I trust (as God's holy) to be back against our assizes, which will be the 11th of August ; in the mean time, all things are quietly in our possession (except the liberties and house), for the liberties we the rents about hallontide, and the for Capt. Barrington's lands ; and the most part of tenantry had paid a part ; But I have left a warrant with John Macnaghten, and Hary who are your Lordship's in the barony of Kilconway, to distrain any of the tenantry that refuses to pay the rent, or for damages , and to bind them under as trespassers. The tenantry are much encouraged since Mr. John Browne, the merchant in Coleraine, came home, who does your Lordship all the good offices he can by his report ; nevertheless your Lordship, contrary part, will not believe him. I put Randall Johnson, about whom your Lordship sent over, in the Castle of Dunluce, and got him some money to buy clothes, from the Bailiffs. I desire your Lordship not to desist of your course until you come here ; for the all of this country must live within the country. I pray your Lordship make no more stay then than of necessity you must, for your Lordships presence, and your Ladys here would daunt them all. I hope your Lordship has laid down at once to compound with your creditors and to take off that you may fines, and loans comfortably. I pray your Lordship speak unto George Martin to write unto his man, Mr. Osborne, that he give some allowance out of the May rents towards the Irish debts. I demand but one £100 to give Major Cary, and so with my humble service to my Lady, longing for you both here, I humbly take my leave, and am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

"Archibald Stewart.

"Ballintoy, the 13th July, 1664."

lande of Benvardin, the quarter of Killmoyle, the quarter of Ballenelorgan, the two quarters of Ballelegin, the quarter of Ballenasse, the halfequarter of Ardtiboylane, and the mill of Ballenasse, yearly, twenty pounds ; John Oge Stewart, (6) for Balleloske, yearely, three pounds ; James mcGorry McHenry (7) for the Island of Inshlacka, the two quarters of Culdarra, the two quarters of Twonacavoge, the two quarters of Drumdarin, the two quarters of Laccanreagh, and the mill of Laccanreagh, and the one quarter and the fourth part of a quarter of Knockantarny, yearly, five shillings; James Hamilton, (8) for the two quarters of Culremona, the quarter of Lisniske, the quarter of Carnaneconell, the quarter of Culinkeele, the quarter of Cloghcorr, the two partes of the quarter of Monigobane, the quarter of Mologhmore, the townelands of Ardvarny, yearly, one paire of gloves ; James Oge mcHenry (9) and Patrick mcAendrey, for the quarter of Ballagelagh, the quarter of Cregartavar, and the water mill thereof, and the quarter of Carranorig, yearly, one pound; Donell Coggie and Murphie mcDuffe, (10) for the Towne lands of Cloaker, and the halfe towne land of Ballinarish, yearely, twentyfour pounds two shillings and six pence ; William mcffettry, (11) for the four quarters of Corniglassmore and Corni-

(5) *Donnell mcNaghton.*—Donnell McNaghton was son and heir to John McNaghton, who died on the 10th of March, 1630, and who was cousin to the first earl—(see p. 182, *supra*). On his (John's) coming from Scotland to take this appointment, he got a lease from the first earl then sir Randal Macdonnell, of the lands of Ballymagarry, near Dunluce castle, containing sixty acres, Coolnegar thirty acres, and Banverdon sixty acres. His son Donnell acted also for some years as an agent on the Antrim estates, although not the principal one. In addition to the lands mentioned in the text as held by Donnell Macnaghton, he had also a lease, dated 17th Aug. 1637, of the half townland of Ballentegert, the half townland of Laggathrore, the half townland of Magherernan, and the half townland of Ballenlogh, in the barony of Dunluce. The tenant was bound by his lease to plant a certain number of trees yearly, oak, ash, or sycamore; to pay 15s of crown rent, and the best beast in his possession as a heriot Donnell McNaghton was succeeded by his eldest son, John, as owner of the family estate of Benvardon. The latter got a lease from the third earl, in 1687, of all the salmon-fishings between the castle of Dunluce on the east, and the old castle of Ballyreagh on the west, and also of the fishings at Portneen and Porthillman, in as full and ample a manner as they had been held by his father. This lease was granted for twenty-one years, at the annual rent of £30, and a barrel of good merchantable fish, London gage, together with the best salmon in any of the said ports or fishing places, every day that any fish was taken for kettlefish during the said twenty-one years. This lease is witnessed by Ro. M'Carroll, Hugh M'Collum, and Jo. Cragge.

(6) *John Oge Steward.*—On the 10th of March, 1611, the first earl granted to this gentleman a lease of the lands of Ballyloiske, in the Grange of Drumtullagh, containing 200 acres. The grantee was, no doubt, one of the numerous connexion of Ballintoy Stewarts, but it does not appear to what particular family he belonged. Tradition tells that his place was the scene of a massacre in the year 1641. Coll M'Allester, a gentleman who resided in the neighbourhood, and who was examined at Coleraine, in 1652, before one of Cromwell's tribunals, stated that he had heard nothing of such alleged massacre.

(7) *James mcGorry M'Henry.*—This gentleman's father, Gorry, or Gaura M'Henry of Inislochan, had a grant by deed, dated May 5, 1609, of the two quarters of Dromore, two quarters of Twornacabogy, two quarters of Cowldarra, two quarters of Lackanreagh, two quarters of Bally——, two quarters of ————, one quarter of Ballymulvany, two quarters of Ballylease, the half quarter of Knockantrane, and the ten acres of Killtinny. These lands lie on the banks of the Bann, about two miles southward from Coleraine. (For a notice of the family of M'Henry, see p. 62, *supra.*) Another branch of this once powerful family was seated between Coleraine and the sea, and held its lands by knight's service from the crown. The representative of this branch, early in the seventeenth century, was James Oge M'Henry, of Ballyreagh, county of Antrim. His estate comprised, besides Ballyreagh, one quarter of Ballygelagh, in the county of Londonderry, one quarter of Cregadvarren (now Craigiewarren), one water-mill belonging to the same quarter, and one quarter of Carnanrighe, otherwise Merevoe, with thirty acres pertaining to it. *Inquisttions.*

(8) *James Hamilton.*—On the 28th of Feb , 1621, James Hamilton, probably father of the gentleman abovenamed, got a lease from the first earl for 301 years, of part of Coulermoney sixty acres, Mullaghmore thirty acres, Knocke sixty acres, Carnconnell thirty acres, Cloughcorr thirty acres, and Dunargid twelve acres. On the 4th of January, 1625, he got a second grant for the same term of 301 years, of thirty acres in Monygibbane, and the keeping of the penfold and customs of the fair and market in Ballymoney. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*) The penfold was afterwards known as the *Pound*, an enclosure built at almost every place where a cattle fair was held. James Hamilton's descendants still hold Moneygabbane, near Ballymoney.

(9) *James Oge mcHenry.*—See p. 329, *supra.*

(10) *Donnell Coggie and Murphie mcDuff.*—The father of these lessees, named Daniel or Donnell Coggie M'Duffy of Clogher, got a lease from the first earl, dated Jan. 21, 1617, of the lands of Coulkeeny thirty acres, Ballybennaght sixty acres, Clogher 120 acres, and Ballynaris 120 acres. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*) The surname M'Duffy is now *M'Afee*, and is borne by several families in the neighbourhood (Bushmills).

(11) *William mcffettry.*—Gilbert M'Phedris, of Millnagowan, obtained a lease, dated June 6, 1618, of the lands

glassbeg, and the two quarters of Ballevolt, yearly, twenty four pounds ; Hugh Boyde, (12) for the two quarters of Carncoggie, yearly, eight pounds fifteen shillings ; Hugh Peoples, (13) for the moytie of Ballihibistoge, yearly, five pounds seven shillings six pence ; Teige and Cahill O'Hara, (14) for theire ffree hould, twenty pounds ; Robert Kearney, for Ballinecry and the warter mills thereof, yearly, fifteen pounds seaven shillings and six pence ; Catherin Caniell for the Moytye of Ballehebistoge, yearly, five pounds seaven shillings six pence ; Thomas Boyde (15) for two quarters of Lasconane, yearly, fifteen pounds fifteen shillings ; Donogh O'Murry, (16) for the quarter of Crossreagh, two pounds ; Henry mcAndrey, for two quarters of Ballemulvany, yearly, one pound ; Robert Dare, for the quarter of Ballendtobber, five pounds seaven shillings six pence ; Archibald Steward, (17) Esqr., for the towne lands of Ballentoy, yearly, eleven pounds; Gillduffe O'Cahan, (18) for the towne of Shanvalley, yearly, two pound ; Brice Dunlopp (19) for the towne of Cartconen, yearly, tenn pounds ; Walter Kennedy, (20) for the quarter of Mervide, and the mill of Tworin Robert, yearly, twelve pounds fifteen shillings; Allexandr mcKay, (21) for the Towne of Balleterin, the forty acres of the two Loghanes, and the twenty acres ffarin mcAllin, yearly, fforty four pounds five shillings; Archibald McDuffe (22) and John mcDuffe, for the halfe towne of Dunlane, yearly, six pounds five shillings ; Allexandr mcGee, (23) for

called Carnglassmore and Carnglassbeg, containing 140 acres, and Ballyvalgarr, containing sixty acres. Gilbert died on the 30th of September, 1631, and was succeeded by his son William abovenamed. Margaret Cathcart, wife of Gilbert, had a life interest in the property. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*)

(12) *Hugh Boyde.*—Thomas Boyde got a lease of Carncoggie, dated Feb. 24, 1614. He died on the 15th of August, 1634, and was succeeded by his son Hugh abovenamed. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*)

(13) *Hugh Peoples.*—This gentleman got a lease of lands in Ballyhebistocke, containing sixty acres, on the 19th of October, 1631. This farm had been held by Wm. Loucke, by lease dated Feb. 5, 1620. Loucke died on the 20th June, 1622, and the farm was held by his son Thomas, who surrendered it some years afterwards to the earl of Antrim. The latter then leased it to Hugh Peoples, who resided at Carncullach, near Dervock. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*) In the old burying-ground of Derrykeighan, there is a monumental stone, erected in 1615, by John Boyd, to the memory of his wife *Jane Peeples.* John Boyd was Provost of Irvine previously to his settlement in the Route. He is said to have been the first settler of his name at Carncoggie; and, if so, he was no doubt father of Thomas Boyde abovenamed. See note 12, *supra.* The late Dr. Boyd, M.P. for Coleraine, represented this branch of the Boyds of the Route.

(14) *Tiege and Cahill O'Hara.*—See pp. 61, 62, *supra.*

(15) *Thomas Boyde.*—See p. 72, *supra.* Thomas Boyde, of Carncogie, and his wife Eliza Smeton, bought this farm in Lisconnan from Robert Fairlie of Fairlie, who had got a grant of it from the earl of Antrim on the 14th of Feb., 1617. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*) Robert Fairlie, of the parish of Largs, was of an ancient family. His estate of Fairlie was soon afterwards sold to the earl of Glasgow, and the old stock of the Fairlies became extinct in the male line. See Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire,* vol. ii., p. 303.

(16) *Donogh O'Murry.*—Donnell or Donogh O'Murry obtained a deed of the quarterland of Crossreagh, dated January 31, 1618. He died in 1625, and was succeeded by his son, also named Donogh, who was then of full age and married. This farm had been originally held of the crown *in capite* by knight's service—viz., by the one-twentieth part of a knight's fee. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim*).

(17) *Archibald Steward* —See note 4, *supra.*

(18) *Gillduffe O'Cahan.*—Gilleduffe O'Cahan and Terlough O'Cahan got a lease, dated March 20, 1611, of the lands of Shanballe, containing 120 acres. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*) The O'Cahan mentioned above was probably a son of this grantee, who was executed in 1653. See p. 329, *supra.*

(19) *Brice Dunlopp.*—The original grant to the first Brice Dunlopp contained 100 acres at Gortconny, together with two water-mills—one at Ballycastle, and the other at Carnetelagh, in the same neighbourhood. A second grant appears to have been obtained on the 18th of September, 1623, conveying to the grantee 210 acres. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*) Several persons of this surname settled on sir Randall Macdonnell's lands. For notices of Scottish Dunlops, see *Origines Parochiales Scotiae,* vol. ii., pp. 155, 163, 819, 826. The Brice Dunlop of the text was buried in the old church of Ramoan, a few steps from the entrance on the right hand side of the walk. The tombstone lies flat on the grave and is now broken into fragments. Some years ago the following inscription in Roman capitals round the edges was legible :—

"*Heir . Lyeth . The . Bodie . of . Bryce . Dunlop . Who . Departed . This . Mortal . Life . Fourth . Day . of . Aprile . Anno Domini . 1674 . Now . Seeinge . Then . All . of . Us . Must . Erring . Be . Laid . Into . The . Dust . Good . Lord . Prepare . Us . To . Arise . With . Joy . To Meet . Thee . In . The . Skies .*"

(20) *Walter Kennedy.*—See pp. 64, 391, *supra.*

(21) *Alexander mcKay.*—This Alexander or Alaster M'Kay was son of Daniel M'Key, who obtained a grant dated January 15, 1615, of Ballyterim, containing 120 acres, the Loughans 40 acres, and Farrenmecallin 20 acres. Daniel died on the 20th May, 1622, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, then of age. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim.*)

(22) *Alexander McDuffie.*—Gillaspick (Archibald) M'Duffe got a lease dated December 15, 1616, of sixty acres in Bunglenshesk. (*Ulster Inquisitions, Antrim*)

(23) *Alexander M'Gee.*—See p. 117, *supra.*

eighty acres of country of Ballegigon, the halfe towne Towrnarone, yearely, thirty one pounds fifteen shillings and six pence; All which Rents and services the claymant claymeth.

And the claymant further setteth forth, that hee was possessed by lease for divers yeares yett to come from and under the late Bishop of Downe, of ffour Townes and a halfe of Magher-Sharkane, with all other the said Lands to the said Bishop belonging, within the lower halfe county of Antrim, (24) paying to the said sea of Downe, Threescore and tenn pounds ster., yearly rent; That the claymant before and on the two and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred forty one, was lawfully seised in his demeasne as of effee, by purchase, of the fforte, fferry, and castle of Toome, and thirty acres of land thereto belonging, and alsoe of the towne Lands of Moneglass, Ballegallagh, and Ballidiginane, lyeing and being in the said county of Antrim; That the claymant is intituled to the Reversion or Remainder expectant upon the decease of Sr. Allexandr McDonell (see p. 192, *supra*), Knight and Baronett, without heires males of his Body, in and to the Lands following, vizt., Drumnihesky and Ardclomen, and divers other Lands by the Claymants father conferred upon the said Sr. Allexander and the heires males of his Body, the Remaindr to the Claymant in ffee or ffee tayle; That the claymant by deed, dated before the two and twentieth day of October, one thousand six hundred forty and one, did lease the towne and Lands of Carncolaght, Garvoag, and divers other Lands in the Barony of Dunluce and County of Antrim, to Dr. Alexander Colvill, for ninety nine yeares, from the date of the said deed, redeemable upon the payment of one thousand pounds sterling upon the Tuogh of Killelagh in the county of Antrim, besides the growing interest thereof; The claymant further claymes his right in one messuage or dwelling house with the appurtenances, in the towne of Colerayne, in the county of Londonderry; and the Claymant being soe seised and possessed, continued so seised and possessed, till the said lands and prmisses were wrongfully seized upon by order of the late usurped powers, and the claymt. was, by the said usurped power, dispossessed of his said Lands and estate as aforesaid, meerly for being a Papist, or Roman Catholick; and forasmuch as the claymant hath been faithfull and loyall unto and never acted against His Majesty King Charles the first, of blessed memory, or his Majesty that now is, since the said two and twentyeth day of October, one thousand six hundred forty one, or before, and obeyed and observed his Majesties commands, as well those commands and directions held forth in the articles of peace concluded and made in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred forty and eight, by the order and authority of his late Majesty of ever blessed memory, as other his comaunds and instructions, and that hee hath likewise ever since behaved himselfe inofensively, nor ever sued for any decree of Lands in Connaught, or county of Clare, but all wayes patiently expected the happie restauration of his gracious Majesty, and hath done divers acceptable services to his Majesty, and to his Royall father aforesaid of Blessed memory, since the said two and twentyeth day of October, one thousand six hundred forty and one, for carryeing on and advanceing theire Majestys Interest, in this and theire Majestyes other Kingdoms and Realmes, and hath suffered long imprisonments, great damages, and divers hardships, for not submitting to the said late usurped power that opposed theire Majesties; upon consideracõn of the prmisses the said Lord Marquesse of Antrim prays, as an Innocent Papist, to be restored unto, settled and confirmed in the prmisses, in pursuance of the said act of Settlement, according to his aforesaid severall and respective Estates and interest of and in the same, To which said clayme, Sr William Domville, Knight, his Majesties Attorney Generall for and in behalfe of his Majesty, and other the

(24) *Lower halfe county of Antrim.*—The following has referenee to these see lands:—"Disputes having arisen between Randall Marquess of Antrim and Jeremiah Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, concerning the four towne lands of Maghresharkan, barony of Kilconway, the ½ towne of Disertavera, same barony, the territory or precinct of Ardmoy, containing four towne lands, barony of Carie, as also the lands of Enispolan, Solar, and Ballyhumpany in the barony of Glenarme and County of Antrim; and they having left same to the determination of James Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and such as he should nominate, and he having nominated the Archbishop of Dublin, it was awarded—That the Marquess should surrender such lands to the Bishop, who thereupon should make a lease to the Marquess thereof for 60 years from 1st May then next at the rent of £90, the Bishop to get same confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Connor. The Marquess to pay or secure to the bishop £150 as a fine, all to be approved by the Council Board. Signed and sealed 12th March, 1625.—Ja. Armachanus."

defendts did appeare and answere respectively, upon the which pleadings the said clayme proceeded to a fynall heareing, and was heard by this Court, this prsent day, that is to say, thursday, the twentyeth day of August, in the fifteenth yeare of the Raigne of or soveraigne Lord the King that now is, in open court, att the place comonly called the Kings Inns, Dublin, in p'sence as well of the Claymants councell as of his Majesties said attorne generall and others of counsell, with the said Defendts.

And for as much as, upon the heareing of the said cause, upon the Testimoneys proofes, and evidences produced before us, but more espeatially by his Majesties gracious Lres under his privie signett to us directed, for and on the behalfe of the said claymant, and as a Testimonie and cleer evidence of his Innocencie, Itt appeared unto this Court, That the said claymant, Randall Lord Marquesse of Antrim, was, And is, an Innocent Papist ; and itt further appeared, that the said claymant, on the two and twentyeth day of October, in the foresaid yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred forty one, was lawfully seised in his demeasne as of ffee, or ffee tayle, of and in all and singuler the prmisses, with their and every of their appurtenances hereinbefore mentioned to be, lyeing and being in the severall and respective Barronyes of Dunluce, Carey, Kilconway, Toome, and Glenarme, in the county of Antrim, or elsewhere aforesaid, and also of and in one messuage, or Dwelling house, with the appurtenances in the said towne of Colrayne, in the county of Londonderry ; and of and in the said Rents and ffee ffearmes, reserved upon the respective ffeoffements and conveyances, and the Lands therein comprised respectively in the said clayme menconed ; Itt further appeared to this Court that the said claymant, on the said two and twentieth day of October, one thousand six hundred forty one aforesaid, was actually possessed of and is legally intituled to the residue and remainder of a certaine Tearme of yeares yett to come and unexpired, of and in the said four townes and a halfe off Maghersharkane with the appurtenances thereto belonging, lyeing within the lower halfe county of Antrim aforesaid, by force and vertue of a certaine deed of demise duely executed and perfected and under the certain yearely rent of three score and tenn pounds therein and thereby reserved and payable unto the Episcopall See of Downe ; Itt further appeared unto this court that all and singuler the prmisses have bin, by the Injustice of the late usurped powers, seized, sequestered, and otherwise disposed of, from the said claymant, Itt is therefore considered, ordered, adjudged, and decreed by this Court, That the said claymant, Randall Marquesse of Antrim, was, and is an Innocent Papist within and according to the intent and true meaneing of the said act, and that hee be forthwith restored unto, and that hee, his heires, and assignes shall and maye hold and enjoye such estate (and noe other), as hee was soe seised or of right ought to have been seised of, on the said two and twentyethe of October, one thousand six hundred forty one aforesaid, and which did, or of right ought to descend, remaine, or come unto him, as sonn and heire, or heire male of the Body of his said father, Randall late Earle of Antrim deceased, or by any other lawfull way or meanes of and in all and singuler the prmisses (except hereafter excepted), with theire and every of theire appurtenances, lyeing and being in the respective Barronyes of Dunluce, Carey, Kilconway, Toome, and Glenarme aforesaid, or any of them, or in other countyes, Parrishes, or places, in his said clayme mentioned, and of and in the said messuage or dwelling house with the appurtenances in the towne of Coleraine aforesaid, and of and in the said Rents, or ffee farms aforesaid, and to such measne profitts of all and singuler the prmisses, as are due to the said claimant by virtue of the said act of settlement, and that in such plight and condicon, and in such manner and forme, and subject to such lawfull and equitable Rights, tythes, charges, and Incumbrances whatsoever, as the same or any part thereof, is, or are, or ought to be liable unto, and such cheiffries, tenures, reservacons, rents, and services to the Kings Majesty, or any other cheife Lord or Lords of the ffee, or ffees of the prmises, as are due, or of right accustomed of or for the same, or any part thereoff; AND ITT IS further considered, Ordered, adjudged, and decreed by this Court, That the said claymt, Randall Marquess of Antrim, bee forthewith restored unto, and that he, his executors, administrators, and assignes, shall and may hould and enjoy suche estate and interest (and noe other), as of right ought to come unto him by vertue of the said demise, from the espiscopall see of Downe aforesaid, for the residue and remainder of yeares yett to come, and unexpired, of and in the said fower townes and

halfe of Maghere sharkane aforesaid, with all other the lands to the said Episcopall see belonging, and lyeing within the lower halfe county of Antrim aforesaid, and to such measne profitts thereof as are due to the said claymant, by virtue of the said act, subject neverthelesse unto the said yearely rent of three score and tenn pounds strl., reserved in and by the said demise, to be paide unto the Bishope of Downe, for the time being, and to his successors Bishops of Downe, or to any other person or persons to whom the same ought to be paide, and that the said claymant shall enjoye the same in such plight, and condicon, and in such manner and forme, and subject to such legall or equitable rights, tytles, charges, and Incumbrances, as the same or any part thereof is, or are, or ought to be lyable unto, and under such cheiffries, Tenures, reservacons, rents, and services, to the Kings Majestie, or any other Chiefe Lord or Lords of the ffee, or ffees, of the prmisses as are due, or of right accustomed of or for the same, or any part thereof.

And for as much as the claymant did offer noe proofe unto this court concerning the mortgage of one thousand pounds due upon the Tough of Killyloagh, and payable by Henry O'Neile in his said clayme menconed, the same is excepted out of this our decree, and the claymannt, his heires, and Executors left to take such due course in Law or Equity for the same as hee or they shall think fitt ; And, for as much as all and singuler the premises herein and before menconed to be lyeing and being in the Barrony of Carey, aforesaid, by the Decree of this court, made in pursuance of the said Act, and a special provisoe therein contained, have been, and are heretofore ordered, adjudged, and decreed by this court unto Sr. Martin Noell, Knight, and others, in trust for the satisfieing and discharging of certeine debts and other charges due and payable by the said claymant as in and by the said decree (to which relacon being had) itt doth and may more fully appeare ; And, whereas, Edward Plunkett, Esq., and others, by the like decrees of this Court have been, and are heretofore restored unto their severall interests, estates, and rights charged upon the premises or some part thereof, Itt is therefore considered, Ordered, adjudged, and decreed by this Court that the severall and respective estates, rights, and interests, soe ordered and adjudged and decreed by this Court to all or any of the said parties aforesaid, be, and are hereby saved and reserved unto them, and every of them, theire and every of theire respective heires, executors, administrators, and assigns, according to their respective interests ; And, whereas it further appeared unto this Court upon the Testimonie, proofes, and evidences produced before us, as alsoe in and by the clayme of the said Marquess ; That there are divers persons now in the actuall possession of severall parts of the premises, and hold the same as theire respective ffreehold, under certayne Cheiffryes or other services due and payable unto the said claymant, Itt is therefore considered, Ordered, adjudged, and decreed, by this court, that the severall and respective estates, rights, tytles and interests of the severall and respective ffreeholdrs aforesaid, be and are hereby saved and reserved unto them, and every of them, theire and every of theire respective heires and assignes, and that the forfeited Rights and interest which John mcNaghten (25) (who by this Court hath been adjudged a nocent person), before his said forfeiture had, or of right ought to have had, in any part of the premises, and of such persons to whome the same is sett out or assigned to, and is hereby excepted, out of this our order and decree, and is saved to such persons or person to whom the same ought to come ; and if it shall happen that any houses, lands, or Tenements, parcells of the premises, are or doe lye within any citty or towne corporate, or the suburbs thereof, Itt is ordered by this Court that the said claymant be not restored to them in specie,

(25) *McNaghten.*—This John Macnaghten was a son, no doubt, of John *dhu*, see p. 182, *supra*, and younger brother of Daniel already mentioned in connexion with the marquis of Antrim's affairs. John, who had thus been declared nocent, and his property confiscated, was not alive to witness his own temporal ruin. He had taken the side of the Irish during the struggle in the Route, but did not make his escape on hearing of the coming of the covenanters in overwhelming numbers, under Monro, and Duncan Campbell of Aughinbreck. He had built himself a fortress, and held it for a time ; but he, together with eighty of his adherents or tenants, were murdered in cold blood, and after surrender, by the troops under the command of Auchinbreck. See Moran's *Historical Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland*, p. 169.

but have such reprisalls in lewe thereof as by the Act of settlement is provided in such cases, saveing to his Majesty, his heires, and successrs, all such Rights, Tytle, interest, estate, challenge, claime, and demand in and to the premises, and every part thereof, as his said Majesty, his heires, and successors, have, or may have therein or thereunto, other then and except such right, tytle, interest, estate, challenge, clayme, and demand, as shall or may in any sort take away, hinder, or impeach the innocence of the said claymt, Randall Marquess of Antrim, or the adjudicacon of the same by this present order and decree, or any profitt, benefitt, or advantage which the said claymant, his heires, executors, administrators, or assignes ought to have or enjoy, by reason thereof, or by the intent or true meaning of the said Act of Settlement ; But for the prevention of any damage or prejudice which may arise by this our decree to any person or persons, which is or are, shall or may be concerned in any other parts of the estate of the said claymant, Itt is declared by this court, that the adjudication of the innocence of the said claymant, or any other matter or thing in this our decree contained, shall not extend or be construed to extend to any other the mannors, Lands, Tenements, or herditaments of the claymants, besides and except the Lands, Tenements, and hereditaments which are menconed and contained in the claymants said clayme, or addicon thereunto ; But that all other his mannors, Lands, Tenements, and hereditaments shall be, and remayne in the same plight and condicon, and subject unto the like seisures, sequestracons, forfeitures, questions, and qualificacions in all respects as if the said claymant had not been by this court adjudged an Innocent, and as if this our decree had not been made ; And it is further considered, ordered, adjudged, and decreed by this court that all and singuler the premises (except before excepted and saved) shall be imediately putt out of charge in his Majestys Court of Exchequer, and that the respective sheriffes of the countyes where the prmisses to which the said claym^{t} is soe restored as aforesaid, doe respectivelye lye, Be, and are hereby required forthwith, To give the possession of all and singuler the prmisses (except before excepted and saved) unto the said claymant, Randall Marquess of Antrim, his heires, Executors, agents, or assignes, and to quiett him and them in the same from time to time, as occasions shall require, And that the Injunctions of this Court doe issue from time to time for his and theire quiett enjoyment of the prmisses (hereby decreed to the said claymant as aforesaid) according to the intent and true meaneing of this our order and decree ; And this our order and decree wee doe hereby certifie to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and to the Lord Chiefe Barron, and other the Barrons and Ministers of his Majesties Court of Exchequer there, and to all other persons whatsoever whom theise prsents doe or may concerne.

RI. RAYNSFORD, THO. BEVERLEY, BRODERICK, W. CHURCHILL.

XII.

Commission to Antrim to act as Lieutenant of the Isles.

(See p. 253.)

CHARLES R.

Our Soueraigne Lord, considering that ye insolence of certane rebellious subjects in Scotland is come to that height as to presume to rise in armes, and by open force to take his castles of Edinbrugh and Dunbriton, comitting divers other treasonable crymes, so that for curbing of them he must necessarlie use force of armes, And being persuaded of the loyall forwardness and disposition of Randell, Earle of Antrim, and Sr. Donald M'Donald of Slait, knt., baronet, for repressing of ye said rebellious subjects, Therefor, his Mat^{ie} ordanes a to be made under the great Seall of the said kingdome, in ye more ample forme, making, constituting, and ordaineing, like as his Mat^{ie} by the tenor hereof, makes, constitutes, and ordaines the sd. Earle of Antrim and Sr.

Donald M'Donald, conjunctlie and severallie his Mats lieutenents and comissioners, within all haill the western Islands of ye said kingdome, and the haill higlands within ye sd. kingdom, with all priviledges, liberties, and imunities belonging to the said office of lieutenendcie and comissionary, giving and granting to the said Earle of Antrim and Sr. Donald M'Donald conjunctlie and severallie, full power, comission, and authority, to conveen and convocat his Mts liedges and good subjects, within the sd. western Ilands and Highlands, as well horse as foote, sufficientlie armed with muskets, pikes, lances, and all other kind of armes, offensive and defensive, and with fire, sword, and all other maner of hostilitie, to follow, pursue, and prosecute the said rebellious subjects, who have taken or shall tak armes against his Mats auctie, or hath taken or detains any of his Maties castels and houses, and who refuse to concurr and assist his Maties said lieutenentes, or any of them in apprehendingof the said rebells, according as his Maties said lieutenentes, or any of them shall think expedient for his Maties service, together wh all and sundrie their associates, pertakers, and assisters, through the haill boundes abovesaid, and from shire to shire untill they be apprehended; requiring the other lieutenents, and all other good subjects within the sd. other shires to concurr and joyne, wh the said lieutenents to ye in so far as may concerne the sd. Earle of Antrim and Sr. Donald M'Donald, or either of them, their persuite of the sd. rebells persued be them within the boundes of their sd. comission, and that untill the sd. rebells be reduced to perfect obedience and conformitie, or altogether exterpat and rooted out for their contempt and disobedience. And if it sal happen the sd. rebells or any of them to flie to townes, strengthes, or houses, with power and warrant to ye sd. Earle of Antrim and Sr. Donald M'Donald, and either of them to follow and persue them, to beseidge the sd. townes, strengthes, and houses, to raise, fire, and use all sort of force and warlike engine that can be had for winning thereof, and apprehending of the sd. rebells. And if in psuite of them, or any of them, or in besiedging of the sd. towns, strengthes, and houses, it shal happen any of the sd. rebells or any other being in company with or assisting them, to be hurt slaine or mutilate; his Matie for himself, and his successrs decernes and declares that the same shall not be imput as cryme or offence to the sd. Earle of Antrim and Sr. Donald M'Donald, or either of them, or to any person assisting them, and that none shal be called or accused therfor, criminally or civillie, by any maner of way in time coming, notwithstanding of any acts, statutes, or constitutions made or to be made to the contrarie, and paines contained therein, his Matie for himselfe and successrs, dispenses for ever with power to and intromitt their houses, goodes, and gier, for which they shal be holden to be countable to his Matie or such as he shall appoint. And if it shal happen any of the said rebells to offer themselves to his Matie or his sd. lieutenents, or either of them, and submitt themselves absolutely in his Maties will and concurr, and assists his sd. lieutenents or either of them, in repressing of all Rebells then, and in that case his Matie gives warrant to the sd. lieutenents, and either of them, to accept of their concurse and assistance in his service, ay and while his Mats pleasure be further signified to them, and all and sundrie other things to do, and use within the said boundes, which of law and consuetude to ye office of lieutenendcie are known to pertaine, and thir presents to indure during his Mats pleasure and to be ratified in ye next parliamt to be holden in the sd. kingdome, and to be inrolled in the acts and recordes thereof, with spiall command to the

wreitter to the greate Seall and keeper thereof, for wreitting of thes presents to the greate Seall, and appending the greate Seall thereunto, without passing any other Seall, or for wch thes pnts shalbe unto them and each of them, sufficient warrant. And if in case that be reason of the pnt troubles, thes presents cannot be under the said greate Seall, his Matie does hereby declare that this present signature and cõmission, signed with his Mats own roiall hand, and whereunto his Mats signet is affixed, shall be as sufficient and valid to ye above named cõmissioners, and each of them, in all respects and to all intents and constructions, for appointing of this cõmission, as if the same were under ye sd. greate Seall, provided always that this present cõmission shall not be any wayes derogatarie to any other cõmission, granted to any other person for executing the like service to his Matie, within the sd boundes, or any part thereof. Given at his Mats royall camp at the Birkes, the fifth day of June, 1639.

XIII.

'*Reasons*,' *by Antrim, with Council's* '*Reply*.'

See p. 270, *supra.*

Soon after the arrival and first victory of the Irish troops in Scotland, Antrim was able to send five hundred additional men across the channel, thus increasing the original number to the respectable amount of 2000. In the following year, 1645, a call was made for reinforcements, and as a matter of course the marquis of Antrim was most anxious that the gallant little army should be vigorously sustained. With this object, he pressed the Confederate Council to move promptly in the matter. Among the Papers preserved at Glenarm castle, is the following, in his own handwriting, which has never been printed :—

"*Reasons propounded by the Marquisse of Antrim to be considered by the Counsell and Comittee.*

"This kingdome was at great charges in sending two thousand men to Scotland, whereas it is well known how they have performed, and been the occasion that many acceptable services were done to his Maties advantage and the good of this nation, by diversion of that enemie, who otherwise had been much more powerful in this kingdom than they are. They have been now near a yeare and three quarters there, and have receaved noe manner of releife or assistance in all that tyme from this kingdome, nor any correspondence kept from hence with them, in soe much as it may be well doubted (they will if soe continuallie neglected) forgett any tye that the nation may imagine to have on them; and consequentlie not onely soe many able experienced souldiers lost, but alsoe become probably serviceable against us if not lookt on with more care from hence, than hitherto they have beene. It will therefore become a very advantagiouse service to this kingdome, and to the future safetie of it, that a considerable number be now sent to re-inforce them, over whome I desire, if it bee your pleasure, that my brother may be licensed by you to command them, and of our partie in my absence, whom I desire to bee instructed uppon any occasion to second your designes, and uppon such notice as may answere your expectation, and the service of the king and this kingdome.

"The said forces have beene the occasion of the Islanders and Highland Scots are joined in a boddie with them, having a greater affection to the Irish than they have to the other inhabitants of Scotland, in soe much as that army is comme now to bee and consist of four or five thousand at least, actuallie in armes, besides many others that stand neuters till I, or my brother appeare there to secure them for our partie; and those all, by a further re-inforcing by men from hence, and deputinge, as aforesaid, persons acceptable to them, will in effect become a party adheringe to us, and they will join on all occasions in army designes with this nation, which I desire may bee putt in a way to bee speedilie considered by the Counsell and Comittee to be presented to the howse or otherwise as they shall thinke fitt."

The Council (1) at first agreed to send re-inforcements to Scotland, and made the following arrangements to do so at the meeting of its members, held on the 10th of February, 1645 :—

"*By the Generall Assembly of the Confederate Catholiques of Irelande.*

"Upon retourne of a Reporte from the Supreame Councell and Comittee of Instrucōns appointed to consider of preposicōns, made by the Lord Marquisse of Antrym, for reinforceing the men formerly sent from this kingdome into Scotland, who have beene theare both successfull, and procured a considerable partie allready to give assistance. Forasmuch as it is most advantagious for the advancement of the service of this kingdom, by way of divesion, to hinder the incursion of the Scotts into the North part of this kingdom, and to incuradge thereto the said partie, it is conceived most necessarie to reinforce them, as a partie of this nation, and imployed by the kingdom. And for that the said Lord Marquisse of Antrym doth offer for that purpose, to prepare, and have in a readdinesse the number of two thousand men sometyme inhabitants in the countie of Antrym, It is therefore thought fitt, and so ordered, that the said Lord Marquisse shall have and receive from the kingdom, the sume of three thousand pounds sterl., for the raysing, arming, and transporting the saied two thousand, and furnishing them with amunicōn, shipping, victualls, and all other necessaries whatsoever, without trouble or other charge unto the kingdom, or any parts thereof; for performance of which in all points and partes, as before expressed, upon receipt of the said three thousand pounds, the saied Lord Marquisse is to enter, and give very good and sufficient security. And the undernamed are to joyne with the Comittee formerly appointed to confer with the Lord Nuntio, touching the raysing of Forces for the defense of the kingdome, and forthwith propound unto his Lordship for the loane of the said three thousand pounds, and for the repayment thereof

(1) *The Council.*—The catholic confederation held its first meeting on the 14th of October, 1642, and consisted of eleven spiritual and fourteen temporal peers, with 226 commoners representing the Irish population. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, represented the chancellor and the judges, whilst Nicholas Plunket was chosen as speaker. The assembly at once declared that they met not as a parliament, but as a provisional government. Magna Charta, and the common and statute law of England, in all points not contrary to the catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberty of Ireland, were made the basis of the new government. The administrative authority was vested in a supreme council, of which lord Mountgarret was elected the first president. There were six members of council for each province. For Leinster were the archbishop of Dublin, lords Gormanstown and Mountgarret, Nicholas Plunket, Richard Belling, and James Cusack. For Ulster the archbishop of Armagh, the bishop of Down and Connor, Philip O'Reilly, col. M'Mahon, Ever Magennis, and Turlough O'Neill. For Munster viscount Roche, sir Daniel O'Brien, Edmund Fitzmaurice, Dr. Fennell, Robert Lambert, and George Comyn. For Connaught the archbishop of Tuam, viscount Mayo, the bishop of Clonfert, sir Lucas Dillon, Geoffrey Browne, and Patrick Darcy. Lord Castlehaven was added as a twenty-fifth member.

at the day they shall agree. The said Comittee are authorised to engage unto him the publique faith of the kingdome; and upon necessitie to be of shipping for the transportacõn of the said two thousand men, the said Lord Marquisse is to applie himselfe for assistance and furtherance therein to the Supreame Councill; And least this expediticõn may divert or draw the mindes of any Comaunders, soldiers, or others, that are inlisted in the number of forces designed for his Maties service in England, It is this day ordered and declared, that noe manner of Comaunder, soldier, or officer, now inlisted and designed for England as aforesaid, shall, upon payne of death, relinquish or leave the Cullers under which he, or they, are now respectively inlisted for the aforesaid service; And of any such the said Lord Marquisse is not to accept, the present expedicõn for England being conceived fitt to bee preferred before all other expedicõns; (2) And for the proposition made that Allexander M'Donnell Esq., (3) should be licensed to comande that Army into Scotland, in the absence of the said Lord Marquisse, the same is left to himselfe to declare his resolution in that particular to determyn his elecõn, if he shold thinke fitt to undergoe that charge; And if the saied Comittee may not prevayle with the said Lord Nuntio for the loan of the said three thousand pounds, the Supreame Councill are to putt the same in a way to be otherwise procured with all possible speede, with that caution and regarde always that the same, nor any thing to be don concerning this designe for Scotland shall be prejudicial or a hindrance to the dispatch of the supplies to his Matie in England,

"MOUNTGARRET.

"LORD ARCHBP. OF DUBLIN,
"LO: ARCHBP. OF CASSHELL,
"LO: BPP. OF CLOGHER &
"PATRICKE DARCY."

The purpose so firmly expressed in the foregoing paper, of preparing re-inforcements for Scotland, was soon afterwards abandoned by the Supreme Council. This sudden change was caused by the receipt of an alarming letter from Owen Roe O'Neill, strenuously urging that no more men, on any pretext, would be permitted to leave Ireland.

XIV.

The Information of the Marquess of Antrim,

(See p. 280, *supra*.)

"MY LORD of Antrim, by Letters, earnestly pressing to a Conference with us, whose Names are underwritten, being then at the Camp of Killahan in the county of Meath, there was a meeting with

(2) *All other Expedicons.*—The Confederates thought they were bound in honour to send troops into England to assist the King there, according to the terms of the Cessation. They were thus unable to send men to Scotland, where they would have soon made such an impression as to compel the recal of the Scottish troops who were desolating Ulster for no object but simply to destroy the inhabitants. The unfortunate King, in the meantime, had committed his last fatal error of surrendering or confiding himself to his Scottish subjects, who were but too happy to give him back to his enemy for the sum of £400,000. The Irish troops that were about to be sent back to him according to the renewed Cessation of 1644, were kept in Ireland, and with their aid, in 1646, Owen O'Neill inflicted a great and ignominious defeat on the English and Scotch under Monro, at Benburb.

(3) *Alexander M'Donnell, Esq.*—This was the younger brother of the marquis of Antrim, a well-known officer in the Confederate service. He succeeded to the earldom on the death of his brother in 1682. As the reinforcement here spoken of was not sent to Scotland, Alexander M'Donnell did not leave this country until compelled to retire, on the arrival of Cromwell in 1649. See p. 341, *supra*.

his Lordship assented unto, and accordingly we this day, being the 9th of May, 1650, met him at Miltown beteen Killaghan and Killehan in the said County, where and when, amongst other Discourses, and particularly concerning a Commission supposed to have been by the late king given to the Irish for their rising and acting, as they have done in Ireland, on the 23rd day of October, 1641, and after he, the said Lord of Antrim, said *that he knew nothing of any such commission*, but that the late king, before the said rising of the Irish in Ireland, sent one Thomas Bourk, kinsman to the Earl of Clanrickard, to the Lord of Ormond, and to him the lord of Antrim, with a Message, That it was the king's Pleasure and Command, that those Eight Thousand men, raised by the Earl of Strafford in Ireland, should be continued without disbanding, and that they should be made up to Twenty Thousand, and that they should be armed out of the Store of Dublin, and imployed against the Parliament; and particularly that the Castle of Dublin should be surprised and secured, which the said Lord of Antrim's Discourse, in substance aforesaid, was delivered at the Time and Place before mentioned, in the presence of us, "JOHN REYNOLDS, HENRY CLOGHER."

"The 11th of May, 1650, another meeting was given by us undernamed, to the Lord of Antrim at the aforesaid Place, when and where, amongst other Discourses, and in pursuance of that formerly by his Lordship delivered, of the kings Instructions concerning the rising of the Irish in Ireland, the Lord Antrim further added, That the Letters of Credence by the late king to Thomas Bourk before mentioned were in substance as followeth:—

'Thomas Bourk, you are to repair to Ormond and Antrim in Ireland, who are to give credit to what you are to say to them from us. 'C. R.'

"Which Letter of Credit being by the said Thomas Bourk shown to Ormond and to him, the Lord of Antrim, he, the said Bourk, declared the king's Pleasure concerning the said Eight Thousand men, and what is before particularly mentioned in his Lordship's Discourse on the 9th Instant, which we, the Subscribers, have read, the same in substance being repeated to us by the Lord of Antrim.

"The said Lord of Antrim further said in our presence, That after the Declaration to the Lord of Ormond, and to him, the Lord of Antrim, made by the said Bourk of the king's Pleasure as aforesaid, they, the Lords of Ormond and Antrim, endeavoured a meeting with each other for ordering affairs accordingly; but there being (as they supposed) jealous eyes over them, they could not for a time, compass it coveniently; he said that in the Parliament, then sitting in Dublin, they would often take occasion to retire into the with-drawing Room, belonging to the Lords House of Parliament, in the Castle of Dublin, but being followed by others they had not their Conveniency for Discourse which they desired. That having appointed a meeting at the Bowling-Ally in the Colledg-Green in Dublin, they would there sometimes exchange some words, but having at length gained a fitt opportunity for a meeting, after some Debates, it was by them concluded, That present Dispatch should be made and sent to the king of that Resolved on for his service. Ormond asking Antrim whom he would employ in that Business to the king? he answered that he would send the Lord Macquire: And I, said Ormond, will send over my Lord of Muskerry; and a time being appointed in preparing the said Dispatches, they then parted; but after some Days Ormond again meeting with him, the Lord of Antrim told him that Dublin was no convenient place for the

Business, that therefore the Lord of Ormond would retire into the country for preparing of the said Dispatches, desiring him, the Lord of Antrim, to meet him at a time appointed at Kilka, in the county of Kildare, whether Ormond said he would come on pretence of a hawking Recreation, and that they might Discourse of all things freely. That the time of meeting drawing nigh and the Lord of Antrim prepared for it, he was therein prevented by a Message from Ormond, wherewithall Colonel John Barry was sent, intimating that the Lord of Ormond having considered of the Business, he conceived it convenient that one of them should repair to the king immediately, rather than so great an affair should be trusted by any other; That for himself he said, that being a stranger at Court, his going thither could not be without suspicion, but that he, the Lord of Antrim might pass freely, earnestly desiring him to undertake the work; but he, the Lord of Antrim refused, saying, he would not go if Ormond would not go also; yet was the Lord of Antrim, by the pressing solicitation of Col. Barry aforesaid, persuaded to send some one from himself to the king, for intimating what was resolved for his service, and signifying the already disbanding those 8000 men raised in Ireland by the Earl of Strafford. This Dispatch was sent by Captain Digby, Constable of the Castle of Dunluce in the North of Ireland belonging to the Lord Antrim; with those Dispatches the said Digby did overtake the king at York, he being then on his way to Scotland, and from York was Digby returned back to him, the Lord of Antrim, by the king, signifying his Pleasure, That all possible endeavours should be used for getting again together those 8000 men so disbanded; and that an army should immediately be raised in Ireland, that should declare for him against the Parliament in England, and to do what was therein necessary and convenient for his service. Upon receiving this the king's Pleasure by Captain Digby, he, the Lord of Antrim, imparted the Design to the Lord of Gormanstown, and to the Lord of Slane, and after to many others in Leinster, and after going into Ulster, he communicated the same to many there; but the Fools (such was his Lordship's expression to us) well liking the Business, would not expect our time or manner for ordering the work, but fell upon it without us, and sooner, and otherwise than we should have done, taking to themselves, and in their own way, the managing of the work, and so spoiled it. It being by us demanded of his Lordship, how he intended it should be managed? He answered, That the Castle of Dublin being then to be surprised, if the Lords Justices should oppose the Design, the Parliament then sitting should declare for the king against the Parliament of England, and that the whole kingdom should be raised for the king's service; and that if the Lords Justices would not join in the work, they should be secured, and all others who would or might oppose them should also be secured. Which Discourse was freely made by his Lordship without any caution given therein of secresy; yet was it demanded by us, whether his Lordship would give us leave to have the same signified to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to the Lord President of Munster? His Lordship answered that he gave us free liberty to do so, which his Lordship's Discourse we have for our better remembrance reduced to writing, and testified the same under our Hands, to be as aforesaid, signed, "HENRY CLOGHER, HENRY OWEN."

"Having seen and read this Paper containing the Particulars of a Conference between Me and the Lord of Clogher, and Colonel Reynolds, and between me and the said Lord of Clogher and Mr. Henry Owen, I do hereby acknowledge it to be the same in substance with what passed,

excepting where it is said, that Captain Digby was by the late king returned with a Dispatch to me, whereas the Dispatch was sent to me from the king by one William Hamerstone; and whereas it is said, that the said late king appointed that the army with us to be continued and raised in Ireland should be employed against the Parliament, it is to be intended, *if occasion should be for so doing.* And I do hereby aver the Truth of all so delivered, with the other corrections and qualifications thereunto added; Witness my Hand, this August the 22nd, 1650. "ANTRIM."

See Cox's *History of Ireland*, Appendix XLIX., pp. 206—209.

XV.

Petty's Down Survey of Four Baronies.

(See p. 282.)

[THE following extract from Petty's Survey is copied from a Transcript in the possession of the Anglesey family. Of the lands undermentioned, 42,611 acres, were handed over to five or six adventurers, for the sum of £3000, whilst the remainder, consisting of 65,000 acres, was allotted to a few officers and soldiers, not exceeding one hundred persons, for a debenture of £1000—the lands being given on this estate to the soldiers, at the same rate as the Adventurers had theirs—by the rule of the Doubling ordinance, see p. 289, *supra.* In 1661, when the marquis of Antrim applied for restoration to his property, a great outcry was raised by those in possession about the ruin their removal would cause, even if reprized, as so many as three hundred had settled on the estate, and as they had made so many improvements in various ways. To these statements, the marquis replied, that the estate was still, with slight exceptions, occupied by his old tenants; that none of the adventurers resided on it, nor had sent any English families to rent their holdings, and, that instead of any improvements having been made, many of the houses had been pulled down and permitted to go to decay. "Only one Peter Beaghin built a small house, with the stone and timber of the house of Dunluce, pulled down by the said Beaghin." If only one hundred military men, officers and soldiers, lived on the estate, the latter must have sold their debentures in large numbers and taken their departure. The debentures were purchased pretty generally by persons who had occupied, and in several instances, owned the lands they then naturally endeavoured to re-possess. Thus, the old proprietor of a farm of 80 acres, known as Ballyligg, in the parish of Ramoan, was able to re-enter his farm on paying the soldier to whom it had been allotted, the sum of £10. The original owner of a small estate, named Gortconny, in the same parish, purchased it from a few soldiers, for a fabulously small sum, explaining to the vendors, that, as it had become overgrown with 'whins,' the lands were of little value!]

Alphabet to the Four Baronies.

KILCONWAY.

Amberbane	Ballygreggagh	Ballinebantro	Ballycallmore	Ballytuny	Carnes als Carnbeg
Anticare	Ballyvogy	Ballinfige	Ballylisnegore	Ballym'allent	Carnmore
Adeloman	Ballyreagh	Ballaghan	Ballygortrara		Clogh
Ardloman	Ballyheillin	Ballydonnelly	Ballycarnsenton	Carregeen	Carrowbrangy
	Ballyhaderlan	Ballynegrange	Bordell	Carrowoan	Carnbooke
Ballygregdunleire	Ballyloghlary	Ballynaconnell	Ballyneganny	Cregfade	Clonlicollogan

Carricklinty
Crosbracken
Clogher
Carrowbard
Claskill
Craganagortan
Creggs
Carvetiferly
Culltifighan
Cooletafoghan
Curraghleagh

Dungenell
Donbroghes
Drumnegroah
Drumban
Dugarry
Drumnecross

Drumnekilly
Drumneteile
Dundermod
Drumneraskan
Drumnegegele
Drumdowrn
Dunamine
Drumore
Drumnecrosse
Drumeneine
Derine
Drumchoan
Drumoske
Derrynee
Drumly
Derry
Diskerteen

Drumloge

Enissagh
Enishafe
Enisnesagh
Edenbrogh
Eraghleine
Enaghdaran
Edone

Frasses

Glenglasly
Greyfadeige
Glanalagh
Gallanagh
Glenbyish

Garryduffe
Glenbuck
Gortrea
Grannagh
Gallenagh
Gallonagh

Kinflea
Killare
Killvinden
Killvickdarreagh
Killtidonnelly
Killchrine
Killchoane
Killin
Knockans

Leakanamonoge

Lissnegarr
Lisnelaban
Loghereharderins
Lisconnolla
Lissighan

Monyduffe
Maghereboy
Meaneneoa
Monilick
Magherasharkan
Madekille
Monelly
Mullin
Monekenan
Madduffe
Monaghkenan

Rossdermitt
Rossnashorn
Ravashane

Scerry
Shannaghy

Tullykisoge
Tullaghbane
Tacrone
Tyhorne
Tullagh
Tullaght ö keen
Tamnaghnabrooke
Tullaghes

Ursunagh

GLENARME.

Antrivile
Asticall
Altymore
Ardruman
Arderlenny
Aghavee
Angullagh
Annebert

Blackcane
Ballycraigy
Ballybosley
Ballycraggy
Ballyhampton
Ballytobber
Ballyruddery
Ballymullin
Ballygilbert
Ballyganna
Ballymull
Ballytober
Ballyruddery
Ballygelly
Ballymulloge
BallymcVeagh
Beard
Bruagh
Ballyvaddy
Ballymakrory

Burrishee
Ballyvoolgan
Braiman
Ballinetoe
Ballyvilie
Ballybrack
Bruaghderg
Beaghmore

Cappanagh
Corkermaine
Cuning
Cregantawbally
Carnereagh
Carviskell
Corballis
Carrowchonlin
Corveagh
Cappan
Craige
Carnecheagh
Clony
Cloghglasse
Cort M'Martin
Cloghtinfra
Collogheagh
Cunnegree
Cullin
Cashenstraided

Cletaghan
Cylemore
Cloghglasse
Cosskibb

Doune Malloes
Dorigne
Donnigillis als
Dromnho
Drumaine
Droagh
Drumnereagh
Drumorne
Druminagh
Drumnecoale
Drumaine
Duntage
Drumnegree
Drumnesoleth
Drumore
Duraghty

Ederowen
Embruagh

Flaghteleghley
Fagh M'Illy

Greenlow
Gardinmore
Gregnehorne
Garfore
Gallinagh
Glenarne
Gallbolly
Glanariffe
Gorteclea
Glassmullin
Gorglea
Gloghfin
Gortnecrosse
Gortnegrosse
Gorteenmona
Glancorp
Glendun

Inishpollan

Killoghter
Killgleum
Killglinn
Knockanmore
Kearnloghan
Kreeluggin
Killreaden
Knocknanore

Knockan
Knockanemoy
Killbusher
Knocknecarry
Killmore

Lisnedrumbard
Loughduffe
Lissneheire
Lisneheigh
Leabeard
Loskan
Larbert
Leamenehery
Lappan als
Loghan
Lagmore
Layd

Mulloghkiss
Mondaran
Mullaghsandall
Maynish
Magluffe
Magherygeoreagh
Mullaghbane
Machricarrow
Marife
Minish

Owen Cloagh

Parke

Rinfade
Ranagh

Sallagh
Sollor
Shawhee
Straidcolly
Shillkrume

Tovingriffin
Tully
Tullaght
Tanregee
Tonedrene
Templeoughtard
Teginicrynagh
Tullogh
Tonecoyne
Tonebrack
Tonenadrassagh

Ursenagh
Uovagh
Ussenagh

CARIE.

Achruell
Ardimony
Ardmoy
Athleake
Altimane
Ardoaghtragh
Arditragh
Altrassagh
Accrunagh
Ardmoy

Ballyvoy
Ballyreagh
Bunmargee
Ballynegard
Bonaglen
Bruaghmore
Ballypatrick
Ballytermine
Ballyclogagh
Ballyocron
Ballyenan

Ballyvally
Ballinlagg
Ballycastle
Broometowne
Bruaghmore
Bruaghgamman
Ballinstraide
Ballynoe
Ballinlea
Balleghlogh
Ballymoge

Ballyleyny
Ballyallaghty
Ballentony
Ballym'tayler
Ballinoe
Ballyvergan
Ballygill
Ballykerry
Ballany
Broome als
Breene

Bunshanclony

Crosalister
Crirach
Cregbane
Coolenegoppoge
Corragh
Cullkine
Corvally
Carnesampson
Carntullagh

Cullcarne
Carnamonne
Carnbane
Cloughdrumory
Carnduffe
Clare
Carnconny
Cape Castle
Cloghcorr
Cregans
Cullrasherkan

Cregillappan
Cregenagh
Croghmore
Croghnemaddy
Croghbegg
Carnkeirke
Carnside
Clogher
Cosslanegree
Cummoge
Cleggin
Carnkeen
Carekloghe
Carecloghan
Carncreagh
Carnlolus

Drumchett
Dunkammon
Drumnemelloge

Dunard
Drumnekelly
Duncarbett
Doune
Dromine
Drumnine
Drumogholly
Drumwilliam
Drumargee
Drumsiske
Drumnegee
Dowaghmore
Drumnegessan
Dunanie

Farn M'Alister
Farn M'Allon

Glenmakeerin
Gortetrumine

Gortreemaddery
Glanstaghie
Gortmillish

Island M'Allon
Islandcard

Killrobert
Killcregg
Knocklayd
Knocknagarvon
Killcubbin
Killcuill
Killpatrick
Keanerevor
Killcrea
Knockans
Killmachamoge
Killitragh
Killitullitragh

Killmoole

Loghady
Loghdunard
Loghpadding
Loghane
Lossett
Lealand
Leagevare
Lemnaghmore
Lemnaghbegg
Lisnegunnoge
Lisballynagroagh
Lisserlaise
Lisnegatt
Lismalerty

Mullindugane
Magheryloghy
Magheretemple

Myerget
Magherymore
Myerbane
Movilly
Magherenahair
Maghrecashel
Moycreagbegg
Moycreagmore
Mullaghduff
Munaghcloigh
Manester
Mosside

Nesson

Portbrittas
Proluske

Rodding
Ramakadding

Rathmore

Shanvally
Straidkillin
Stremangallmore

Torre
Turnareoghan
Toriloskan
Toward
Tubberkilly
Tlome
Templeastragh
Tobberkeigh
Tandowe
Tulloghore
Turereagh
Towaghrea
Turnerobert
Tulloghpatrick

DUNLUCE.

Atris
Altimedon
Aghegoddy
Athomabny
Ardmalfin
Ardigorane
Aghnecross
Aberdowy
Ardmore
Aghdalgan

Ballybreggagh
Ballynegeshill
Ballybredagh
Ballyveely
Ballywyany
Ballyany
Ballyportary
Ballycregagh
Ballybagh
Ballyknock
Ballyloupe
Ballytooby
Ballylogh
Bally M'William
Ballygobbin
Ballinecorbegg
Ballyvony
Ballyrobbin
Ballycubbedell
Brackoge
Upp. Ballymoylan
Low. Ballymoylan
Ballynacreemore
Ballynamanagh
Ballynemony
Ballyvattick
Ballydonnelly

Ballywatt
Ballyonakin
Ballywillin
Ballynasse
Ballylekene
Ballyologh
Bunarden
Ballyboggy
Ballintibbert
Ballynecregg
Ballykeele
Ballymulcree
Ballynegarry
Ballyhome
Ballyglassagh
Ballyhunsby
Ballylargan
Ballynaris
Ballynasse
Ballyloghmore
Ballyloughbegg
Bally M'Finne
Ballyhemlin
Ballanagore
Ballyhybistock
Ballylosky
Ballyduffady
Ballyaluny
Ballyrachan
Ballynefay
Ballynefeedy

Coolebane
Castlesinagham
Carrownagarragh
Corkey
Clontifenan
Cannabuy

Cloughan
Cullinkeele
Coolerimony
Cloghcorr
Claghy
Cabragh
Crosse
Carrowloghane
Connagher
Clogh
Cregitimpane
Carnmany
Carnany
Cooleduffe
Carnlelagh
Cabrin
Culresheskin
Coldagh als
Colagh
Carnglasse
Corvally
Cloghvir
Coolenegore
Clontuske
Cloney
Creganhore
Cregbaney
Cossy
Cregballynabanagh
Calragh
Cooleremony
Cavanmore
Clontisse
Cavanreagh
Carmone
Castledevericke
Carnbore
Carnboge

Coole
Carnaffe
Carnfoick
Carnfollagh

Drumnafeeny
Dromhollagh
Dromdoragh
Drumsky
Dromnehosky
Dromreagh
Dunvarney
Droghindulke
Drumneheglish
Drumart
Dunluce
Drumcrottagh

Farrenleassery
Farvereagh

Groomshield
Glenelogh
Glassdall
Gortchigh
Gortnegapple
Glassinerine

Inogh
Islandcarrick
Islandross
Islands
Islandwoagh
Inchgrane

Knockigallen
Kneele
Knockgallend

Knockahollit
Knockbrineng
Killraghtis
Knocknefinn
Karnkill
Kirkhill
Killinraver
Killmoyle
Knockwallin
Knockanbey

Loghgeele
Lissinusk
Lisdomderge
Liskey
Lisvallymorard
Leitrim
Lecke
Leeke
Lissanduffe
Loghlinsh
Lisconnan
Levery

Moyoure
Momnegore
Moninagroe
Magherhony
Magheravan
Maghereboy
Mullaghmore
Magherecaury
Malledober
Mahebuy
Malladuffe

Pollynataffy
Portrush

Preistland
Portballintray
Portbell
Parke

Rosyarde
Ranelagh
Rallyroge
Reske

Shaines
Shelton
Stronoekam
Senycock
Secon
Spittle Land
Stanalin
Stroane

Tournagree
Tullymckoule
Tubbernagoole
Tamoge
Tullagore
Toalligin
Taghifadd
Tahy
Tobberdornan
Tubbercoppan
Tullycapple
Tryfraine

Unshinna
Utall
Urbelreagh

THE BARONY OF KILCONWAY

Is bounded on the East by the height of that tract of Mountaynes wch divides this Barony from the Barony of Glanarme, untill it comes to the Spring of *Dungounell* Water, which runeth into *Glenravell* Water, and divides this Barony on the South from the Barony of Antrim—and soe keepeth that bound untill it come neer the Clogh Bridge, from whence it divides this Barony from the Barony of Toome, still South along untill it fal into the *Mayne* Water, wch carrieth the Bound downe that Water untill it come to a place called Dorvolly, And from thence up the veine of a Bogg Westward untill it come to *Dreno* Water, and leaveing the said Water at a hill called Lisnahancon or Tonergy, from whence it runneth Westward into a Moss where there is an Island called Eovaghre, and from that Moss Westward by the north side of the Towne land called Gortichiryn, bounding on the Barony of Toome, along a litle Brooke wch falleth into the river Bann, wch divides this Barony from the County Londonderry, and carieth the bounds northward untill it come to the foote of the brooke *Lonagher*, wch divideth this Barony from the Barony of Dunluce, and from thence goes along through a great Moss by the quarter of Land of Monyhenan, unto the *three great stones* standing between the said quarter of Land and the quarter Land of Drumskea, in the Barony of Dunluce, and thence into a Brooke called *Clogy* Water, and soe through a great Moss untill you come to the meer of Garyduffe and Altnagulnym in the Barony of Dunluce, which leadeth into the great Bogg of Ballymacwilliam, wch Bogg carrieth the Bounds downe the Spring of the Mayne Water until it come to the foord of *Killaggan* Water, and soe goeth up the said Water till it come to the top of that Tract of Mountayne wch divides this Barony of Kilconway from the Barony of Glanarme where the meer began.

The Soyle of this Barony is generally coarse; that wch is for corne of it being hasely and light, and that which is for pasture mountanous, soure and Boggy.

The River of Mayne Water, wch falleth into Loghneagh, hath its original Spring out of this Barony.

C. ANTRIM.—DUNAGHY AND GRANGE PARISH.

Proprietor in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
Earle of Antrym	Dongenell ..	.....	64 2 0
	Carregeen 1 qr ...	.....	138 3 0
J.P. Proprietor of 3 Townes & half a Towne of Glanrevill	Ballycregdunleire 1 Towne...	.....	417 0 0
	Carrowowan 1 Towne ...	.....	263 0 0
	Of the same ...	62 2 0	
	Leaknamonoge ...	.....	364 0 0
	Of the same ...	43 0 0	
	Scerry one Towne ...	.....	460 0 0
Earle of Antrym	Enissagh 1 Towne ...	... ..	100 0 0
	Tullykisoge 1 To: ...	.....	467 0 0
	Monyduffe 1 Towne als Tullaghbane ...	.....	206 0 0
	Amerbane ½ Towne ...	.....	201 0 6
	Donboght 1 Towne ...	.....	210 0 0
	Drumnegroagh ½ Towne ...	.....	163 0 0
	Emshafe ½ Towne ...	.....	64 0 0
	Of the same ...	14 0 0	
	Glenlaghy 1 qr .	.....	131 2 0
	Cregfade ½ Towne ...	.....	279 0 0
	Maghereboy ½ qr ...	.....	60 2 0
	Cregfadeige ½ Towne ...	.....	143 2 0
	Kinflea qr ...	.....	24 2 0
	Ballycreggagh 1 Towne ...	.....	446 0 0
	In the same ...	53 0 0	.....
Donnell Magee	Ballyvogy 1 qr ...	. ...	265 00 0
Earle of Antrym	Rossdermitt 1 Towne ...	.....	372 0 0
	Of the same ...	17 0 0	.....
propr. of ¾ of Ballymadree	Drumbar als Frasses 1 Towne	.....	109 0 0
	Of the same ...	30 0 0	.....
	Dungarry 1 qr ...	34 0 0	57 0 0
	Carnes als Carnbegg ½ Towne	.....	46 0 0
	Carnmore 1 qr ...	.....	109 0 0
	Ballyveagh 1 Towne ...	.....	331 0 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Killare 1 Towne ...	.....	360 0 0
	Ballyheillin 1 qr ...	.....	47 0 0
	Drumnecrosse 1 qr ...	.....	56 0 0
Earle of Antrym	Drumnekilly ...	.....	55 0 0
	Drumneteile 1 qr ...	.....	59 0 0
	In the same ...	20 0 0	
	Ballyhaderlan 1 Towne ...	.....	142 2 0
	In the same ...	32 0 0	.....
	Dundermod ½ Towne ...	.....	144 0 0
	Ballyloughlary ...	.....	177 0 0
	Of the same ...	159 0 0	.....
	Of the same ...	93 0 0	... ..
	Ennishnesagh 1 qr ...	.....	159 0 0
	Trasses ..	.....	151 0 0
	Clogh ...	.....	10 0 0
	Church Land ...	.....	67 0 0
	Carrowbrangy 1 qr ...	.....	76 0 0
Earle of Antrym	pcell of Glanalanagh ...	.....	.....
	als Gallanagh ...	.....	67 0 0
	PART LOGHILL.		
	Glenbeyish 1 qr ..	.....	75 2 0
	Ballynebantro Mount Bogg...	621 0 0	.....
	Meanenea 1 qr ...	.....	92 0 0
	Of the same ...	223 0 0	.....
Earle of Antrym	Drumneraskan 1 qr ...	.....	113 0 0
	Of the same ...	32 0 0	.....
Propr. of 4 qrs. of.	Lissnegarr 1 qr ...	. ....	142 0 0
	Of the same ..	35 0 0	.....
	Of the same ...	15 2 0	.....
	Drumnegogale 1 qr ...	.....	143 0 0
	Of the same ...	28 0 0	.....
	In the same 2 Parcells ...	..... ,	4 0 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Part of qur of Lisnelaban ...	.....	42 3 0
	The other Part ...	.....	36 2 0
	Another Part of the same ...	.....	48 0 0
	In the same ...	186 3 0	.....
Earle of Antrym	Carnbooke 1 qr ...	.....	76 1 0
	Of the same ...	104 0 0	.....
	Edenbrough 1 qr ...	.....	137 2 0
	Of the same ...	132 0 32	.....
	Maghereboy ...	.....	77 1 0
	Of the same ..	.....	.....
	Mossy Bogg and Mountayne of the same ...	.....	.. ...
	The Quarter of CARRIDUFFE, Part of BALLIMONY PARISH,		
Earle of Antrym	Garriduffe ...	.....	184 0 0
	Of the same ...	170 0 0	.....
	KILLAGAN.		
	Drumdowen j Towne ...	.....	281 0 0
Earle of Antrym	Of the same ..	18 2 0	.....
	Of the same ...	12 2 0	.....
	Ballinsige ½ Towne ...	.....	249 2 0
	Of the same ..	21 2 0	.....
	Tarcrone ½ Towne ...	.....	168 2 0
	¼ of Loghereharverins ..	.....	98 2 0
	In the same ...	14 2 0	.....
	Part of Islands ...	.....	23 0 0
	Of the same ...	26 2 0	.....
Earle of Antrym	In the same ...	34 0 0	.....
	Killvendan 1 qr ...	.....	54 0 0
	¾ of Loghrehardverins ..	.....	280 0 0
	MAGHRASHARKAN PARISH.		
	Ballaghen 1 Towne ...	.....	369 1 0
	In the same ...	104 0 0	.....
	In the same ...	.....	5 2 0
	In the same ...	23 2 0	.....
	Clonticolloghan ...	. ....	55 0 0
	In the same ...	15 0 0	.....
Earle of Antrym	Dunamyne ...	.....	488 0 0
	Of the same ...	50 2 0	.....
	Of the same ...	20 3 0	.....
	Killvickduderragh 1 Towne	.....	78 1 0
	Drumore 1 qr ...	.....	140 0 0
	In the same ...	21 0 0	.....
	Drumnecrosse 1 qr ...	.....	112 0 0
	In the same ...	16 0 0	.....
	Carvicklenty 1 qr ...	... ..	167 0 0
	In the same ...	47 1 0	.....
	In the same ...	52 2 0	.....
	Killtidonnelly ½ qr ...	.....	195 3 0
	Of the same ...	19 2 0	... ..
	Eraghleine 1 qr ...	.....	225 0 0
	Of the same ...	145 0 0	.....
	Of Carricklenty aforesaid ...	254 2 0	.....
	In the same ...	.....	10 1 0
	Anticar 2 qrs ...	.....	570 0 0
	In the same ...	67 3 0	.....
	In the same 3 Boggs ...	15 1 0	.....

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Killcrine ...	.....	145 0 0
	In the same ...	62 2 0	.....
	In the same ...	6 1 0	.....
	Killquoane j qr ...	.....	126 0 0
	In the same ...	19 0 0	.....
	Killquoane 1 other qr ..	.....	193 0 0
	In the same ...	19 3 0	.....
	In the same ...	5 1 0	.....
	The Parcell of Lisconnollo and Enaghdaran ...	.....	56 1 0
Earle of Antrym	In the same ...	34 0 0	
	Maghereboy 1 Towne ...	.....	292 0 0
	In the same ...	17 2 0	
	Ballydonnelly ...	.....	229 0 0
	Ballynegrange ...	.....	235 3 0
	In the same ...	300 0 0	.....
	Crossbracken als Clogher 1 qr	.....	15 0 0
	Of the same ...	3 0 0	
	Monilick 1 Towne ...	.....	200 2 0
	Glenbuck 2 qrs ...	.....	268 0 0
	In the same 1 qr ...	.....	258 0 0
	In the same ...	183 1 0	.....
	In the same ...	280 2 0	.....
	In the same ...	43 3 0	.....
	Drummenine ½ Towne ...	.....	260 0 0
	In the same ...	40 0 0	.....
	Ballynaconnell ...	.....	157 3 0
	In the same ...	63 1 0	.....
	In the same ...	5 1 0	
	In the same ...	30 2 0	
	Part of the same ...	.....	59 2 30
	Ballycallmore ...	.....	146 0 0
	In the same ...	57 3 0	.....
	In the same ...	.....	8 0 30
	Ballylesnegore ...	.....	241 1 0
	In the same ...	52 2 0	.....
	Ballygortrara 1 Towne ...	.....	164 3 0
	Ballycarnfenton ...	.....	203 0 0
	Deryne 1 Towne ...	.....	203 1 0
Earle of Antrym	Tyhorn 1 Towne ..	.....	255 1 0
	Gortrea 1 Towne ...	.....	231 3 0
	In the same ...	.....	40 2 0
	Of Gortrea aforesaid ...	.. .	104 2 0
	Of the same ...	.....	17 0 0
	Of the same ...	.....	9 2 0
	Tullagh 1 Towne ...	.....	180 0 0
	In the same ...	16 0 0	.....
	In the same ...	.....	35 0 0
	In the same ...	.....	2 0 0
	Drumchoaan 1 Towne ...	.....	334 0 0
	In the same ...	325 0 0	
	Of the same ...	.....	21 3 0
	Of the same ..	.....	1 1 0
	Drumask 1 Towne ...	.....	325 3 0
	In the same ...	87 2 0	.....
	In the same ...	.....	6 1 0
	In the same ...	.....	66 3 0
	Tullagh O Keen 1 Towne ...	.....	222 2 0
	In the same ...	37 0 0	.....
	Carrowbard 1 qr ...	.....	71 3 30
	Crossbracken ¼ Towne ...	.....	192 2 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	In the same ...	50 2 0	
Earle of	Derinee 1 qr ..	.....	147 0 0
Antrym	In the same ...	74 0 0	.....
	In the same ...	.....	3 2 30
	Magherasharkan ...	.. ...	17 2 0
	MAGHEREOGHILL PARISH.		
	Claskill 1 Towne ...	48 0 0	327 0 0
	Craganagortan 1 Towne ...	176 2 0	218 0 0
	Of the same ...	.....	1 1 0
Earle of	Bordell 1 Towne ...	30 0 0	348 3 0
Antrym	Granagh ½ Towne ...	30 1 0	90 0 0
	Tannaghnabrook 1 Smal Towne ...	.....	174 0 0
	The Smal Towne ½ of the Creggs ...	.....	.....
	FINVOY PARISH.		
	Lower qr of Drumly ...	50 0 0	127 2 0
	Edone 2 qrs ...	16 2 0	322 2 0
	Of the same ...	... ..	42 0 0
	Adeloman 1 qr ...	.....	102 0 0
Earle of	Ballyneganny 2 qrs ..	... ..	254 2 0
Antrym	Of the same ...	383 3 0	117 1 0
	Of the same ...	400 0 0	21 0 0
	Maddekille 2 qrs ..	11 3 0	117 0 0
	Of the same ...	.....	20 1 0
	Of the same ...	.....	41 1 0
	Of the same ...	20 1 30	.....
	Of the same ...	.....	13 1 10
	The qr of Shanaghy ...	.....	67 3 0
	Of the same ...	. ....	37 2 0
	Carvetiferly 1 qr ...	7 1 0	60 0 0
	Killyn a qr Land ...	32 2 0	105 0 0
	Of the same ..	.....	90 2 0
	Rosashaon als Ravashnane...	.....	73 0 0
	Of the same ...	.....	47 2 0
Earle of	Of the same ...	11 2 24	28 3 0
Antrym	Derry 2 qrs ...	10 2 0	246 1 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres. Unprofitable,	Profitable.
	Bogg belonging to the adjacent Townes called Monelly ...	542 0 0	.....
	Mullon 1 qr ...	55 2 0	373 3 0
	Carraghreagh 1 qr ...	21 1 0	127 2 0
	In the same ...	.....	3 3 0
	Cultifighin als Coolta-faghan 1 To. ...	474 3 30	638 3 0
	Ballytuny 1 qr ...	....	82 2 0
	Monekenan Up qr ...	6 2 0	222 0 0
	Drumly Up qr ...	.....	90 0 0
	Madduffe ½ Towne ...	16 1 0	115 0 0
	Of the same ...	.....	6 2 0
	Lissighan 1 qr ...	....	70 2 0
	Of the same ...	178 2 0	....
	Diskerteen 1 qr ...	....	113 0 0
	Of the same ...	....	25 0 0
	Of the same ...	32 2 30	12 1 0
	2 qrs of Drumloge ...	52 0 0	252 2 0
	Ardloman qr called Tan-naghnabrooke ...	8 0 0	85 2 0
Earle of Antrym	Of the same ...	.....	27 2 0
	Gallenagh 1 qr ...	56 3 0	112 2 20
	The Low qr of Ballymac-Alient ...	.... .	94 1 0
	2 qrs of the same ...	95 2 0	174 1 0
	Another part of the same ...	135 0 0	85 0 0
	¼ of Gallenagh ...	45 0 0	158 0 0
	Common to the adjacent Townes ...	307 2 0	.....
	Knockans 2 qrs ...	65 2 0	300 0 0
	Carraghleagh ...	66 3 0	119 1 0
	Of the same ...	.....	23 3 0
	Monoghkenan ...	41 0 0	140 0 0
	Tullaghees ½ Towne ...	.....	145 0 0
	Of the same ...	214 3 0	... ..
	Of the same ...	192 2 0	.....
	¼ Ursunagh ...	43 2 0	133 0 0
	Part of the same ..	97 2 0	175 0 0

THE BARONY OF GLENARME

Is Bounded on the Easterly part by the Brittish Ocean or Irish Sea, from wch it runneth westward up a River called *Inver* Water, wch divideth it from the Barony of Belfast, and goeth to the Spring of *Ollarmyno*, from wch it runneth to the brooke of Altmore, wch divideth this Barony from Antrim, lying Westward of it, and goeth through the middle of the Bogg called Sheskanaboggie untill it come to the Bogg called Sheskenlaroer, and from thence to the foote of the Water called *Leoyne*, untill you come to the black myre, and soe along untill you come to the Glynn of Altamye, and from the head of that Glyn to a thorn Bush called Keenekreen, and from thence to the head of the Bogg called Criscladdy, from whence it goeth to the head of *Oyencloghagh* Water, along which it goeth untill it come to a streame running through a myrey place which carrieth the Bounds unto the Bogg of Eskinagraffe, and from thence to the Glynn of Loghinlouyear, and so to Glennalaghan, from thence to the little hill of Bellaknockan, running thence by a brooke called Feghberyn, and so unto the bogg of Eskinaflosky, and so along to Loughagerin, and from thence unto a place called Lemnecullenagh, wch is a little hill, from thence to a rocky place called Cloghnagortin, and from thence to the Brooke called Uskloran, and soe to the Water of Glenry, from thence to Tomnistea, a green place in the mountayne, and from thence to Colanglenry, which goeth to ye Carne of Stones called Carymarigan, and soe to the top of the Water of Glenravell, where this Barony meetes with the Barony of Killconeway, wch lyeth Westwards from this Barony, and soe northward through the mountayne till you come to the

head of *Dungonnell* brooke, and from thence to the Brooke called *Agannamarghy*, and soe to the topp of the mountayne called Sleavenanee, from wch it goeth to the moss of Moneyrelligy, where this Barony boundeth on the Barony of Dunluce, which lyeth northwestward of this Barony, from whence it goeth to the topp of the Glynn called Altneunstrony, and from thence to the topp of the mountayne called Sleavenahorie, where this Barony boundeth on the Barony of Carie lying northward of this Barony, and soe along the mountayne to a place called Lenesheledagh, and from thence to the topp of Leneskallen, and soe to the Glynn of Lenecappell, and so to the Coyle and Cregnebrillog a Rock, from thence to the topp of the mountayne Movaino, and thence to Lebenish, and soe to the Brooke called Sruangortdonnell, running into the river of Coshandun, wch runneth eastwards into the Brittish Ocean where the meer began.

The Soyle of this Barony upon the sea coast is indifferent good generally, tho: in some places it is cragy, shrubby, and Rockie with great glins, most of the rock being white limestone, but towards the west and northwest, where it borders with the Baronies of Antrym, Killconway, Dunluce, and Carie, it is altogether barren mountaines and Boggy, being somewhat shrubby and woody at the heades of the severall Glynns that this Barony consists of.

This Barony hath in it noe Rivers of any note, but smale Waters running all eastward into the British Ocean.

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	LEARN PARISH		
	Blackcane 1 Towne ...	.....	219 3 12
	2 qrs of Mulloghkiss ...	.....	107 1 36
	2nd & 3rd qr of Ballycraigy	.....	120 2 0
	The 2nd qr of Greenlowe . .	.....	97 0 0
	The 2 parcells of Antivile ...	... ..	72 0 8
Earle of Antrym	2 qrs of Moncloran ...	.....	184 0 32
	Garding ...	.....	54 0 16
	The halfe Towne and quarter of Ballybosly ...	.. ...	175 2 28
	¾ of Ballycraigy ...	.....	38 0 32
	¼ of Ballycraigy ...	... ..	44 0 0
Lord Chichester, Prot.	Downe Malloes ...	.....	116 0 0
	KILLOGHTER		
	The 2 half Townes of Dornique, Donnigillis, als Drumness, Ederowen ..	.....	276 0 0
	The same .	.....	236 0 0
	The same, Bogg ...	56 3 0	.....
	2nd qr of Mullaghsandell ...	.....	270 3 32
	Of the same ...	370 2 24	.....
	Astickall ½ ..	.....	138 3 12
	Attymore ¼ ...	....	265 0 12
	Of the same ...	.....	39 0 0
	Tovingriffin ½ ..	.....	252 0 12
	Gregnehorn ¼ ...	.....	197 3 32
	Lisnedrumbard ¼ ...	.....	197 1 24
Bogg belonging to Capn. Magner.	5 Qrs Land ...	1616 3 0	.....
	¾ of Killoghter ..	.....	1175 0 0
	Ballyhampton ...	.....	156 2 32
	CARNCASTLE PARISH.		
Earle of Antrym.	The ¾ of Killygleum ...	.....	535 0 0
	Cappanagh ...	.....	143 0 0
The same.	In the same Bogg ...	284 0 19	.....
Mr. Shaw.	Killyglen ...	.....	48 0 0
	Loughduffe ...	.....	467 1 24
	Drumaine ...	.....	128 3 8
	The ¾ of Ballytobber ...	.....	175 0 0

Proprietor in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	The same Comon ¼ unforfeited ...	.....	69 0 0
Earle of Antrym	Corkermayne ...	.....	532 3 0
	Part of Balruddery ...	.....	82 0 0
	Lisnehyne ..	.....	171 1 12
	Sallogh ...	.....	436 0 32
	½ qr of Ballymullen ...	.....	261 3 0
	¾ of Knockanmore ...	.....	230 3 0
	Ballygilbert ..	.....	236 0 24
	½ Towne of Droagh ...	.....	81 0 0
	The pcell of Cuning ...	.....	58 3 0
	¾ of Ballyganna ...	.....	535 3 8
	Parcel of Minish .	.....	72 1 24
	The ½ Towne of Ballyonull...	.....	189 1 2
Mr. John Donnelson Prot	3 Parcells of Ballytubber ...	.....	63 0 0
John Shaw Pt.	Corkermayne ...	.....	93 0 0
Mr. Tullos Pt.	The same ...	.....	220 0 0
John Brooks Pt.	Pt of Minish ...	.....	31 0 0
Church Land	Sollar ...	.....	18 0 0
Mr. John Bittles Pt.	Lissneheagh ...	... .	185 0 0
Randalph Bittles Pt.	Part of Ballruddery ...	.....	65 0 0
Mr. Shaw of Carnefenoge,			
Mr. Shaw of Ballygelly, Mr. Wm. Fenton, Pts.	Ballygelly ...	... ..	722 0 0
Patr Owen Prot.	Part of Ballymulloge ...	.....	50 0 0
Wm. ffenton Prot.	Drumnereagh ...	.....	681 0 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	GLENARM PARISH.		
	Ballymacveagh ...	.....	485 0 0
	The same ...	.....	136 0 0
	In the same ...	... ..	39 0 0
	In the same ...	.....	5 0 0
	Parke ...	.....	153 0 0
	The Parcell of Leabeard ...	.....	148 0 0
	The Parcell of Bruagh ..	.....	58 1 12
	In the same ...	.....	10 0 0
Earle of Antrym	½ Towne of Kearnloghan ...	.....	695 0 0
	In the same ...	.....	187 0 0
	In the same .	... ..	47 0 0
	Tully 1 Towne ½ qr ...	.. ...	2903 0 0
	In the same ...	497 0 0	.....
	In the same ...	.....	68 1 32
	The Parcell of Magluffe ...	.....	140 3 24
	Cregantawbolly and Killvaden ...	.. ...	72 0 12
	¼ of Ballyvaddy ...	.. ...	346 1 12
	In the same ...	.....	179 0 0
	Shanhee ...	.....	99 0 28
	Loskan ...	.....	210 0 33
	Of the same and Shanhee ..	357 0 0	... ..
	Drumorne ...	.....	284 2 0
	In the same ...	334 0 0	.....
	The Parcell of Garrfore ..	.....	129 2 0
	North Ursenagh ..	.....	89 3 16
	South Ursenagh ...	.....	22 2 36
	In the same ...	191 0 28	.....
	Drumynagh ...	.....	34 3 8
	Drnmnccoale ...	.....	97 1 38
	Ballymakrory als Drumayne	287 1 4	490 3 12
	The Parcell of Tullogh ...	.....	214 3 36
	Barishee ...	.....	70 0 8
	Ardruman als Gallanogh ...	.....	26 3 36
	Straidcully ...	.....	62 0 0
	Knocknamore ...	.....	18 3 16
Earle of Antrym	Magherygerreagh ...	.....	117 2 36
	Embruagh ...	.....	81 0 24
	Tanregee ...	.....	164 2 4
	In the same ...	. ....	40 1 28
	Tanedrene ...	.....	150 0 0
	In the same ...	.....	74 0 8
	Mulloghbane ..	.....	108 0 8
	In the same ...	.....	39 0 0
	Duntage ...	.....	271 0 24
	Templeoughterard ...	.....	27 3 12
Abby Land	In the same ..	. ...	7 1 8
	Tegmieremagh ..	.....	13 1 18
	Owen Cloagh ...	.....	2603 0 0
	Drumnegree ..	.....	47 0 0
	Part of Labert ...	.....	62 0 0
	Glenarme ...	.....	.....
	ARDCLINIS PARISH.		
	The Parcell of Ringfade, Carnereagh, and Carviskill	...	168 3 20
Earle of Antrym	The ¼ of Corballis als Carrow Chonlyn ...	...	117 3 0
	Coweagh als Lemneahery ...	...	254 1 32
	Drumesolith ...	...	152 3 28
	Ballyvoolgan ..	...	92 1 20
	Lappan als Loghan ...	...	66 1 18
	The ¼ of Cappan ...	...	74 0 12
	Gallbolly ...	...	164 1 20
	The Pcell of Arderlony ..	...	119 0 0
	The ¼ March Carrow ...	...	320 0 0
	The Parcell of Craige ...	...	148 2 0
	Braiman ...	...	73 1 32
	½ Glanariffe ...	...	1041 1 24
	Vovagh ...	...	149 1 32
	Adjacent Townes ...	4557 0 0	...
	LAYD PARISH.		
	½ Towne of Marrife ...	...	161 1 20
	The Pcell of Gorteaclea .	...	110 0 0
	Knockan ...	...	106 1 0
	In the same ...	5 0 0	...
	Tullogh ...	...	67 1 24
	Part of the same ...	...	49 0 0
	In the same ...	5 1 14	...
	¼ of Glasmullin ...	...	284 1 36
	Ballynetoe, Gorglea, Knockanemoy, Carncheagh, ...	...	116 0 12
	Mynish ...	...	40 0 0
	Clony and Killusher and a Parcell of Aghanee ...	...	220 0 0
	Skillcrume and Cloghglasse	...	945 0 0
	Cort M'Martyn ...	...	56 0 36
	Fflaghleloghboy ...	...	212 0 0
	In Fflaghleloughboy aforesd ...	...	16 0 0
	In the same ...	536 0 0	...
	Cloghfinn ...	...	72 2 6
	In the same ...	52 3 0	...
	Cloghtinfra ...	...	266 0 32
	In the same, Bogg ...	39 3 24	...
	Gortnecrosse ...	...	269 0 3
	In the same ...	189 0 8	...
Earle of Antrym	Tonecoyne ...	...	135 0 0
	In the same ...	61 0 32	...
	Culloghheagh ...	...	47 3 0
	Tanebrack ...	...	36 3 16
	Cunnegree als Cullin ...	...	73 2 16
	In the same ...	25 0 0	..
	Ballyvile ...	...	148 2 36
	Laymore ...	...	83 16 0
	Ballybrack ...	...	141 2 16
	Gortnegrosse als Gorteenemouna ...	...	98 0 8
Donnough Groome M'Gawle, J.P.	Faghmackelly ...	..	227 0 32
	In the same ..	...	6 1 32
	In the same ...	324 1 0	...
	In the same ...	...	9 2 16
	Bruaghderg ...	...	5 1 36
	Augullagh ...	...	89 2 12
	Ranagh ..	...	130 3 32
	Cashenstreade ...	...	82 0 0
	Ussenagh ...	...	31 3 0
	In the same ...	38 1 32	...

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable
	Bruaghreagh ...	...	141 0 28
	Drummore ...	...	43 0 28
	Annebert ...	...	22 0 28
	Duraghty ...	...	3 1 12
	Glancorp ...	...	126 3 28
	In the same ...	...	28 0 0
	The Parcell of Glendrum ...	...	375 2 16
	The Parcell of Beaghmore...	...	187 1 24
	Knocknecarry ...	...	124 3 20
	Cletaghan ...	...	41 2 32
	In the same ...	...	40 2 4
	In the Bogg ...	235 3 4	...

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
Earle of Antrym	The Parcell of Kilmore ...	...	115 2 24
	In the same ...	31 1 0	
	The Parcell of Cylemore ...	...	120 1 36
	In the same ...	660 0 0	
	Of the same ...	...	102 3 36
	Parcell of Inispollan ...	...	314 2 16
	In the same Bogg ...	396 0 0	
	The parcell of Layd ...	...	66 3 4
	Cloghglasse ...	...	14 1 12
	Tanenadrassagh ...	..	1 1 36
Earle of Antrym	Church Land in Layd ...	...	5 0 0
	Coskibbe 1 Parcell ...	...	24 0 0

THE BARONY OF CARIE

Beginning on the East by the British Ocean comprehending the little Island called the Sheep Island, and the Island of Raghlyn, unto the foote of the River of Coshandin, on the South, wch divides this Barony from the Barony of Glenarme, and soe by the said brooke or River to a little brooke running thereinto called Sruangortidonnell, and soe goeth Westward along the said brooke to the ffoord called Bellanabroge, and thence north westward to a place in the mountayne called Sleavebane, and soe to the topp of the mountayne called Monyscano, and from thence to a place called Cregnabrillog, and the topp of the mountayne called Cowle, and so to Lagnacaple and the topp of the mountayne called Lemnastallen, and thence to the topp of the mountayne Lemnesillidragh, where this Barony boundeth on the Barony of Dunluce, and so northwestward downe a little brooke called Finrowan to the foote of the brooke called Clynary, and up that brooke southwestward to the topp of the mountayne on the back of the hill called Crowaghan, and thence straight up to the topp of a little brooke called Glassnaferney, and soe southwestward to the Bush Water, and thence by that Water unto the lower end of Streamadowey, and thence northward through a little bogg, till it come to a little carne of stones called Glenanpatrick, and soe to a little foord called Bellavillie upon the river Dervock, and soe along the northside of the said Water westward to the foote of the brooke called Glassineryn, and from thence up that brooke to a little foorde thereon, as the way leads from the foorde upon Bonvellen Water and Loghlenish—and soe up the said brooke through a large moss bogg till it be between the halfe towneland of Cruaghbeg in this Barony, and the quarterland of Islands in the Barony of Dunluce, and thence on the north side of black moore head of land in the said moss, and soe to the topp of the Bogg called Eberduffe, and soe along the said Bogg through a little moss unto the north end of a hill called Coweanfishyn into a little brooke of Water that falleth downe into a little Turfe Bogg, and thence to the south side of the great Rocke called Clogher-craige, and soe westward downe an old ditch to the foorde between the qr Land of Egerie in the Barony of Dunluce, and Maghreboy in this Barony, from thence westward along the high way by the head of Maghereboy by a little Dogg hill, and soe straight into the Bush Water againe opposit to the place called Logenadoaid, at the entry of the Bushmill Waire, and soe down along the said River unto the sea where the Meare began.

The Soyle towards the sea coast is indifferent good in most places. About the middle part of it a light hasely ground with great and spacious Dales of Red Bogg lying intermixed through the Land, and towards the south east is utterly barren and mountainous.

The Rivers riseing in this Barony are onely the water of Dervock wch runneth into the River of Bush, many springs whereof doe likewise rise out of this Barony, as also the Water of Ballycastle, wch falleth into the British Ocean northeastward at Ballycastle Towne.

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	KILFAGHTRIM PARISH.		
	Drumchet ...	...	47 3 0
	Drumkannon ..	...	41 1 0
	Crosalister ...	...	27 1 0
	Drumnemelloge ...	...	191 1 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres. Unprofitable,	Profitable.
	Crirach ...	...	146 0 0
	Glenmakeyrn ...	...	140 1 0
Earle of Antrym	Dunard 1 qr & $\frac{1}{3}$ qr ...	...	374 0 0
	Loghady ...	4 0 0	...
	Loghdunard ...	15 1 0	..

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Logh Padding	9 1 0	...
	Ballyroy ½ Towne	...	207 0 0
	Ballyreagh ½ Towne	...	227 0 0
	Bunmargee ½ Towne	...	95 3 0
	Acruell	...	16 1 0
	Ballynecarde called Drumnekelly	...	101 0 0
	Bonaglen	...	203 0 0
	Duncarbett	...	198 0 0
	Cregbane als Bruaghmore	...	237 0 0
	Farn M'Allister	...	14 1 0
	Coolnegoppoge 1 qr	...	96 2 0
	Downe 1 qr	...	105 0 0
	In the same	14 2 0	...
	Mullendugane 1 qr	...	106 2 0
	Part of Rodding 1 qr	...	31 2 0
	The Topp Land of the same	...	83 2 0
	One Qr of Ballypatrick called Dromyne	...	75 2 0
	The other Qr called Magheracloghey	...	124 0 0
	Of the same	...	38 3 0
	Ballytermyne 1 qr	...	156 2 0
	Ballicloghagh Carragh 1 qr	...	222 0 0
	Of Carragh aforesaid	9 0 0	...
	Ardymony 1 qr	...	128 1 0
	Loghan 1 qr	...	190 2 0
	The 10 Acres of Ramakkadding	...	77 0 0
	Of the same	11 3 0	...
	The 20 Acres of Farn M'Aileen	...	67 0 0
Earle of Antrym	Torre 2 qrs.	...	337 0 0
	Of the same	66 0 0	...
	Ballyocron	...	319 0 0
	Turnaroaghan ½ Towne	...	152 3 0
	Maghretemple	...	87 0 0
	The Parcell of Lossett	...	121 3 0
	Ballynegard other qr	...	91 0 0
	Moy Bogg	6263 0 0	...
	RATHMOAN PARISH.		
	Ballyennan 1 qr	...	61 0 0
	Culkeyne	...	126 0 0
	Of the same	20 1 0	...
	Myerget 1 qr	...	174 0 0
	Of the same	111 0 0	...
Earle of Antrym	Toryloskan 1 qr	...	160 0 0
	Myerget, other qr	...	220 0 0
	Corvally 1 Parcell	...	142 0 0
	Of the same	104 0 0	...
	Of the same	...	28 3 2
	Ardmoy 1 Parcell	...	29 2 0
	Of the same	38 2 0	...
	Of the same	54 2 0	...
	Athliake	...	250 0 0
	Of the same	35 0 0	...
	Of the same	11 1 0	...
	Kilrobert	...	86 0 0
	Ballyvellie	...	270 0 0
	Drumnenyne	...	165 0 0
	Drumghelly	...	178 0 0
	Towrard	...	174 0 0
	Ballinlugg 1 qr	...	115 0 0
	Ballinlugg other qr called Tobberbilly	...	113 0 0
	Of the same	...	47 3 0
	Of the same	18 0 0	...
	Magherymore 1 qr	...	138 0 0
	Drumwilliam 1 qr	...	52 2 0
	Carnesampson 1 qr	...	55 1 0
	Carntullogh 1 qr	...	138 0 0
	Cullcane als Mierbane	...	89 0 0
	Carnanmore 1 qr	...	68 0 0
	Cloghdrummory 1 qr	...	106 0 0
	Of the same	25 0 0	...
	Of the same	3 3 0	...
	Carnbane 1 qr	...	70 2 0
	Drummargee	...	85 0 0
	Drumsiske	...	85 0 0
	Lealand	...	43 0 0
	Gortetrumyne	...	56 0 0
	Kilcreg	...	216 0 0
	Altenamyne	...	55 0 0
	Home	...	7 0 0
	The Tenemts of Ballycastle	...	3 2 0
	The Castle Parke	...	6 1 6
	Carnduffe ½ Towne	...	82 2 0
	¾ Novilly	...	142 0 0
	1 qr of Novilly called Gortree Maddree	...	55 0 0
	Rathmone Parcell	...	26 0 0
Unforfeitd Land.	Clare and Carnconny	...	231 0 0
	Mossy Bogg in Common	720 0 0	...
The Bpp. of Mac-Kneals Freehold	Knocklayd Mossy Bogg	244 0 0	...
	Portbrittas	...	15 0 0
	Tulles Concealed Land	...	90 0 0
Mackneals Freehold	Broome Towne Land	...	460 0 0
	Cape Castle	...	106 0 0
Earle of Antrym	Of the same	297 0 0	...
	Of the same	...	1 2 0
	BILLY PARISH.		
Earle of Antrym	Cloghcorr 1 qr	...	83 0 0
	Of the same	56 3 0	...
	Of the same	32 2 0	...
	Legevere	...	184 1 10
	Of the same	28 2 0	...
	Broughgammon	...	110 0 0
	Of the same	113 3 0	...
	Of the same	...	9 0 0
	Glastaghie 1 Qur	...	95 2 0
	Of the same	110 2 0	...
	Glastaghie other Qur	...	76 1
	Of the same	69 1 0	...
	Magherenehere 1 Qur	...	139 1 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Of the same ...	4 1 0	...
	Magheracashel 1 Qur ...	...	131 1 0
	Of the same ...	25 0 0	...
	Creggane 1 Qur ...	...	81 1 0
	Of the same ...	68 3 0	...
	Of the same ...	...	11 1 0
	Of the same ...	65 0 0	...
	Ballinstraid 1 Qur ...	..	122 0 0
	Of the same ...	76 3 0	...
	Of the same ...	...	37 2 0
Earle of Antrym	Lemneghmore 1 Qur ...	..	147 0 0
	Of the same ...	32 1 0	...
	Of the same ...	25 2 0	...
	Lemneghbeg 1 Qur ...	...	133 3 0
	Of the same ...	13 0 0	...
	Culrasheskan 1 qr ...	...	166 1 0
	Ballynee 1 Qur ...	...	78 3 0
	Templeastragh ...	...	87 2 0
	Creggillappan 1 Qur ...	...	55 0 0
	Of the same ...	142 0 0	...
	Of the same ...	...	12 2 0
	Cregenagh & Knocknegarven	..	146 1 0
	Of the same ...	39 2 0	...
	Of the same ...	51 3 0	...
	Ballinlea 2 qur ...	...	132 2 0
	Of the same ...	31 3 0	...
	Of the same ...	46 3 0	...
	Probuske 1 qr ...	...	58 3 0
	Of the same ...	81 3 0	...
	Tobber Keigh 1 qr ...	...	73 3 0
	Of the same ...	18 0 0	...
	Of the same ...	.....	12 0 0
	Croaghmore ...	...	70 0 0
	Croaghnemaddy ...	...	108 0 0
	Of the same ...	7 2 0	...
	Ballyeghlogh 2 Qurs ...	...	171 0 0
	Island M'Allen ...	...	54 1 0
	Croaghbeg 2 Qurs ...	...	214 0 0
	Moycreghbeg 1 qr ...	...	75 1 0
	Of the same ...	26 0 0	...
	Of the same ...	3 0 0	...
Earle of Antrym.	Moycreghbeg other Qur ...	45 0 0	119 0 0
	Of the same ...	15 1 0	...
	Moycreghmore 1 Qur ...	...	81 2 0
	Moycreghmore other qr ...	...	54 1 0
	Of the same ...	8 0 0	...
	Lisnegunoge Qur ...	..	95 0 0
	The other Qur ...	...	124 0 0
	Drumnegee 1 Qur ...	...	60 0 0
	Of the same ...	30 1 0	...
	Lisballynagroagh 1 Qur ...	...	65 0 0
	Of the same ...	.....	46 1 0
	Of the same ...	...	8 0 0
	Lisballynagroagh other Qur	...	67 2 0
	Of the same ...	26 2 0	...
	Shanvally 1 Towne ...	...	445 0 0
	Of the same ...	30 0 0	...
	Carnkeirk 1 Qur ..	...	92 2 0
	Carnkeirk other Qur	...	97 0 0
	Of the same ...	16 3 0	..

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Ballymoge 1 Qur ...	...	138 0 0
	Ardooghtragh 1 Qur ...	...	186 0 0
	Stradkyllin 1 Qur ...	...	113 0 0
	Maghereboy ...	...	...
	Dowaghmore ...	...	91 3 0
	Of the same Sandy ...	37 2 0	...
	Ballyliney 1 Qur ...	...	48 0 0
	Of the same, Sandy ...	10 0 0	...
	Carnside 1 Qur ...	...	95 2 0
	Ardightragh 1 Qur ..	...	108 0 0
Earle of Antrym.	Lisserlaise 1 qur ...	...	112 3 0
	Tandowe 1 qr ...	...	103 0 0
	Of the same ...	170 2 0	...
	Of the same ...	...	18 0 0
	Drumnegessan 1 qr ...	...	98 0 0
	Of the same ...	15 0 0	...
	Clogher Towne Land ...	...	288 0 0
	Coslanegee 1 qr ...	...	134 2 0
	Killcubbyn 1 qr ...	...	72 2 0
	Ballyalaghty 1 qr ...	...	68 3 0
	Of the same ...	18 3 0	...
	Of the same, Bogg ...	498 0 0	...
	Of the same ...	241 0 0	...
Mr. Archd Stewart.	Ballentoy unforfeited ...	..	456 0 0
	Ballintaylor ...	...	56 0 0
	RAGHLIN ISLAND.		
	Killcuill 1 Towne ...	...	173 0 0
	Two Loghs ...	15 0 0	...
	Ballinnoa 1 Towne ...	...	179 0 0
	Ballyvergan 1 Towne ...	...	163 3 0
	Killpatrick 1 Towne ..	...	294 0 0
	Ballygill 1 Towne ...	...	270 0 0
	Ballykerry 1 Towne ...	..	120 0 0
	Keanramor 1 Towne ...	...	318 0 0
	Of the same ...	3 2 0	...
	ARDMOY PARISH.		
	Two Parcells of Nesson ...	...	101 0 0
	Tulloghore 1 Qur ...	...	144 0 0
	Tynereagh, als Towaghreagh	...	156 0 0
	Gortmillish 1 Qur ...	...	264 0 0
	Crummoge 1 Qur ...	...	98 2 0
	Of the same ...	71 1 0	...
Earle of Antrym.	Altrassagh 1 Qur ..	...	149 0 0
	Of the same ...	11 2 0	...
Earle of Antrym.	Killcroe ½ Towne ...		323 3 0
	Dunmane ...	...	52 1 0
	Of the same ...	9 0 0	...
	Mullaghduffe ½ Qur ...	...	61 3 0
	Of the same ...	20 1 0	...
	Tenenerobert 1 Qur ..	...	135 1 0
	Ballany 1 Qur ..	...	81 1 0
	Of the same ...	37 0 0	...
	Accrunagh 1 Qur ...	...	92 0 0
	Of the same ...	22 3 0	...
	Knockans 1 Qur ...	..	103 0 0
	Munnaghcloy 1 Qur ...	...	338 3 0
	Of the same ..	117 3 0	...
	In the same ...	...	5 2 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Stranangallmore ...	...	110 3 0
	Brune als Breene ...	...	204 0 0
	Claggan ...	...	104 0 0
	Part of Knocklayd ...	193 0 0	...
	Mossy Bogg ...		
	Mullaghduffe, Bunshanclony & Tullogh Patrick ...	...	658 0 0
	Gleab Land of Ardmoy ...	...	21 2 0
	DERRIKECHE PARISH.		
	Killmacammoge 1 Qur ...	...	167 0 0
	Of the same ...	75 0 0	...
	Killitragh ½ Towne ...	...	284 0 0
	Killitillultragh ½ Towne ...	...	90 0 0
Earle of Antrym.	In the same Bogg ...	86 0 0	...
	In the same ...	22 0 0	...
	Of the same ...	...	25 0 0
	Of the same ...	...	13 0 0
	In the same ...	7 0 0	...
	Killmoyle 1 Qur ...	...	121 2 0
	Island Carde 1 Qur ...	...	115 0 0
	Manester ½ Towne ..	...	153 0 0
	Lisnegat ¼ of Manester ...	...	43 0 0
	Of the same ...	14 0 0	..
	Carnkeen ...	...	123 0 0
	Of the same ..	12 0 0	...
	Of the same ...	5 0 0	...
	Lismalerty 1 qur ...	...	65 0 0
	Of the same ...	26 3 0	...
	Masses 1 qur ...	...	151 0 0
	Of the same ...	30 0 0	...
Earle of Antrym.	Of the same ...	22 0 0	...
	Carncloghan 1 qr ...	...	53 0 0
	Of the same ..	29 0 0	...
	Carnreagh 1 qur ...	...	173 0 0
	of the same ...	24 2 0	...
	Carnelolus 1 Qur ...	...	118 0 0
	Mossy Bogg overflowen ...	239 0 0	...
	Mossy Bogg ...	145 0 0	...
	Mossy Bogg ...	35 0 0	...
John Kennedy.	Island M'Allen ...	...	8 0 0
	Mosside 1 qur ...	...	74 0 0

THE BARONY OF DUNLUCE

Beginning at the foote of the Bush Water wch runeth northward into the sea. It is bounded southward by the said River of Bush unto the Bush Millns, and thence crossing the said River is bounded by the Egarie along to Carnanreagh, thence through the mides of a Red Bogg leading to the smale brooke of Glassanierin, dividing this Barony from the Baronie of Carie, and thence more southwards to the River of Dervock, and thence to the stone ditch in the middle of the Quarterland called Mullaghduffe in the parish of Derrekeeghan, and so along that ditch still southwardes untill it enters into the said River of Bush againe, and thence up along the said River unto the smale brooke of Glassnaferyn, wch divides this Barony from the Baronie of Carie, and from thence to the mountayne or moss called Monyrellig, wch in the same place divideth this Barony from the Barony of Glenarm, and from thence through a barren mountayne southward to the little brooke dividing the Land called Corkery in this Barony from the Lands called Ballynabantrogh in the Barony of Killconway, and from thence along the River of Killaghan unto the Mayne Water, and from this River more west through the middle of the Bogg called Curraghballymacwilliam in the parish of Killraghtis, and thence still westward along a gutter dividing between the qur of Carnonenone in this Barony from Garryduffe in the Barony of Killconway, and thence to the smale brooke called Cloghie, wch runneth still west unto another smale brooke called Lonkoar, wch runeth into the great River of Bann, from thence northward downe the said River, wch divideth the county of Londonderry from the County (of Antrim), unto the parcell of Land called Knocknaturny, and from thence Eastward through the middle of a Red Bogg to the Liberty Post of the Towne of Coleraine at Islandneaghvork, from thence to the other Liberty Post of the Towne of Coleraine at Ardsmearine, and from thence to Drumslead, and soe into the foresaid River of Bann, at the north side of the Towne and Libertie of Coleraine, and soe downe to the said River northwards unto the Barr Mouth, where the said River emptieth it selfe into the sea, and from thence along by the said sea, on the north and north-east unto the foote of the Bush Water, aforesaid, where the meare began.

The Soyle of this Barony is generally good, although it be somewhat coarse and mountainous towards the east side, where it borders uppon part of the three Baronies of Carie, Glenarme, and Killconway, and having in the lower parts of it great Dales of Red Boggs, and on the north side of it towards the sea coast, Sandy and somewhat Light, and in some parts verie Rockie, with Lime stone amongst them. Yet in most places, and where it borders on the Cittie Lands of Coleraine, is a deepe strong clay moulde and temper very good for corne.

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	LOGHGEALE PARISH...		
	Moyoure ...	...	430 1 8
	Of the same Momnegore ...	98 0 32	...
	Of the same ...	8 0 0	...
	Ballybregagh ...	...	352 3 24
	Ballynegoshell 1 qur ...	...	206 0 0
	2 Parcells of the same ...	95 1 0	...
	Of the same ..	...	17 3 24
	Coolebane of the same ...	...	233 2 0
	Of the same ...	158 1 16	...
	Tournagree ...	...	220 0 32
	Of the same ...	...	26 1 0
	4 Parcells of the same ...	61 3 8	...
Earle of Antrym	Castlesinaghan 1 qr of Ballynegoshell ...	...	202 2 32
	Bogg Common to adjacent Townes ...	14 0 32	...
	Knockgallon ¼ Kneele ...	...	212 0 16
	Carrownagarogh ½ of Kneele	...	145 0 0
	Of Knockigallon & Kneele...	429 3 24	...
	½ Corkey ...	...	240 1 8
	Of the same ...	336 3 8	...
	The Castle of Loughgeale ...	...	321 0 32
	The other part of Loughgeale	...	302 2 0
	The other part of Corkey ...	...	129 1 8
	Of the same ...	323 0 0	...
	Ballybredagh ¼ of Kneele ...	...	215 0 32
	TullymcKaule ½ of same ...	...	354 2 16
	Of the same ...	193 0 0	...
	Clontifenan ..	...	188 0 0
	Of the same 3 Parcells ...	117 2 32	..
	Of the same ...	...	2 0 8
	Ballyveely ...	..	340 3 8
	Ballywiany & Knockahollet	...	530 2 16
	Two Parcelles of the same...	38 3 20	...
	Ballyany ...	...	354 3 8
	Of the same ...	19 1 0	...
	Ballyportary ...	...	...
	Monynagroe ...	...	413 0 0
	Of the same ...	114 3 32	...
	Lissinuske ...	...	191 1 24
	Atris, Tubbernagoole ...	...	408 3 24
	Of the same ...	51 2 32	...
Earle of Antrym	Ballynatagart ...	...	303 3 8
	Ballycregagh ...	..	321 2 24
	5 Parcelles of the same ...	36 2 0	...
	Dromnafeevy and Drumholagh ½ Towne ...	...	320 3 8
	Of the same 3 Parcelles ...	10 0 0	...
	Shaines ¼ of Ballybogh ...	...	268 2 0
	Of the same ...	300 0 0	... 0
	Magherhony ½ of the same...	...	270 2 0
	Of the same ...	305 3 8	...
	Arterisford ¼ of same ..	..	330 0 16
	Of the same ...	591 1 8	...
	Shelton ½ of the same ...	471 0 0	400 2 32
	Knockbrining ...	...	175 1 8
	Altimedon ...	..	237 3 8
	Of the same ...	324 3 24	...
	Ballyknock ...	...	485 3 8

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Of the same ...	214 3 8	...
	Ballyloup als Ballybooly ...	...	300 0 16
	Of the same ..	28 3 0	...
	Part of Dromdoragh ...	..	...
	Lisdomderg ...	...	209 0 32
	Aghegaddy ...	...	109 2 16
	Of the same ...	21 2 16	...
	KILLRAGHTIS.		
	Magheravan ...	...	497 0 0
	Of the same ..	26 0 0	...
	Ballylogh ...	...	258 0 0
	Of the same ...	83 2 32	...
	Ballymacwilliam ...	...	612 2 0
	Of the same ...	362 2 16	...
Earle of Antrym	3 Parcells of the same ...	...	9 2 32
	Killraghtis ...	...	419 0 32
	Magheryboy ...	...	132 1 24
	Of the same ...	22 1 24	...
	Knocknefrin ...	..	129 0 32
	Caanabuy ...	...	116 2 16
	Lisboy ...	..	107 0 32
	Tamoge ...	...	93 0 16
	BALLYMONEY PARISH		
	Tallagore 3 Qurs ...	...	196 0 16
	Of the same ...	265 2 32	...
	2 Qurs of same called Cloghan	...	230 1 8
	Of the same ...	4 0 0	...
	2 qurs of the same called Lesvallymorard ...	...	75 3 24
	Of the same in Liberties of Coleraine sett out to soldiers	...	64 3 24
	Of the same ...	25 1 24	...
	Cullinkeele ...	...	124 3 8
	Coolerymony ...	...	105 3 8
	Of the same ...	8 3 0	...
	Mullaghmore ...	...	92 1 24
Earle of Antrym	Cloghcor ...	...	90 2 0
	Ballygobbyn ...	...	76 2 0
	Stronocum ...	...	277 0 0
	Of the same ...	3 0 0	..
	Karnkill and Rosyard ...	..	168 0 32
	Kirkhill 1 qur ...	...	62 3 8
	2 other qurs of the same ...	...	75 0 32
	Griemsheild ...	...	251 0 16
	Of the same ...	127 2 26	...
	Killinraver ...	...	92 0 0
	Ballyncrebegg ...	...	86 2 32
	Mill Ballyncrebegg ...	...	88 2 32
	Of the same ...	89 1 24	...
	Claghy ..	...	137 1 24
	Of the same ...	84 2 32	...
	Ballyrony ...	..	186 3 16
	Drumsky and Unshinna ...	...	176 2 16
	Of the same ...	17 0 0	...
	Cabragh ...	...	94 1 8
	Of the same ..	35 3 0	...
	Bunderoge ...	...	127 2 16
	Of the same ...	33 0 33	...
	Drumnehosky ...	...	99 1 24

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Crosse ...	...	125 1 2
	Dromreagh ..	...	164 3 8
	Of the same ...	17 2 32	...
	Carrowlaghan ...	...	...
	Inogh ...	...	152 3 24
Earle of Antrym	Ballyrobbin ...	...	181 0 0
	Ballycubbedell ...	...	180 3 32
	Of the same ...	5 0 0	...
	Leitrim ...	...	154 3 24
	Brackage ...	..	133 3 8
	Upper Ballymoylane ...	...	201 0 16
	Lower Ballymoylane ...	...	93 2 16
	Farrenleasery ...	...	108 3 8
	Bogg in Common to the adjacent Townes ...	173 2 0	...
	Dunvarney ...	...	156 3 0
	Negarry ...	...	113 0 0
	Of the same ...	32 2 16	...
	A great Bogg in common ...	524 3 24	...
	Conagher ...	...	96 3 0
	Ballynacreemore ...	..	179 2 0
	Clogh ...	...	...
	Droghindulke ...	...	78 1 26
	Of the same ...	64 3 32	..
	Of the same ...	100 1 5	..
	Droghindulke ..	...	106 1 24
	Creggitempan ...	...	165 1 8
	Of the same ...	24 0 16	...
	Glenelogh ...	...	121 2 0
	Of the same ...	41 3 8	..
	Ballymanagh, Carrowmany and Farnereagh ...	...	431 3 24
	Of the same ...	9 2 0	...
	Athomaby ...	...	97 1 8
	Of the same ...	205 1 8	...
	Senicocke ...	...	40 3 32
Earle of Antrym	The Demeasnes of Ballymoney ...	..	1308 0 10
	Of the same ...	88 2 0	...
	In the same ...	...	22 0 16
	Carnany and Leck ...	...	120 1 24
	Of the same ...	400 1 24	...
	Cooleduffe ...	...	87 1 24
	Of the same ...	83 3 0	...
	Carntelagh ...	..	224 3 8
	Pollynetaffy ...	...	146 2 32
	Of the same ...	...	67 3 8
	Glassdall ..	...	113 2 32
	Drumneheglish ...	...	136 1 24
	Cabrin ...	...	61 0 32
	Ardinafin ...	...	90 2 32
	Ardigorane ...	..	109 2 16
	Of the same ...	14 0 32	...
	Toalligin ..	...	146 1 0
	Taghifad ...	...	66 0 16
	Culresheskin ...	...	96 0 32
	Ballyratick ...	...	56 3 24
	Tahy ...	...	60 0 16
	Ballydonnnelly ...	...	51 2 0
	Of the same ..	8 2 32	...

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Secon ...	...	125 0 0
	Of the same ...	90 2 32	...
	Another Secon ..	...	138 0 16
Earle of Antrym	Another Secon ...	...	119 2 32
	Another Secon ...	...	84 2 0
	Killmoyle ...	...	109 2 0
	Neer the same ..	76 3 8	...
	Ballyvatick ...	...	61 2 8
	Coldagh als Colagh ...	...	149 1 8
	Drummare ...	...	137 2 16
	Carneglasse ...	...	386 2 0
	Of the same ...	8 0 16	...
Earle of Antrym	Ravallaght ...	...	83 0 32
	Of the same ...	37 1 24	...
	Of the same ...	...	10 0 16
	Of the same ...	...	120 1 24
	½ of Ballyroge ...	...	65 0 16
	Of the same ...	7 3 8	...
	Another qur of the same ...	..	80 0 32
	2 qurs. of the same ...	...	172 0 16
	Of the same ...	33 0 16	...
	Bogg in common ...	272 0 16	..
	¼ of Ballywatt ...	...	65 3 8
	Of the same ...	15 2 8	...
Earle of Antrym	Reske ...	...	76 3 4
	Of the same ...	7 2 16	...
	Utall ...	...	97 1 24
	Of the same ...	7 2 0	...
	Killmoyle ...	...	113 0 32
	BALLYWILLIN PARISH.		
	Cowally ...	...	123 2 0
	Of the same ...	72 2 16	...
	Ballyonokin als Ballywillin	...	63 0 16
	Cloghin ...	...	32 1 8
	Toberdornin ½ Towne ...	...	95 0 16
	Of the same ...	41 1 8	...
	Portrush ...	...	66 2 32
	Cloghvir and part of Spittle Land ...	...	141 1 24
	Of the same ...	53 1 8	...
	Ballynasse 1 qur and Ballylekine ½ Towne ...	...	284 2 30
	Of the same ...	14 1 0	...
	Ballyclogh ½ qur ..	...	39 3 8
	Of the same 2½ qur ...	...	132 2 0
	Of the the same 2 qurs ...	...	132 1 24
	Of the same ...	29 0 0	...
	The Upper qur of the same	..	58 0 0
	Of the same ...	3 2 16	...
Earle of Antrym	A common Bogg ...	110 2 0	...
	Two parcells of the same ...	...	4 2 0
	Bunarden ½ Towne ...	...	292 2 0
	Of the same ...	383 3 8	...
	Ballybogg ...	...	136 2 36
	Of the same ...	376 1 8	..
	Ballintibbert ...	...	133 2 32
	Of the same ...	160 3 0	...
	Two parcells of the same ...	...	11 1 8
	Ballynecregg ...	...	104 1 8

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	Of the same ...	45 1 8	...
	Ballykeele ...	...	73 3 24
	Of the same ...	19 2 0	...
	Ballymulcree ...	...	112 3 0
	Of the same ...	107 3 8	...
	Ballynegarry ...	...	112 3 8
	Of the same ..	20 0 32	...
	Coolenegere ...	...	96 1 8
	Ballyhome ½ Towne ...	...	186 3 0
	Of the same in Parcells ...	67 0 32	...
	Farinleasery ...	...	173 3 8
	Of the same ...	11 2 32	...
	Priest Land ...	...	141 0 32
	Of the same ...	39 2 32	...
	Lecke ...	...	94 3 8
	Clontuske ...	...	87 0 0
	Two Parcells of the Same...	53 0 0	...
	Cloney ...	...	86 3 24
Earle of Antrym	Tubbercappin and Dunluce Village ...	9 2 0	81 1 8
	Ballyglassagh ...	...	78 0 32
	Of the same ...	16 2 22	...
	PORTCOMON als, DUNLUCE PARISH.		
	Portballintray als Portbell ...	...	66 0 32
	Lissanduffe ...	1 1 24	132 0 0
	Gortnehigh ..	...	75 2 0
	Cregnehore ...	...	...
	Of Gortnehigh ...	18 2 3	...
	Gortnegapple & Stanalin ...	...	136 2 32
	Of the same ...	5 3 0	...
	Mullaghmore ...	...	57 1 8
	In the same ...	...	16 1 8
	Cregbany ...	...	83 2 32
	Ballyhunsly ...	...	112 0 32
	Of the same ...	...	96 1 8
	Island Carrick ...	...	68 2 32
	Of the same ...	17 2 32	...
	Of the same ...	...	38 2 16
	A common Bog ...	68 0 16	...
	Tullycappel ...	...	97 3 8
	Ballylurgan 4 qurs. ...	...	116 2 0
	Parke ...	...	34 1 0
	BILLY PARISH.		
	Ballynaris ...	...	103 2 16
	Another of the same ...	...	125 2 8
	Of the same ...	121 1 8	...
	Ballynasse ..	...	62 2 16
	Of the same ...	9 3 8	...
	Another of the same ...	...	38 2 32
	Ballyloghmore ...	..	282 3 24
Earle of Antrym	Ballyloghbegg ...	...	141 0 0
	Of the same ...	26 0 0	...
	Cossy ...	..	98 2 16
	Of the same ...	72 2 0	...
	Creballynabannagh ...	...	303 3 0
	Cabra, Coolermony, and Cavanmore ...	...	...
	Of the same ...	112 3 0	...

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.
	In the same ...	...	23 0 16
	Ballymacfinne ...	...	191 0 0
	Clontisse ...	...	122 2 32
	Of the same ...	510 3 32	...
	Negarry ...	...	96 2 32
	Ballyhamlin part of 42 ...	...	...
	Carvanreagh ...	..	75 0 8
	Maghrecaury & Trifane ...	...	146 2 0
	Of the same ...	282 3 32	...
	Of the same ...	...	10 3 8
	Carmone ...	...	324 3 8
	Of the same ...	60 2 32	...
	Loghlinsh ...	...	104 0 0
	Of the same ...	165 3 0	...
	Of the same ...	...	180 1 32
	Glassinerine ...	...	52 3 0
	Ballinagore ...	...	218 1 8
	Of the same ...	9 2 0	...
	Urblereagh ...	...	260 0 0
	3 Parcells of the same ...	69 1 8	...
	Castledevericke ..	...	124 2 32
	Of the same ..	172 2 0	...
Earle of Antrym	Islandrosse ..	..	192 0 0
	Of the same ...	...	6 1 8
	Of the same ...	64 2 3	...
	Mallindobber ...	...	50 0 32
	Ballyhome 1 qur. ...	...	105 2 32
	Of the same ...	7 2 32	...
	Islands 1 qur. ...	...	107 3 32
	Of the same ...	194 3 32	...
	Of the same ...	...	2 0 8
	Carnbore ...	...	128 2 16
	Maghebuy ...	..	11 0 0
	The same neare No. 65. ...	...	17 0 0
	DERIKEGHAN PARISH.		
	Ballyhibistock ...	...	183 2 16
	Carncogey ...	...	194 3 8
	Lisconnan ...	...	99 2 16
Earle of Antrym	Ancther of the same ...	...	100 3 32
	Part of the same ...	224 0 0	..
	Maghereboy ...	...	80 1 1
	Of the same ...	23 2 0	...
	In the same ...	...	22 0 0
	Ballylosky ...	...	421 2 8
	Of the same ...	142 3 24	...
	Ballyduffady ...	...	152 2 16
	In the same 2 Parcelles ...	16 2 16	...
	Ballynaris ret in Billy ...	...	...
	Ballyclung ...	...	..
	Ballynass part of No. 74 ...	...	...
	Islandwoagh ...	31 3 24	81 0 0
Earle of Antrym	Coole ...	...	51 3 4
	Of the same ...	10 0 0	...
	Knockavallan ..	...	138 2 0
	Of the same ...	74 0 32	...
	Carnaffe ...	...	104 3 8
	Knockanbuy ...	...	64 2 0
	Another of the same ...	3 1 32	63 3 16
	Ballyrachan ...	...	149 2 0

Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable.	Proprietors in 1641.	Denominations of Land.	No. of Acres Unprofitable.	Profitable
	Of the same ...	18 3 8	..		Of the same ½ Qur ...	...	42 0 0
	Aghnacrosse ...	...	44 1 8		1 quarter of same ..	...	56 3 32
	Aberdowy & Carnfoick ...	...	59 1 8		Of the same ...	93 3 8	...
	Carncullagh 1 qur ...	...	115 2 0		Drumcrottagh ...	...	108 0 0
	3 ½ qurs of the same ...	...	252 2 16		Of the same ...	...	21 2 0
	Inchgrane ...	...	102 2 0		Carnfoick ...	...	124 0 0
	Of the same ...	155 0 16	...		Mulladuffe ...	...	65 0 3
	Stroane 1 Qur ...	...	105 2 32		Ballynefay ...	...	154 0 32
	Another Qur of the same ...	...	89 1 32		Ballynefady ...	...	204 0 0
	Levery 1 Qur ...	...	104 1 8				

The following are the names of the owners of lands on the Estate in 1660, and who were either soldiers who had settled in 1655, or were the representatives of the latter :—

BARONY OF CAREY.

Parish of Culfatrim.—Doctor Ralph Kinge, Thomas Robinson, Major Joseph Stroud, Thomas Andrews, Bryan M'Cormack, Roger Rhott, John Forrest, Warner Westenra, Captain Orpe, Roger O'Cahan, Robert Growcher, Ensigne Neilson, Peter Beaghan, Corporall Price, Derrick Westenra.

Parish of Billy.—Derrick Westenra, Peeter Beaghan, Esq., Thomas Pighill, Mr. John Browne, George M'Laghlin, James Jackson, Thomas Goold, William Scott, Mr. Hugh Edwards.

Parish of Rathmonne.—Wm. Shelton, Ralph Jackson, Lieut. Samuel Wilkins, George M'Laghlin, Richard Smyth.

Parish of Ardmoy.—John Forrest, Warner Westenra, Captain Roan.

Parish of Derrikechen.—John Browne, Peter Beaghan, John Forrest, Warner Westenra.

BARONY OF KILCONWAY.

Parish of Dunnaghy.—Captain Robert Shields, Lieut. Samuel Wilkins, Andrew Crofford, Symon Hiske, John Jackson, James Jackson, Lieut. Robert Shields, John Hopkins, Robert Hughes, Capt. Wm. Houston, Wm. Mantog, Richard Foott, Mr. William Godfrey, Captain Wingfield Claypole, Mr. Parkins, Captain John Person, Lieut.-Coll. William Cunningham, Richard Wilkinson, Peter Beaghan, Esq., Lieut. Thomas Lance, Captain James Cottle, William Broadbanck, Captain Hugton, John Blacknock.

Parish of Loghi (part of).—Captain Wingfield Claypole.

Parish of Ballimony (part of).—Mr. Forrest.

Parish of Killagan.—Captain Wingfield Claypole, Lieut. Samuel Wilkins, Roger Leadman.

Parish of Maghrasharkan.—Captain William Huston, Mr. Miller, Corporall Bayley, Captain Thomas Barrington, Lieut. Ellice, Thomas Francis Henry Gribben, Wm. M. Mills, Captain Bryan O'Mulhallan, Lieut. Samuel Wilkins, Nicholas Cotter, Donald M'Kay, Edward Simpson.

Parish of Magherohill.—Mr. Miller, Lieut. Ellice.

Parish of Finvoy.—Mr. Samuel Hill, Captain John Galland, Captain Thomas Barrington, Mr. Forrest, Carroll Bolton, Esq., Captain Bryan Mulhallan.

BARONY OF GLENARME.

Parish of Learne.—John Davys, Lieu. Bassil Puresfoy, James Standish, Esq.

Parish of Killoghter.—John Davys, James Standish, Esq.

Parish of Carnecastle.—John Davys.

Parish of Glenarme.—John Davys, Arthur Upton, Esq., Captain Francklin, Michael Harrison, Mr. John Donaldson, James Shaw.

Parish of Ardinis.—Captain Richard Francklin.

Parish of Layde.—Captain Richard Francklin, Michael Harrison, Mr. John Donaldson, James Shaw, Esq., Captain William Stuart (original proprietor), Peter Bosse, John Burke (John Burke has inserted on a slip the fact that the lands entered in the Court of Exchequer in his name is a mistake. They belong to Miss Christiana Ker, otherwise Skelton, and her sister), Lieut Thomas Conway, Thomas Fox, James Donaldson, Arthur Upton, Edward Sands. [Note.—In this parish of Layde some of the lands are held by Francis Hall and James Donaldson, but the original proprietors we know not.]

BARONY OF DUNLUCE.

Parish of Loghgale.—Lord Viscount Massaroon, Morrice Thomson. [Note.—Part of the lands in this parish are the property of Mr. O'Hara, and were given out to adventurers.]

Killagan Parish.—Lord Viscount Massaroone.

Kilraghois Parish.—Mr. Morrice Thomson, Lord Viscount Massaroone.

Parish of Ballimony.—Lord Visconnt Massaroone, Mrs. Hawes, Moirice Thomson, Matthew Lock, Esq., assigned to Edward Fisher. [Note.—Mr. James Hamilton's freehold not disposed of.]

Parish of Balliroshan.—Matthew Lock, Esq., assignee of Joseph Fisher, Mr. Hawe. [Note.—Freehold of Mr. Daniel M'Naghton's not chargeable.]

Parish of Ballivillin.—Erasmus Smith, Esq., Mr. Hawes.

—*See Quit-Rent Book, in Public Record Office, Dublin.*

XVI.

Ormonde's Certificate to Lord Dungan.

(See p. 292, *supra.*)

At the request of Wm. Lord Viscount Dungan, and for manifestation of ye truth, we doe hereby Certifie, That Sr. Walter Dungan, in ye yeare 1645, brought us his Late Majies letters, signifieing his regard of the remarkable services performed both by Sr. John Dungan, his Ffar, and by him from ye beginning of ye warres in England, and recommending him to us as a person spetially meritting trust, and imploymt, at wch time theare being noe occasion for imploying him in ye quarter about Dublin, and we being by ye duty of our pla and tenure of Articles, obliged to maintaine the Cessation, published in ye yeare 1643, then opposed by severall persons and parties, we gave him our Comission to raise som forces and joyne wth Coll: Tho: Preston, then reputed Genrll among ye Irish for suppressing and reduceing ye Cessation breakers; in wch service ye sd Sr. Walter was engaged at Rosscomon, when ye peace in 1646 was published, and accepted by ye sd Coll. Preston and his Army. But ye same being rejected by Owen O'Neill and his party, wth whom afterwards ye sd Coll. Preston joyned; the sd Sr. Walter then sent to us for our directions, how to dispose of himself, And wee directed him to remaine among ye Irish, as of ye sd Prestons Army, and ye sd. Preston having afterwards, together with ye sd Owen O'Neill and ye popes nuncio advanced to besiedge us in ye Citty of Dublin; the sd Sr. Walter, by our directions, remained among them to prosecute such designes as wee intrusted to his management, in order whereunto he was instrumentall in procureing ye sd Preston to desert ye Nuncio and Owen O'Neill's party, and to signe an instrument of submission to his Majies authority, and afterwards untill ye wthdrawing of his Majies authority from this kingdom. Ye sd Sr. Walter did from time to time, pursuant to our instructions, correspond wth us, and that ye sd Sr. Walter Dungan, Sr. John his Ffar., and his Bro. William, now lord Dungan, having upon our departure out of this kingdom, made application to us to know our pleasure, how to dispose of themselves in our absence to ye best advantage of his Majies service, wee considering ye distracted condicon of that time, and ye necessities whereunto his late Maties affaires and person were then reduced, and being well assured of their loyaltie and good affections to his Maties service, whereof we had good experience, did direct them to make themselves as considerable among ye Irish as they could, and to get and keepe an intrest among them, thereby to become serviceable to his Matie, at our returne to ye exercise of his authority in this kingdom, and

to use all meanes and wais induceing to those ends, whearof at our returne they gave us a faithfull account, haveing in ye yeare 1648, when wee returned, brought us a regiment of horse, Comanded by ye sd Sr. Walter, wherein his sd Ffar. and Bro. did serve us in his Maties Army. They were valliant, true, and faithfull, and ye sd Sr. Walter was wounded and taken prisoner in his Maties service, but being after released and appointed Comissary Genrll of the horse in his Maties Army, he held out against ye usurpers untill enforced wth ye rest of his party to transport according to Articles into Spaine, whear he gave signall testimonies of his duty, affections, and loyalty to his Maties service; out of ye sence whereof, and of ye former services of him, his Ffar, and Bro., his Matie did promise him ye dignity of viscount, and since granted ye same to his sd Bro., Sr. William, now lord viscount Dungan; soe wee must owne that from time to time ye sd Sr. Walter, his Ffar., and Bro., their appearing in armes or acting wth any person or persons ingaged in ye sd rebellion, was by our directions and comands as Lord leiftenant to his late sacred Matie, and in order to his Maties service according to our trust, for testimony whereof we have hereunto put our hand and seale this seventeeth day of Janr. 1662.

XVII.

Ye draught of a Letter from his Matie in behalf of Antrim.

(See p. 295, *supra*.)

Right trusty and right entirely-beloved Cousine and Consellour, and right trusty and right welbeloved Cousins and Consellours, and right trusty and welbeloved Consellours, we greet you well. How farre we have been from interposing on behalf of any of our Irish subjects who by their miscarriage in the late rebellion in that kingdom had made themselves unworthy of our grace and protection, is notorious to all men, and we were so jealous in that particular that shortly after our returne into this our kingdom, when ye Marquisse of Antrim came hither to present his duty to us—upon the information we received from those persons who then attended us by a deputation from our kingdom of Ireland, or from those who at that time owned our authority there, that ye said Marquisse of Antrim had soe misbehaved himself towards us, and our late royall ffather of blessed memorie, that he was in no degree worthy of ye least Countenance from us, and that they had manifest and unquestionable evidence of such his guilt—wee refused soe much as to admitt ye sd Marquisse into our presence, but on ye contrarie comitted him prisoner to our Tower of London, wheare after he had continued many severall months under a strict restraint, uppon the continued information of ye sd persons, we sent him into Ireland, without interposing in ye least manner on his behalf, but left him to undergoe such a tryall and punishment as by ye justice of that our kingdom should be found due to his Crime, expecting still that some heynous matter wold be objected and proved against him, to make him incapable and to deprive him of that favour and protection from us wch we well know some of his actions and serving had meritted. After many months attendance theare, and wee presume after such examinations as were requisitt, he was at last dismist without any Censure, and without any transmission of any Charge against him to us, and

wth permission to transport himself into this Kingdom; we considered that it was then time to give him some instance of our favour, and to remember ye many services he had done and ye sufferings he had undergone for his affection and fidellity to our Royall ffather and ourselfe, and that it was time to redeeme him from those Calamities wch continue yet to lye as heavy uppon him as before our happy returne. And thearuppon we recomended him to you, our Lieutenant, that you shold moove our Councell theare, for preparing a blll to be transmitted to us for ye reinstating him, ye sd Marquisse in ye possession of his Estate in that Kingdom, as had beene don in som other Cases, to wch letter you our Ld. Lieutenant returned us answer thatt though you wold willingly have declined the imparting that our letter to our Councell theare, not conceiveing it then seasonable in respect of ye generall prejudice wch you observed to be against ye sd Ld. Marquisse, yet uppon ye importunity of his wife ye Lady Marquesse of Antrim, you had informed our Councell of that our letter, and that you were upon Consideracon thearof, unanimously of opinion, that such a Bill ought not to be transmitted to us, the reason thearof wold be forthwth presented to us by our Councell. After wch time we received ye inclosed peticon from ye sd Marquisse, wch we referred to ye Consideracon and examinacon of those Lords of our privie Councell, whose names are mencond in that our refferrence wch is annexed to ye sd petition, whoe thereuppon met together, and after having heard ye Marquisse of Antrim, did not thinke fitt to make any report to us, till they might likewise see and understand ye reasons wch induced you not to transmit the Bill we had proposed, wch letter was not then com to our hands; after wch time we have received your letter of the 18th of March, together with severall peticons, wch had been presented to you, as well from ye soldiery and adventurers, as from ye Lady Marquesse of Antrim ; all wch we likewise transmitted to ye sd Lords Refferrees, uppon a second pettcon presented to us by ye Ld. Marquisse, wch is heare likewise enclosed ; Comanding our Ld. Refferrees to take ye same into their serious Consideracon, and to hear what the pettconr had to offer in his own vindicacon, and to report ye whole matter to us, wch uppon a third pettcon (herein likewise enclosed), we required them to expedite wth what speede they cold; by wch deliberate proceedings of ours, you canott but observe that noe importunity, how just soever cold prevayle wth us to bring our selfe to a judgmt in this affaire, wth out very ample informacon. Our Ld. Referrees, upon severall meetings and perusall of what hath beene offred to them by ye Ld. Marquisse, have informed us, that they have seene severall letters, all of ye handwriteing of our Royal ffather to ye Ld. Marquisse, and severall instructions concerninge his treating and joyneing wth ye Irish, in order to the King's service, by dividing them amongst themselves, and by draweing forces from them for ye service of Scotland. That besides ye letters and orders under his Majies hand, they have received sufficient evidence and testimony of severall messages and directions, sent from our Royall ffather, and from our Royall Mother, wth ye privity and by the directions of ye King our ffather, by which they are persuaded that what ever intelligence or Corespondence the Ld. Marquisse had wth ye Confederate Irish Catholiques, is directed or allowed by ye sd letters, instructions, and directions, and that it manifestly appears to them that ye King our ffather was well pleased wth what ye Marquisse did after he had don it, and approvved ye same. This being the true state of ye Marquisses case, and theare being nothing contained against him in your letter of ye 18th of March, but that you are informed that he hath put in his

Claime before ye Commissioners appointed for executing ye Act of settlement, and that if his inocence be such as is alleged, theare is no neede of transmitting such a Bill to us as is desired, and and that if he be nocent it consists not wth ye duty wch you owe to us to transmitt such a Bill, as if it shold passe into law must needes draw a greate prejudice upon many Adventurers and soldiers as are alleadged to be thearin concerned; we have considered of ye pettcon of ye Adventurers and soldiers wch was transmitted unto us by you, the equity of wch consists in nothing, but that they have beene peaceably in possession for ye space of seven or eyght years of those Lands wch were formerly ye Estate of ye Marquisse of Antrim and others, whoe were all engaged in ye late Irish rebellion, and that they shall suffer very much and be ruined if those Lands shal be taken from them; and we have likewise considered another pettcon from severall Citticens in London, neere sixty in number, directed to our selfe, but transmitted likewise to us by you, wherein they desire that the Marquesses Estate may be made Lyable to ye paymt of his Just debts, that soe they may not be ruined in favour of ye present possessours, whoe they say are but a few Citticens, and some soldiers, whoe have disboursed very small sumes thearon. Uppon ye whole matter noe body can thinke wee are les engaged by our declaracon and ye act of settlemt, to protect those whoe are inocent, and whoe have faithfully endeavoured to serve ye Crowne, how unfortunately soever they expose those who have been realy and malliciously guilty, and thearfore we canott in justice, but uppon ye pettcon of ye Marquisse of Antrim, and after this serious and strict inquisition into his actions, declare unto you that wee doe him verry inocent from any malice or rebellious purpose against ye Crowne. And that what he did by way of Corespondence or Complyance wth ye Irish Rebells, was in order to ye service of our Royall ffather, and warranted by his instructions and ye trust reposed in him; and that ye benefitt thearof received by ye service of the Crowne, and not to the perticular advantage and benefitt of ye Marquesse. And as wee canot in justice denye him this testimonie, soe wee require you to transmitt this our letter to our Comissoners to ye end that when they receive the evidence, wch shall be offred against him uppon his Claims of inocence, they may likewise have before them and consider this testimony we have given him, wch we doe assure you and them, does not proceede from an affection to his person, but from our justice to his Cause, and without any prejudice to ye Adventurers or Soldiers who are persons utterly unknowne to us, and whoe ought in future rather to expect reprisalls than that ye Marquisse, if inocent, shold be thearfore longer kept out of his Estate, because they have been soe long in possession of it; and this being all wee have to say, and in ye saying thearot wee have taken soe much and long deliberacon, wee bid you heartily farwell.

XVIII.

"*Draught to be considered and proposed for his Matie to signe in behalf of ye Marquess of Antrim.*

(See p. 309, *supra.*)

[The foregoing letter or certificate on behalfof the marquis of Antrim, was dated Whitehall, July 10, 1663, entered at the Signet Office, July 13, and sent off in due course to "our right trusty, and right entirely well beloved Cousin and Counsellor, James duke of Ormonde, and to all the

Lords of our Council in Ireland." (See Somers' *Tracts*, vol. v., p. 628.) Instead, however, of communicating the contents of that certificate to the commissioners of the court of claims, as intended, Ormonde kept them to himself and the members of his Council, under colour of preparing a reply. This comparative suppression of a document so especially important to Antrim's case, and at a time when the trial was soon to commence, became a source of uneasiness and suspicion among his friends. Means were, therefore, hastily taken to have a second certificate duly signed by the king, and transmitted to the commissioners themselves. This latter document, signed on the 11th of August, was probably drawn up by Clarendon also, both it and the preceding one being framed pretty much on the plan of Ormonde's own certificate in the case of the Dungans, and intended to produce the same favourable impression on the minds of the judges towards the person to come before them. The certificate for Antrim to the commissioners was dated also from Whitehall, entered in the Signet office on the 12th of August, and forwarded in due time to be read by them before the 20th of the month, the day appointed for the trial. The following "Draught" of this certificate also is preserved among the family papers at Glenarm castle :—]

"Charles the second by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, Ffrance, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trustie and well-beloved our Comissrs appoynted for putting in execution an Act entitled an Act for the better execution of his Majts Gracious declaration for the settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the severall interests of Adventurers souldiers and other his subjects theare, Greeting. Wheras wee have lately caused search to bee made into the proceedings of our right trusty and well-beloved Couzen Randall Lord Marquis of Antrim, and his behavior dureing the late troubles in our severall Kingdoms, towards us and our dear ffather of Glorious Memory deceased—And whereas it appeareth unto us by letters of our dear Mother the Queen, dated in April, wch was in the yeare of our Lord God 1643, That there were two jorneys made by him into the North of Ireland in the yeares 1642 and 1643, wch are by some (Ignorant of those affaires) Imputed as Criminous to the said Lord Marquis; And in order to a conjuncion with those of the first Irish Rebellion, yet upon due examination and good proofe wee finde that they are of a cleane contrary nature, And were undertaken by him in obedience to the comands of our said Deare ffather, And for his service in the kingdome of Scotland and elsewhere, And we are fully satisfied in the truth thereof not only by what appears in Certaine instructions signed by our said deare ffather at Oxford, the 20th of January, wch was in the year of our Lord God 1643, Importing directions to the said Marquis of Antrim in severall matters wch did highly concerne our said ffathers service, as well in Ireland as in Scotland, as by what is contained in the Letters of our said deare ffather, dated in September, after the said instructions, wch are as followeth :—

'Antrim, I have ever been senciable of your very harty affictions in my service, and now I find the fruites of them likely prove soe much to the advantage of my affaires, by the forces wch you caused to be landed in the highlands of Scotland—That it Chalengeth from me very particular thanks. And as you have done those, soe I make no doubt But if you shall find it requsite for my service, you will not neglect goeing thither in person. As on my part I shall take care to give you assurances that I am 'Your affectionate friend,

'From Clarendon, this 27th of Sept., 1644.' 'CHARLES R.

"And afterwards by our said deare ffather's Letters, signed with his signe manuell, Dated at Oxford, the fourth day of January, 1644, we find that he doth not onely manyfestly expresse how acceptable the said Lord Marquis his services in the business of Scotland were to him, But alsoe Publickely recomended to us, and all posterity, his High approbation of them in Certaine Letters Pattents, made by our said deare ffather under his great Seale of England, bearing date the six and twentieth day of January, wch was in the yeare of our Lord God 1644, By wch the said Randall then Earle of Antrim, was, in consideration of those faithfull services and as sume Remuneration for them, created Marquis of Antrim.

"We have also taken into our princly consideration our said deare ffather's Letters, dated at Newcastle, the 19th day of June, wch was in the yeare of our Lord God 1646, directed to the said Lord Marquis of Antrim, wherein hee takes spetiall notice of the said Lord Marquis his constant Loyalty and obedience to his comands, and the same should bee allways remembered to the said Lord Marquis his advantage, and wee are alsoe very well satisfied this his Comployance with the Irish partie was meerely upon the accoumpt to begett an Interest amongst them to our said deare ffather's service, as is made manifest unto us by persons of great fidellity and integrety, whose advice the said Marquis was to follow, as appeares by our said deare father's Instructions, and otherwise. And that he did frequently expose his person to eminent danger, being twice taken prisoner and restrained in our Castle of Carrickfergus, and had bene put to death for his fidelity and service, But that with much difficulty and hazard, hee found a means to escape, with the lose of those mens lives who were instrumentall therein.

"And when hee was in those parts at liberty, he expresed his Detestation of those who had risen in Armes against our said ffather's Authority, and endeavoured as much as in him posibly laye, to reduce them to our ffather's obedience, and to releeve our English Protestant subjects especially those wch were beseiged in Colerane and other places, all wch is made cleere unto us by sufficient proofe.

"Now wee have alsoe reveiwed our owne Letters to him directed when wee were Prince of Wales, dated the 26th day of October, wch was in the yeare of our Lord God 1646, takeing notice of the said Marquis, his constant Zeale and Loyallty to our said deare ffather's service And returning him our thankes for the same, And layeing further comands on him, in relation to our said father's service.

"All wch, with many other testimonys of the said Marquis of Antrim, his fidelity, constant affection and loyallty to our deare ffathers service, did induce the Duke of Ormond, in the yeare 1649, being then our Leefnt of Ireland, to require and comand by his letters to Sr. George Monroe that the Garison of Colerane should be delivered unto the said Marquis of Antrim's hands, for the better and more speedy promoting a design then intended by him for the Advancement of our service in Ireland wch had ben don accordingly, but that the same was prevented by the suprize thereof, by others that were not then obedient to our Authority.

By all wch as a continued series and evidence of the many Loyall and faithful services performed by the said Lord Marquis, to our said Deare ffather of Glorious memory, and our selfe; we hould our selfe obleiged both in Justice and Honr to give this testimony of him, That he hath

allwaye behaved himself from the nrst of the Rebellion in our Kingdom of Ireland unto this day with loialtie, fidelity, and integrity to our ffather's interest and our owne; And as becam a Dutifull and obedient subject; Notwithstanding the said comployance with the Irish, or the severall informations and letters to persuade us to the contrary. And wee doe hereby Declare and require you to take notice of the same. And that wee owne the Actings and proceedings of the said Lord Marquis, amongst those wch were ingaged in the late Rebellion in Ireland, and his conformity and submission unto such things as were imposed upon him either at Kilkeney or elsewhere, amongst the confederant Catholicks, to have ben don by him in order to our said deare ffather's and our service, And whereof, wee should have given a more earely testimony by haveing such particular provition made for him in the late Act of settlement of our said Kingdom, as was due to his Inocencey and Loyallty, if not then prevented by misinformations against him; And whereas in our instructions given unto you for the better execution of our said Declaration and the said Act of settlement, you are to observe and follow such further directions as you shall from time to time receive from us, pursuant to the said Act; we have therefore thought fitt to direct and require you to take notice, that we allow the appearance of the said Lord Marquis amongst the Irish in their Confederate Councells, and his Comployance with them in a various conformity of Actions, as the exigencey of those affaires did require, to have bene wholly in order to the carrying on of the publike good of our Crowne and Kingdoms, and not otherwise, as by the many good services don by him doth appeare, wch yet wee know were not sufficient in that alone to Justice him, were not the same accumpaned with the comands of our Deare ffather, our Deare Mother, and our selfe; And that great trust wch was reposed by them, and as in him, for so good an ende.

"And least there might bee any misconstruction made of those proceedings, the causes and grounds not being made knowne to you, wee have thought fitt to give you notice of them, That you may not construe him nocent within those generall rules, for what hee Acted with amongst, or concearning the Irish, for wee hould our selfe highly obleiged to preserve him who was sent by spetiall directions to Act for us, And did faithfully observe the same, That he suffer not with those who went volintarily and Acted against us, itt being contrary to the rules both of justice and honr, first to comand obedience from our subjects and then to punish them for observing thereof. Given at our Courte at Whitehall," &c.

XIX.

List of Lord Antrim's Creditors in 1638.

(See p. 325.)

An accompt of my Lord of Antrims debts due in England.

	£	s.	d.
To Robert Harvey of London, Gent., by bond, dated ye 14 of June, 1638, payable the 16th Nov: 1638. The Earle, Alexr. M'Donnell, Esq., Roger and John Trayleman bound	500	0	0
To Hamond Ffranklin of London, by bond, dated 27th of Augst, 1638, payable 29th May, 1639. The Earle, Alexr. M'Donnell, Jo: Moore, doctor of Physick, and Jo: Trayleman bound	500	0	0
To Mary Monnox, widow, by bond dated ye 6th Septr., 1638, payable 8th of March, 1638. The Earle of Antrim, Jo: Trayleman, Ralph , and Ffrancis Bishope bound	500	0	0
To Adam Lawrence of London, Mercht., by bond, dated 9th Aug., 1638, payable 11th xber, 1638; The Earle of Antrim, Alexr. M'Donnell, Arch: Stewart, and Jo: Trayleman bound	513	0	0

To Mr. Robert Harper, by bond, dated 1638, and payable the 7th of March, 1638; the Earle, Jo: Leigh, and John Trayleman, bound ..... 500 o o

To Hugh Potter of London, Esq., by bond, dated the 7th March, 1638, the same persons next above menconed, bound ..... 250 o o

To Sir William Acton of London, Kt., by bond, dated 11th of Aug., 1638, payable 15th Ffeb., 1638; the Earle, Arch: Stewart, John Lath, Edward Bradborn, and John Trayleman bound ..... 1000 o o

To Sir John Jacob of London, Kt, by bond, payable 13th October, 1638; the Earle, Arch: Stewart, John Trayleman, Tho: Carlton, and Humphrey Bradborne bound 600 o o

To Garvis Warren of London, Gent., by bond, dated 1638, and payable ye 13th August, 1639; William Smith and John Trayleman bound ..... 100 o o

To Mrs. Ann Wakeman of the parish of St. Martins in the Ffields, by bond, dated the 23rd Aug., 1638, and payable the laste of Aug., 1639; the Earle of Antrim and Jo: Trayleman bound ..... 1500 o o

To Hugh Woodward of London, Gent.; bound, John Trayleman and Alexr. M'Donnell ..... 500 o o

To Mr. James Maxwell, by bond, dated 1638, and payable the 9th of Nov., 1638; the Earle of Antrim, Alex. M'Donnell, Doctor Moore, and Jo: Trayleman bound ..... 6000 o o

To Thomas Smitheby, his Maties Saddler, by bond, dated ye 3rd Aug., 1638, payable ye 5th Ffeb., 1638; the Earle of Antrim, Alex. M'Donnell, Arch: Stewart, and Jo: Trayleman bound ..... 1000 o o

To the Ld. Viscount Wimblton, by bond, dated 1638, and payable the 10th of Dec., 1638; the Earle of Antrim and John Trayleman bound ..... 1000 o o

To Sir Paul Pindar, Knight, by bond, dated ye 1638, and payable the 30th of Nov., 1639; the Earle of Antrim, Arch: Stewart, and John Trayleman bound .... 1357 o o

To Mr. John Questell of London, Merchant, by bond, dated the 1638, and payable 30th of August, 1639; the Earle of Antrim and John Trayleman bound ..... 255 o o

To Mr. Laurence Lisle, by bond, payable 30th August, 1639 ..... 108 o o

To William Moorehead of London, Merchant, by bond, dated the 1638, and payable 20th July, 1639; the Earle of Antrim and Arch: Stewart bound ..... 1000 o o

To Peter Golding of London, Gent., by bond, dated 1638, payable 14th Ffeb., 1638; the Earle of Antrim, Arch: Stewart, and John Trayleman bound ..... 500 o o

To Richard Barrington of London, Esq., by bond, dated 3rd August, 1638, payable 5th of Dec., 1638; the Earle of Antrim, Alexr. M'Donnell, Arch: Stewart, and Humf. Bradborne bound ..... 500 o o

To Rivet Eldred of London, Gent., by bond, dated 10th of June, 1639, payable the 12th Nov., 1639; Thomas Smithsbey, Humphrey Bradborne, and John Trayleman bound .. 300 o o

To Edward Badly and Hugh Potter of London, Gents., by bond, payable ye 12th Nov., 1639; the parties next above menconed bound .. 200 o o

To James Legg of London, Gent., by bond, dated the 11th May, 1638, payable the 13th Nov., 1638; Earle of Antrim, Alexr, M'Donnell, Richard Babinton, and Jo: Trayleman bound ..... 100 o o

To Abraham Corsilis of London, gent., by bond, dated the 11th May, 1638, payable 16th Nov., 1638, the parties next above menconed bound..... 200 o o

To John Bambridge, doctor of Physicke, by bond, dated the 11th of May, 1638, payable 13th Nov., 1638; the Earle of Antrim, Alexr McDonnell, Richd Babinton, and Jo: Trayleman bound ..... 100 o o

To James Libart of London, gent., by bond, dated 11th May, 1638, payable 13th Nov., 1638; the parties next above menconed bound ..... 100 o o

To Abraham Corsilis of London, gent., by bond, dated 12th May, 1638, payable the 13th Nov., 1638; the parties next above menconed bound ..... 100 o o

To Nicholas Nicolles of London, gent., by bond, dated 14th July, 1638, payable ye 21st Nov., 1638; the Earle of Antrim, Alexr McDonnell, Arch: Stewart, and Jo: Trayleman, bound ..... 200 o o

To Penelope Stoddart of London, spinster, by bond, dated 19th June, 1638, payable ye 21st Nov., 1638; the parties next above menconed bound ..... 300 o o

To James Borrage of London, by bond, dated 19th June, 1638, payable 21st Nov., 1638; the Earle of Antrim, Alexr McDonnell, Mr. Roues, and Jo: Trayleman, bound 100 o o

To Robert Flager of London, Esqr., by bond, dated 4th March, 1635, payable ye 6th June, 1636; the Earle of Antrim, Mr. Stewart, Edward Johnson, and Th: Wheler bound ..... 50 o o

To William Watson..... 500 o o

To the Lady Dynham..... 270 o o

To Sir Paul Pinder, Knight, by bond, dated 15th August, 1638, payable 16th Nov. 1639 4000 o o

To John Green of London, by Deed of Mortgage ..... 900 o o

The two pendant pearles given my Lady by the Queen, and hangings of Alexander, pauned for this 900lb. I paid ye interest, yett the partie hath sold the goods, wth no to be of a further value, soe that bill of sale, and bond of Redemtion, is not taken up, because the partie ought to be sued, to produce upon his oath what he sold the goods for, he sould them without the owners privity, and his interest was paid him; Mr. Bishop the solicitor, had this bargan, who, I doubt, hath shared largely in it; the pear of pendant jewells given to my Lady by the Queen, and ye hangings of the storie of Alexander pauned for this, Jo: Trayleman found for Redemption.

Debts oweing also by my Lord of Antrim in England, which was first paid after his Lordship went into Ireland :—

To John Glasse, 6th May, 1639	£318	0	0
To Mr. Richard Scudamore...	56	0	0
To Mr. Thomas Smith.....	25	0	0
To Doctor John Masson a Legacy	500	0	0
To Mr. Edward Cooply, uppon ye Mortgage of Bramshill and the goods therein, and the Assignment of 1500lb. per Ann., forth of the jointer Estate in England, till the debt of 11820lb. were paid him by halfe yeares payment, in all	11820	0	0
	12944	0	0

Md. 605lb. was abated and defalked out of the sume of 11820lb. because this whole debt was to have been paid by 1500lb. halfe yearely, which being most of it paid together, this 605lb. was abated soe as Mr. Cooply received but ye sume of 11215lb. in full payment of the whole sume which was paid in Anno 1640.

An accompt of Debts oweing to tradesmen, upon severall Bonds for warres (wares) and work don for ye use of the Earle of Antrim and the Lady Dutches of Buckingham.

To Roger Nott, Mercer, by bond, dated 15th June, 1638, payable 19th Decr.; the Earle of Antrim, Arch. Stewart, and Jo: Trailman, bound.....	£624	0	0
To him more by bond, dated 13th August, 1638, payable 15th November, 1639—the said parties bound	1279	15	0
To Daniell Hellingsworth and his partners, wooleing drapers, by bond dated the 30th August, 1638, payable 20th Nov., 1639—Walter Kenedys house in Dublin; Earle of Antrim, Alexr. M'Donnell, Arch: Stewart, and John Trayleman, bound 1028	0	0	
To Nicholas Boale, haberdasher of hatts, by bond dated 6th August, 1638, payable the 20th of Nov., 1639; the parties next above named bound.....	348	0	0
To Ralph Grinder, upholsterer, by bond, dated ye 9th August, 1638, payable 6th Nov., 1638; the Earl of Antrim, Arch. Stewart, & Jo. Trayleman bound	200	0	0
To him more by bond, dated ye 9th August, 1639, payable the 20th May, 1639; the parties above mentioned bound.....	561	18	0
To Elinor Chapman, sempstress, by bond, dated payable the 3rd Nov., 1639; same parties bound	153	0	0
To her more by bond, dated 13th August, 1638, payable 20th Nov., 1639; the same parties bound.....	102	0	0
To Ffrederick Bowes, Stocking Seller, by bond, dated 14th Aug., 1638, payable 15th Feb., 1638; same parties bound.....	225	11	0
To Henry Ward, Milliner, by bond, dated 14th Aug., 1638; payable 15th Ffeb., 1638; the same parties bound.....	212	0	0
To Humfrey Bradborne, by bond, dated 11th August, 1638, payable 5th Nov, 1639; the same parties bound	125	10	0
To George Garret, Woolendraper, by bond, date payable 1st Nov., 1639; the Earle of Antrim & Jo. Trayleman bound	120	16	0
To Robert Ramsay, Taylor, by bond, dated ye 15th Aug., 1638, payable 20th Nov., 1638; Earle of Antrim, Arch: Stewart, and Jo: Trayleman, bound.....	394	17	0
To Richard Louett, Goldsmith, by bond, dated 15th Aug., 1638, payable 20th May, 1639; the Earle of Antrim, and Jo: Trayleman, bound	£379	0	0
To Edgar of London, gentleman, by bond, dated , payable in August 1638; the same parties bound.....	232	0	0
To Henry Middleton of London, gent., by bond, dated payable in Ffebr. 1638; the same parties bound	110	0	0
To Ffrederick Ramsay, Taylor, by bond, dated payable the 20th May, 1639; Earle of Antrim, Arch: Stewart, and Jo: Trayleman.....	1000	0	0
To him more, by bond, dated payable 20th May, 1639; the same parties bound...	1066	0	0
To Robert Bealeing, by bond, dated the 17th Aug., 1638, payable the 13th Ffeb., 1638; the Earle of Antrim, Arch: Stewart, and Geo. Rawdon	124	16	0
To Alex. Shutter, Shoemaker, by bond, dated 17th Aug., 1638, payable 31st May, 1639; the Earle of Antrim and Arch: Stewart bound.....	106	0	0
To Richard Miller, Mercer, by bond, dated payable the ; in Alderman Watson's house, Dublin; same parties bound	520	0	0
To him more, by bond, dated Aug. 11th, 1638, payable 13th May, 1640, at Alderman Watson's above-named; same parties bound	1668	0	0
To Gabrell Matthew, Jeweller. by bond, date 17th Aug., 1638, payable 13th May, 1639; the same parties bound	99	15	0
To Richard Clay, Goldsmith, by bond, dated 17th Aug., 1638, payable 31st May, 1639; same parties bound	42	8	0
To John Lawrence, Jeweller, by bond, dated 17th Aug., 1638, payable 31st May, 1639; same parties bound	40	0	0
To Henry Douhe, Linendraper, by bond, dated 16th Aug., 1638, payable 31st May, 1639; same parties bound	240	0	0
To Thomas Chamberlen, Woolendraper, by bond, dated payable in May, 1639; the same parties bound	428	0	0
To Alex. Herriott, Jeweller, by bond, dated the 16th August, 1638, payable in May, 1639; same parties bound	69	0	0

To Edmund Cooper of Newhall, by bond, date 18th Aug., 1638, payable the 30th Nov., 1639; same parties bound £250 0 0
To Matthew Dalby of Newhall, by bond, date 18th Aug., 1638, payable 30th May, 1639; same parties bound 62 0 0
To Richard Read of London, Mercer, by bond, date 11th Aug., 1638; payable 14th Nov., 1639; same parties bound 201 0 0
To Wm. Gomstone, Milliner, by bond, dated 11th Aug., 1638, payable 14th Nov., 1639; same parties bound 119 3 0
To Roger Clerke and Christopher Barry, Mercers, by bond, dated 13th Aug., 1638, payable 14th Nov., 1639; same parties bound..... 218 0 0
To Ffrancis and John Sympsons, Jewellers, by bond, date 13th Aug., 1638, payable 14th Nov., 1639; same parties bound 440 10 0
To James Duart, Jeweller, by bond, dated 13th Aug., 1638, payable 14th Nov., 1639; Earle of Antrim, and Arch. Stewart, bound 543 15 0
To William Taylor and Matthew Cooke, Mercers, by bond. dated 15th Aug., 1638, payable 16th May, 1639; same parties bound 150 0 0
To Robert Bowen, Mercer, by bond, dated payable in May, 1639; the same parties bound 432 14 0
To Edmund Edlyne, chandler, by bond, dated payable in May, 1639; same parties bound 140 0 0
To Peter Russell, upholsterer, by bond, dated 1638, payable 30th Nov., 1638; same parties bound..... 53 0 0
To John van Belamy, picturmaker, by bond, dated 1638, payable 31st Aug., 1639; same parties bound..... 30 0 0
To Edward Basse of London, semster, by bond, dated 17th Aug., 1638, payable 31st May, 1639; Earle of Antrim, A. Stewart, and J. Trayleman £244 0 0
To him by Bill, dated 6th Aug., 1638, payable 25th Decr., 1638; the Earl of Antrim, and Arch. Stewart, bound..... 100 0 0
To Humfrey Bedingfield of London, goldsmith, by bond, dated 16th Aug., 1638, payable 31st May, 1639; same parties bound 40 0 0
Sir John Wolstenhome, Knight.....2000 0 0
To Mary Howett, my Lord only bound 300 0 0
To John Sparke, my Lord only bound..... 83 0 0
To John Hooke, my Lord only bound 53 0 0
To Richard Hubert, my Lord only bound ... 161 0 0
To Margaret Burke, my Lord bound 31 14 0
To Thomas Louett, my Lord bound 120 0 0
To John Aylmer, my Lord bound..... 153 0 0
To William Kipp, my Lord bound 183 0 0
To Robert Heath, my Lord bound 30 0 0
To Elizabeth Shorley..... 40 0 0
To Edward Depluros, my Lord bound..... 61 0 0
To Richard Allen, my Lord bound 57 0 0
To Thomas Phelpes, my Lord bound 310 0 0
To Edward Muddreman, my Lord bound ... 145 0 0
To Richard Brighame, my Lord bound 190 0 0
To John Colison, my Lord bound..... 26 0 0
To him more Mr. Shitart's *debt*..... 15 0 0
To Sr Anthony Vandike, my Lord bound ... 222 0 0
To Thomas Sharpe..... 118 0 0
To Edward Depluros, my Lord bound..... 100 0 0
To Edward Basse, my Lord bound 45 0 0
To Edward Martin, my Lord bound..... 420 0 0
To Ffrancis Nicholl, my Lord bound 328 11 0

Mr. Smithsbeys 4 *bonds were cast up the* 25*th October* 1649.

Mr. Smithsbeys 1st bond with principle debt—the bond in his owne name—the rent of York House of 350lb. per Ann. for the first four years assigned towards satisfaction of this debte. Principle 1000.

Interest, Midsummer, 1641, 200lb. Rent from Midsummer, 1641, to Midsummer, 1644.

Mr. Smithsbeys seconde bond taken in Mr. Robert Popes name; principle debt 500lb. The Rent of York House, 350lb. per ann. for the last three years assigned towards satisfaction for this debt. Rent from Midsummer, 1645, to do., 1647—due then by Mr Smithesbey 630 13 0

Mr. Smithsbeys third bond taken in Mr. Baringtons name—principle debt 500lb. Fourth bond in Mr. Smithsbeys owne name, due 24th Aug., 1649.

According to Mr. Smithsbeys casting upp, expecting his full Interest the whole time, he having made most large Bills in the whole debt, soe as I knowe he hath done farr exceeding all other men. The sum now remaining to the 29th March, 1652, stands 1389 8 10

Irish Debts.

To the Lord Downsaney by bond, 6000lb. for payment of 3000lb., date in 1638; Alex. M'Donnell and Mr. Stewart bound. The payment whereof charged by settlement on the whole estate of the Marquisse, the said sureties as collaterall, soe that the Barroney of Carry happens to be chargeable with the proportion of the debte, if not ye whole £3000 0 0
To Alderman Brangan, bound 2000lb. for payment of 1000lb.—Mr. Stewart bound—dated in 1638 .....1000 0 0
To Patrick Darcey, bond 2000lb., for payment of 1000lb., Mr. Stewart bound—dated in 1638, whereof paid 200lb. £800 0 0
To Mr. Parrett, bond 3500lb. for payment of 1800, Mr. Stewart bound, dated in 1638, whereof paid 1600lb 200 0 0
To Mr. Pollexfin, by bond, 200lb., for payment of 100lb., dated in 1638—Mr. Stewart bound..... 100 0 0
To Widow M'Naghten, by bond, 1800, for payment of 900lb., dated in 1638—Mr. Stewart bound 900 0 0

To James Hamilton, by bond, 1000lb. for payment of 500lb.—Mr. Stewart suretie bond dated in 1638 ..... £500 0 0
To Alex. Stewart, by bond, 600lb. for payment of 300lb., dated in 1638—Mr. Stewart suretie, whereof paid 100 ..... 200 0 0
To Widdow Wallace, by bond, 300lb. for payment of 150lb. dated in 1638—Mr. Stewart suretie..... 150 0 0
To John Oge M'Colman, by bond, 120lb. for payment of £60 0 0
To Mr. Hutton, 400lb., by bond, for payment of..... 200 0 0
To Henry Kelso, 200lb. for payment of 100 0 0
To Mr. Kannon, 1800 for payment of 900 0 0
To Widdow Barrabay, 600lb. for payment of 300 0 0
To Mr. Shaw, 140lb. by bond, for payment of 70 0 0
Mr. Stewart surtye for all, and entered into within the time in the Lease of the Barony limited.

List of Remaining Debts due by the Marquis of Antrim.

Lady Dunsany..... £800 0 0
Patrick Darsey 800 0 0
Mr. Hooke..... 50 0 0
Lady Fitzgerald 100 0 0
Walter Kenedy..... 1200 0 0
Mrs. Hoare 90 0 0
Lord Purbeck 1000 0 0
Goff £200 0 0
James Dees 235 0 0
Earle Burlington 100 0 0
Sir Wm. Parsons 100 0 0
Sir Thomas Nott 1900 0 0
The Brookses 360 0 0
Murray of Broughton 500 0 0

New Debts.

Captain Ross £1500 0 0
Sir Daniel Bellingham..... 720 0 0
Uriagh Babbington ....
Sir Hercules Longford 300 0 0
Nellson 100 0 0
John Bell £300 0 0
Captain Huston 200 0 0
Clark 200 0 0
Lord St. Albans 300 0 0

XX.

Will of Richard Kane, Governor of Minorca.

(See p. 350.)

For notices of this amiable and distinguished man see the third edition of M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus.*]

"Copy of Gov. Kane's Will, dated the 29th May, 1735. Captn. John Dobbin has the original of this Will.

"I intended to Change this Copy into a Duplicat, to Remain with Capt. William Sharman in Minorca."

COLONEL KANE'S WILL.

In the name of God, Amen—I, Richard Kane, of Carrickfergus, in the Province of Ulster, and Kingdom of Ireland, being now at my Government of his Majesties Island Minorca, in the Mediteranian Sea, doe make this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills.

First, I do with the greatest Humility recommend my Immortall Soule to Almighty God, in hopes that through his Mercy and the Merits and Mediation of my blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, I shall inherite a Blessed Eternity. And, in order to prevent Contention and Lawsuites among my Relations for such worldly Effectes as it shall please God to lett me be possest of at the time of my Death, I do hereby dispose of the same in the following manner:—That is to say, I do give and bequeath unto my Cousin-German, John Dobbin, oldest son of my Uncle, James Dobbin, Deceased, and to the lawfull heirs, male, of his Body for ever, All that Reale Estate that shall justly be mine at the time of my death in and near Carrickfergus aforesaid (Regard being had to the Appendix to this Will). But in case of failure of such heirs male of his Body, I do then bequeath the said Estate to the Lawfull heires, males, from the Bodys of my deceased Uncles, James Dobbin, aforesaid,

Anthony Dobbin, and Humphry Dobbin, successively for ever, in the order they stand here. But in case of failure of such heires males from them, I do then give and bequeath the said Estate to my Cousin-German, Anne Dobbin, daughter of my Uncle William Dobbin and of Mary Eccles, now wife to William Morris Jones, of Moneyglass, in the Barrony of Toome, and County of Antrim, and to her heirs for ever.

I give and bequeath unto my Cousin-German William Sharman, son to my Aunt Anne Dobbin, Deceased, all my effects in the Island of Minorca (money excepted)—That is to say, all my Horses and Equipage, Camp and House Goods, Bookes and Wrought Silver Plate; as also all Arrears of Salary or Claime that shall be due to me at the time of my death from the Revenues of Minorca. And I do further give to him all Debts that have become due to me from Officers of the Army either at Minorca or at Gibraltar. And as my said Cousin, William Sharman, did, at my request, resign the Imployment of Judge Advocate and Commissary of the Musters which he enjoyed in Minorca, I do, upon that consideration, hereby bequeath unto him the sum of five hundred pounds sterling.

As I am now a considerable sum of Money in advance for laying in Stores in St. Philip's Castle for the safety of that Garrison, I do hereby empower the said William Sharman, or John Dobbin aforesaid, to demand and receive from the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca, and from the Lieutenant-Governor of St. Philip's Castle, and from Capt. Peter Dumas, or others who may be concearned, and ought to repay those things, all such sumes of money as shall be due to me on those accounts at the time of my death, and to give acquittances for the same: That money to be added to the rest of my Personall Estate, To be Distributed as hereafter directed.

I do give and bequeath to my Cousin, Thomas Charleton, now an Ensigne in the Regiment under my command, all the Gold that now lies in the Till of my Iron Chest, and intended to be left there for him towards his promotion in the Army or otherwise.

It is my Will that out of the First and Readiest of my personall Estate, my funerall Expense (which is to be moderate), and all my debts and Legacies be paid; as also that all Wages due to Servants, and presents to them, be paid, the servants to be allowed as followeth:—That is to say, all those who are hired servants and to be sent to England to be kept in full wages and board wages untill a passage (or untill they shall dispose of themselves) to England can be obtayned for them, and then to be paid twelve moneths wages as a present, and Ten Pounds each to pay for their passage to England. And all those who shall then be occasionally employed at Minorca, as servants, to be paid such presents as the director of my funerall shall think fit.

I do likewise bequeath out of the said personall estate Fifty Pounds Irish Money to the Poore of Carrickfergus, and Fifty Pounds to the Poore of the Parish of Duneane, in the Barrony of Toome. And regard being had to all that is above bequeathed, the Remaining part of my personall estate to be divided into four Equal parts, and disposed of in the following manner, that is to say—

I give and bequeath two of the said Dividends, being one halfe of my personall estate, unto my Cosin John Dobbin, aforesaid, deducting from thence the value of what was paid for the Estate of Downinghall, in the county of Louth, which was purchased in his owne name, provided the said two dividends shall amount to, or prove to be more than, the sum that was paid for that estate, otherwise that estate to remain to him as his two Dividends. And further, I do hereby relinquish all Pretensions, and quitt all manner of claime that I have, or might have had, to the said Estate

of Downinghall, and this I voluntarily do in favour of my Cosin John Dobbin aforesaid. But if it should so happen that my said Cosin John Dobbin should not survive me, I do then give and bequeath to his Brother, my Cosin James Dobbin, the two Dividends, or halfe my personall estate as aforesaid, he allowing from thence the value of the purchase of Downinghall in like manner as above, and I do likewise Resigne and quitt all manner of Claime to the said estate in favour of him my said Cosin James Dobbin; but then he is to give a Reasonable allowance yearly out of the Premises to his foure Sisters, the daughters of my Uncle James Dobbin aforesaid. And I do further give and bequeath to my aforesaid Cosin John Dobbin all Campage and household Goods that shall belong to me at the time of my death in England or in Ireland.

I do give and bequeath unto my Aunt Mary Eccles, Widow of my Uncle William Dobbin aforesaid, the third Dividend, or one quarter part of my personall estate aforesaid, to be employed for her use and benefit during her naturall life; and after her Death to descend to her daughter, my Cosin-German, Anne Dobbin aforesaid, wife of William Morris-Jones abovementioned, to be employed for her owne proper use and benefit dureing her natural life. But she is not to make over, convey away, or allienate any part of the same from herselfe or from her children, and at her Death to dispose of the same to her children, or, in failure of children, to such person or persons as she shall think fitt. And further, in favour to my said Cosin Anne Dobbin, and to her Issue, I do hereby relinquish and for ever quitt claime to all manner of Pretentions that I have, or might have had, to the possession or interest of Moneyglass Beforementioned.

The fourth Dividend, or last quarter, part of my personall estate abovementioned, I give and bequeath unto my Cousins-German, That is to say, the Immediate issue of my Uncles and Aunts, who were the sons and daughters of my grandfather, James Dobbin, formerly of Duneane, in the Barrony of Toome aforesaid:—I mean my Cousins-German who shall be liveing at the time of my death, and not provided for in the foregoing part of this Will, their quarter part to be equally divided among them.

It is my further Will, and express order, that if any dispute shall arise among my Relations upon account of what I have bequeathed to them of my personall estate as above, that all such disputes shall be adjudged and determined by the arbitration of friends, and not by Lawsuites; and whatever persons shall not condescend to have such dispute determined by arbitration, such persons to forfeit their pretentions to what is bequeathed to them as above, that part to be enjoyed by my executor for his particular advantage. And of this my last Will and Testament (hereby revoking all former Wills)I make and appoint my Cousin-German, John Dobbin above mentioned, my sole and only executor, and do appoint my Cousin-German, William Sharman aforesaid, overseer of this my Will. In witness whereof I do hereunto set my hand and seale at Mahon, in the Island of Minorca, this twenty-ninth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five. 1733.

RICHD. KANE.

Signed, sealed, and published to be his last Will, in the Presence of us,
ROWLEY GODFREY, Captain,
ALEX. CORNWALL, Chaplain,
PHINS. JOHN EDGAR, Ensigne,
} In Col. Kane's Regiment.

A True Copy, RICHD. KANE,

Appendix to the foregoing Will of Colo. Kane.

Memdm This day I have perfected my Last Will and Testament, as appears in the foregoing part of this Work, and by that Will I have given and bequeathed unto my Cousin-German, John Dobbin (now a Captn in the Regiment under my Command), all the Reall Estate that shall justly be mine at the time of my death, in and near Carrickfergus (as I had done in former Wills). But by what has occurred to me since the makeing of former Wills, by two Letters from one Donald O'Kain, as shewn in the following paragraph, I thought it necessary to Informe my said Cousin Dobbin of some things relating to that Estate. But first, on the unexpected claime of Relation, made to me by the said Donald O'Kain. This Donald O'Kain having wrote me a Letter to Minorca, dated at Droghada, the 7th of June, 1727 (which came under cover from Mr. George Warren of Droghada, then a Merchant in Marseills). Donald does there tell me that his father, Charles, was younger brother to my father, Thomas, which did not a little surprise me. First, in Regard that I had never heard that my Father had ever had a brother; next, that although I had seen the said Charles in my youth, yet he never made any such claime of Relation to me; and then that no certain claime of Relation having ever been made to me by any of the name, from my youth upward, untill I received Donald's Letter of the 7th of June, 1727. It confirmed me in the opinion I had received, and had often been Tould that I had no Relation of my name; and uppon the subject I wrote pretty fully to Mr. George Warren, abovementioned, on the 7th of September, 1727, for as Donald O'Kain's Letter had come under cover from Mr. Warren, I chose rather to Explaine myselfe to him upon that subject than to Donald.

Upon what I wrote to Mr. George Warren on ye 7th of Sept., 1727, abovementioned, Donald O'Kain wrote me a second Letter (but without Date), from Lurgan Clanbrazill, which came to my hands in Minorca, in August, 1728, and there Donald setts his claime of Relation to me at a greater Distance than in his first Letter, for in that second Letter he says that his father, Charles, was only my uncle's son, but that was still giving my Father a brother, who never had any, which shews another error in his claime of Relation. With that second Letter, Donald sent me the copy of a Will that was made by one William O'Cahan, as if it were to shew some claime upon my Estate at Carrickfergus, after my death. And haveing made as faire a draught of that Will as could be done (by its being much worne and defaced) I sent him back his shattered copy of that Will. When I was a youth I know that Charles O'Kain had a son called Donald, but did not know him to be a relation, and by some circumstances in his first Letter I judge him to be that person. But should he have a right to any part of the Estate, which I now enjoy at Carrickfergus, after my death, his haveing served against us in the Revolution Warr (which he owns in his second Letter abovementioned), might make a change in his pretentions, should that be pleaded against him; But whatever part of that Estate he may aime at, he can have no claime to any part of what came to me by my grandmother, Catherine O'Skullin. When I wrote the two Letters, abovementioned, to Mr. George Warren, and to Mr. Donald O'Kain, I did then believe that my grandfather's name was Richard (having been tould by some in my youth that I was named after my grandfather), nor did any thing ever occur to me to putt me on a further Enquiry. But when I was last in England, I came accidentally to the view of the Line of the famely of Dobbin of Carrickfergus, which shows

how the Famely of O'Cahan (or O'Kane) of Carrickfergus, became first allyed to them, (1) and there it appears that one Richard O'Kane married a Dobbin, and dyed without Issue; that Thomas O'Kane married Catherine O'Skullin, the daughter of one Margaret Dobbin, by whom he had one son called Thomas O'Kane the younger; and this Thomas having married Margaret Dobbin of the Famely of Duneane, they had one son named Richard, and I am that person; so that as my father had no brother, it is evident that Charles O'Kain was neither my uncle, nor my uncle's son, as mentioned in Donald O'Kain's first and second Letters.

Having thus far explained upon the Relation claimed to me, I shall now (for the better Information of my Cousin, John Dobbin, beforementioned) Intimate something in relation to my Estate in and near Carrickfergus, vizt.—I never heard that my Father had made any Will, for he was suddenly seized with a feavour at Duneane, and died there (and was buried at Carrickfergus) when I was about three years old. And when I came to the Age of one and Twenty, and put into possession of the Estate which he enjoyed, I had no Thought of inquiring what other right I had to that Estate than its descending from my Father. Soone after I came of Age, my Relations by my mother (for none appeared on my Father's side) applyed to the Corporation of Carrickfergus for a Deede in my owne name, of all that Estate of which my Father had been possessed, in and about Carrickfergus; and all my old Deedes having been examined, the Corporation granted one Deede for the whole in my owne name, to me and my heires in Fee farme for ever. And this not done obscurely or in a Hurry, but was a long time in agitation, and done in a publique manner, no person makeing any objection thereunto. When I went first to Dublin, in the year 1685, a Fine and Recovery was passed by me; But whether all these Proceedings were Right or wrong, I was not then a Judge, nor can I yet make a proper judgment untill I shall be better informed, for I have not looked into the Deede since that time, haveing passed very little time in Ireland since the Warr ended there in the year 1691, and no time at all there since the year 1699; nor did I ever find myselfe under the necessity of makeing any Enquiry into them, no person haveing ever made any pretence to a claime upon that Estate since I became possest of it. And haveing Lodged these Deedes and Papers with my uncle, John Dobbin of Duneane, or with my uncle, William Dobbin of Moneyglass, when I went to Flanders, after the Revolution Warr ended in Ireland, those things do still remain with one of these Famelys.

Now, notwithstanding all the Reasoning and Explanations as above, yet as I have no heires of my owne Body, if it can be made appear that the heires of Charles O'Kain, abovementioned, shall be entitled after my death, to any part of the Estate I now enjoy, in or about Carrickfergus, I do then, for me and my heires, hereby Relinquish all pretentions to such part of the Deede that was granted to me and my heires, by the Corporation of Carrickfergus, as the heires of Charles O'Kain shall be justly entitled to after my death. And likewise I do, for me and my heires, Revoke, annull, and make voide so much of that Instrument of Fine and Recovery that I past at Dublin, as abovementioned, as shall Respect such part of my said Estate, as the heires of the said Charles O'Kain shall be justly entitled to after my Death. And all this I do voluntarily, without being moved to

(1) An account of the very old, numerous, and influential family of Dobyn or Dobbin, is being prepared, we believe, by one of its worthiest modern representatives.

it by any person, as what I ought to do in honour and conscience, in order to have Justice done to all who shall have a just claime to any part of that estate after my death.

It may prove to be a Remark that an Antient name often mentioned in this Appendix, is there wrote various ways, but let it be observed that the Proper and Orriginall name is *O'Cahan*. My Father wrote his name so, and so did I when a youth; But the name being much eclipsed in the world at that time, and it having fallen to my Lott to sett my name to the Affaires of a Patent Imployment in my youth, I was advised then to alter the manner of writing my name; and thus I finish the Appendix to my Will, both being written by my owne hand, and without consulting Lawyers.

In witness whereof, I do here sett my hand and seale this Twenty-ninth Day of May, One Thousand seaven hundred and Thirty five. In the seaventy-third yeare of my Age, 1735.

Signed, sealed, and Published, to be an
Appendix to his Will, in the presence of us:— RICHD. KANE.

ROWLEY GODFREY—Captain.
ALEX. CORNWALL—Chaplain. } In Colo Kane's Regiment.
PHINS. JOHN EDGAR—Ensigne.

A True Copy. RICHD. KANE.

Note.—When I came into the possession of the Estate at Carrickfergus, mentioned in this Appendix, I found the Lands of Carnanglass, on the north side of the Towne, under a Mortgage of Thirty Pounds, which sum I paid off with the money of that very value that I received as a Fine from the government of Ireland, in the year 1699, in Consideration of a Leise of ninety-nine yeares I granted to the King, of a small field on the west suburb, for Building a Horse Barrack there, which was built, and still Remains.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 1, in text and notes, for ‘ Uaish’ read Uais.
Page 6, line 15, for ‘ suppositious’ read supposititious.
Page 9, note 19, for ‘ fretium’ read fretum, and for ‘ Tomaire’ read Iomaire.
Page 10, line 17, for ‘ Cholium’ read Choluim.
Page 252, note 2, for ‘ 1693’ read 1695.

The Rev. George Hill was born at Moyarget, near Ballycastle in County Antrim, where his father had a small farm.

His pastoral career as a Non-Subscribing Presbyterian minister was cut short by a voice complaint which rendered preaching impracticable. About that time (1850), he was appointed librarian at the Queen's College, Belfast, where he laid the foundations of the present University Library. Upon his researches there Hill wrote in 1873 his now classic "Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim."